

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW

JULY 1, 1859

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GÖTTE.

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THE
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REVIEW.

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ART. I.—WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF MOST WORTH.

*Lectures on Education delivered at the Royal Institution of
Great Britain. London. 1855.*

IT has been truly remarked that, in order of time, decoration precedes dress. Before yet he thinks of protecting himself against the weather, the savage bestows much care on the painting of his skin. Among people who submit to great physical suffering that they may have themselves handsomely tattooed, extremes of temperature are borne with but little attempt at mitigation. Humboldt tells us that an Orinoco Indian, though quite regardless of bodily comfort, will yet labour for a fortnight to purchase pigment wherewith to make himself admired; and that the same woman who would not hesitate to leave her hut without a fragment of clothing on, would not dare to commit such a breach of decorum as to go out unpainted. Voyagers uniformly find that coloured beads and trinkets are much more prized by wild tribes than are calicoes or broadcloths. And the anecdotes we have of the ways in which, when shirts and coats are given, they turn them to some ludicrous display, show how completely the idea of ornament predominates over that of use. Indeed, the facts of aboriginal life seem to indicate that dress is developed out of decorations. And when we remember that even among ourselves most think more about the fineness of the fabric than its warmth, and more about the cut than the convenience—when we see that the function is still in great measure subordinated to the appearance—we have further reason for inferring such an origin.

It is not a little remarkable that the like relations hold with

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the mind. Among mental as among bodily acquisitions, the ornamental comes before the useful. Not only in times past, but almost as much in our own era, that knowledge which conduces to personal well-being has been postponed to that which brings applause. In the Greek schools, music, poetry, rhetoric, and a philosophy which, until Socrates taught, had but little bearing upon action, were the dominant subjects; while knowledge aiding the arts of life had a very subordinate place. And in our own universities and schools at the present moment the like antithesis holds. We are guilty of something like a platitude when we say that throughout his after-career a boy, in nine cases out of ten, applies his Latin and Greek to no practical purposes. The remark is trite that in his shop or his office, in managing his estate or his family, in playing his part as director of a bank or a railway, he is very little aided by this knowledge he took so many years to acquire;—so little, that generally the greater part of it drops out of his memory; and if he occasionally vents a Latin quotation, or alludes to some Greek myth, it is less to throw light on the topic in hand than for the sake of effect. If we inquire what is the real motive for giving boys a classical education, we find it to be simply conformity to public opinion. Men dress their children's minds as they do their bodies, in the prevailing fashion. As the Orinoco Indian puts on his paint before leaving his hut, not with a view to any direct benefit, but because he would be ashamed to be seen without it; so, a boy's drilling in Latin and Greek is insisted on, not because of their intrinsic value, but that he may not be disgraced by being found ignorant of them—that he may have “the education of a gentleman”—the badge marking a certain social position, and bringing a consequent respect.

This parallel is still more clearly displayed in the case of the other sex. In the treatment of both mind and body, the decorative element has continued to predominate in a greater degree among women than among men. Originally, personal adornment occupied the attention of both sexes equally. In these latter days of civilization, however, we see that in the dress of men the regard for appearance has in a considerable degree yielded to the regard for comfort; while in their education the useful has of late been trenching on the ornamental. In neither direction has this change gone so far with women. The wearing of ear-rings, finger-rings, bracelets; the elaborate dressings of the hair; the still occasional use of paint; the immense labour bestowed in making habiliments sufficiently attractive; and the great discomfort that will be submitted to for the sake of conformity; show how greatly, in the attiring of women, the desire of approbation overrides the desire for warmth and convenience. And similarly

in their education, the immense preponderance of "accomplishments" proves how here, too, use is subordinated to display. Dancing, deportment, the piano, singing, drawing—what a large space do these occupy! If you ask why Italian and German are learnt, you will find that, under all the sham reasons given, the real reason is, that a knowledge of those tongues is thought lady-like. It is not that the books written in them may be utilized, which they scarcely ever are; but that Italian and German songs may be sung, and that the extent of attainment may bring whispered admiration. The births, deaths, and marriages of kings, and other like historic trivialities, are committed to memory, not because of any benefits that can possibly result from knowing them; but because society considers them parts of a good education—because the absence of such knowledge may bring the contempt of others. When we have named reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, and sewing, we have named about all the things a girl is taught with a positive view to their direct uses in life; and even some of these have more reference to the good opinion of others than to immediate personal welfare.

Thoroughly to realize the truth that with the mind as with the body the ornamental precedes the useful, it is needful to glance at its rationale. This lies in the facts that, from the far past down even to the present, social needs have subordinate individual needs, and that the chief social need has been the control of individuals. It is not, as we commonly suppose, that there are no governments but those of monarchs, and parliaments, and constituted authorities. These acknowledged governments are supplemented by other unacknowledged ones, that grow up in all circles, in which every man or woman strives to be king or queen or lesser dignitary. To get above some and be revered by them, and to propitiate those who are above us, is the universal struggle in which the chief energies of life are expended. By the accumulation of wealth, by style of living, by beauty of dress, by display of knowledge or intellect, each tries to subjugate others; and so aids in weaving that ramified network of restraints by which society is kept in order. It is not the savage chief only, who, in formidable war-paint, with scalps at his belt, aims to strike awe into his inferiors; it is not only the belle who, by elaborate toilet, polished manners, and numerous accomplishments, strives to "make conquests;" but the scholar, the historian, the philosopher, use their acquirements to the same end. We are none of us content with quietly unfolding our own individualities to the full in all directions; but have a restless craving to impress our individualities upon others, and in some way subordinate them. And this it is which determines the character of our education. Not what knowledge is of most real worth, is

the consideration; but what will bring most applause, honour, respect—what will most conduce to social position and influence—what will be most imposing. As, throughout life, not what we are, but what we shall be thought, is the question; so in education, the question is, not the intrinsic value of knowledge, so much as its extrinsic effects on others. And this being our dominant idea, direct utility is scarcely more considered than by the barbarian when filing his teeth and staining his nails.

If there needs any further evidence of the rude, undeveloped character of our education, we have it in the fact that the comparative worths of different kinds of knowledge have been as yet scarcely even discussed—much less discussed in a scientific way with definite results. Not only is it that no standard of relative values has yet been agreed upon; but the existence of any such standard has not been conceived in any clear manner. And not only is it that the existence of any such standard has not been clearly conceived; but the need for it seems to have been scarcely even felt. Men read books on this topic, and attend lectures on that; decide that their children shall be instructed in these branches of knowledge, and shall not be instructed in those; and all under the guidance of mere fashion, or liking, or prejudice; without ever considering the enormous importance of determining in some rational way what things are really most worth learning. It is true that in all circles we have occasional remarks on the importance of this or the other order of information. But whether the degree of its importance justifies the expenditure of the time needed to acquire it; and whether there are not things of more importance to which the time might be better devoted; are queries which, if raised at all, are disposed of quite summarily, according to personal predilections. It is true also, that from time to time, we hear revived the standing controversy respecting the comparative merits of classics and mathematics. Not only, however, is this controversy carried on in an empirical manner, with no reference to an ascertained criterion; but the question at issue is totally insignificant when compared with the general question of which it is part. To suppose that deciding whether a mathematical or a classical education is the best, is deciding what is the proper *curriculum*, is much the same thing as to suppose that the whole of dietetics lies in determining whether or not bread is more nutritive than potatoes!

The question which we contend is of such transcendent moment, is, not whether such or such knowledge is of worth, but what is its *relative* worth? When they have named certain advantages which a given course of study has secured them, persons are apt to assume that they have justified themselves: quite forgetting that the adequateness of the advantages is the point to be judged.

There is, perhaps, not a subject to which men devote attention that has not *some* value. A year diligently spent in getting up heraldry, would very possibly give a little further insight into ancient manners and morals, and into the origin of names. Any one who should learn the distances between all the towns in England, might, in the course of his life, find one or two of the thousand facts he had acquired of some slight service when arranging a journey. Gathering together all the small gossip of a county, profitless occupation as it would be, might yet occasionally help to establish some useful fact—say, a good example of hereditary transmission. But in these cases, every one would admit that there was no proportion between the required labour and the probable benefit. No one would tolerate the proposal to devote some years of a boy's time to getting such information, at the cost of much more valuable information which he might else have got. And if here the test of relative value is appealed to, and held conclusive, then should it be appealed to and held conclusive throughout. Had we time to master all subjects we need not be particular. To quote the old song:—

Could a man be secure
That his days would endure
As of old, for a thousand long years,
What things might he know!
What deeds might he do!
And all without hurry or care.

“But we that have but span-long lives” must ever bear in mind our limited time for acquisition. And remembering how narrowly this time is limited, not only by the shortness of life, but also still more by the business of life, we ought to be especially solicitous to employ what time we have to the greatest advantage. Before devoting years to some subject which fashion or fancy suggests, it is surely important to weigh with great care the worth of the results, as compared with the worth of various alternative results which the same years might bring if otherwise applied.

In education, then, this is the question of questions, which it is high time we discussed in some methodic way. The first in importance, though the last to be considered, is the problem—how to decide among the conflicting claims of various subjects on our attention. Before there can be a rational *curriculum*, we must settle which things it most concerns us to know; or, to use a word of Bacon's, now unfortunately obsolete—we must determine the relative values of knowledges.

To this end, a measure of value is the first requisite. And happily, respecting the true measure of value, as expressed in general terms, there can be no dispute. Every one in contending for the worth of any particular order of information, does so by

showing its bearing upon some part of life. In reply to the question, "Of what use is it?" the mathematician, linguist, naturalist, or philosopher, explains the way in which his learning beneficially influences action—saves from evil or secures good—conduces to happiness. When the teacher of writing has pointed out how great an aid writing is to success in business—that is, to the obtainment of sustenance—that is, to satisfactory living; he is held to have proved his case. And when the collector of dead facts (say a numismatist) fails to make clear any appreciable effects which these facts can produce on human welfare, he is obliged to admit that they are comparatively valueless. All then, either directly or by implication, appeal to this as the ultimate test.

How to live?—that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense. The general problem which comprehends every special problem is—the right ruling of conduct in all directions under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilize all those sources of happiness which nature supplies—how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others—how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is, to judge in what degree it discharges such function.

This test, never used in its entirety, but rarely even partially used, used then to a very small extent, and in a vague, half-conscious way, has to be applied consciously, methodically, and throughout all cases. It behoves us to set before ourselves, and ever to keep clearly in view, complete living as the end to be achieved; so that in bringing up our children we may choose subjects and methods of instruction with deliberate reference to this end. Not only ought we to cease from the mere unthinking adoption of the current fashion in education, which has no better warrant than any other fashion; but we must also rise above that rude, empirical style of judging displayed by those more intelligent people who do bestow some care in overseeing the cultivation of their children's minds. It must not suffice simply to *think* that such or such information will be useful in after life, or that this kind of knowledge is of more practical value than that; but we must seek out some process of estimating their respective values, so that as far as possible we may positively *know* which are most deserving of attention.

Doubtless the task is difficult—perhaps never to be more than approximately achieved. But, considering the vastness of the interests at stake, its difficulty is no reason for pusillanimously passing it by; but rather for devoting every energy to its mastery. And if we only proceed systematically, we may very soon get at results of no small moment.

Our first step must obviously be to classify, in the order of their importance, the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life. They may be naturally arranged into:—1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation; 2. Those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation; 3. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring; 4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations; 5. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings.

That these stand in something like their true order of subordination, it needs no long consideration to show. The actions and precautions by which, from moment to moment, we secure personal safety, must clearly take precedence of all others. Could there be a man, ignorant as an infant of all surrounding objects and movements, or how to guide himself among them, he would pretty certainly lose his life the first time he went into the street: notwithstanding any amount of learning he might have on other matters. And as entire ignorance in all other directions would be less promptly fatal than entire ignorance in this direction, it must be admitted that knowledge immediately conducive to self-preservation is of primary importance.

That next after direct self-preservation comes the indirect self-preservation which consists in acquiring the means of living, none will question. That a man's industrial functions must be considered before his parental ones, is manifest from the fact that, speaking generally, the discharge of the parental functions is made possible only by the previous discharge of the industrial ones. The power of self-maintenance necessarily preceding the power of maintaining offspring, it follows that knowledge needful for self-maintenance has stronger claims than knowledge needful for family welfare—is second in value to none save knowledge needful for immediate self-preservation.

As the family comes before the State in order of time—as the bringing up of children is possible before the State exists, or when it has ceased to be, whereas the State is rendered possible only by the bringing up of children; it follows that the duties of the parent demand closer attention than those of the citizen. Or, to use a further argument—since the goodness of a society ulti-

mately depends on the nature of its citizens; and since the nature of its citizens is more modifiable by early training than by anything else; we must conclude that the welfare of the family underlies the welfare of society. And hence knowledge directly conducing to the first, must take precedence of knowledge directly conducing to the last.

Those various forms of pleasurable occupation which fill up the leisure left by graver occupations—the enjoyments of music, poetry, painting, &c.—manifestly imply a pre-existing society. Not only is a considerable development of them impossible without a long-established social union; but their very subject-matter consists in great part of social sentiments and sympathies. Not only does society supply the conditions to their growth; but also the ideas and sentiments they express. And, consequently, that part of human conduct which constitutes good citizenship is of more moment than that which goes out in accomplishments or exercise of the tastes; and, in education, preparation for the one must rank before preparation for the other.

Such then, we repeat, is something like the rational order of subordination:—That education which prepares for direct self-preservation; that which prepares for indirect self-preservation; that which prepares for parenthood; that which prepares for citizenship; that which prepares for the miscellaneous refinements of life. We do not mean to say that these divisions are definitely separable. We do not deny that they are intricately entangled with each other in such way that there can be no training for any that is not in some measure a training for all. Nor do we question that of each division there are portions more important than certain portions of the preceding divisions: that, for instance, a man of much skill in business but little other faculty, may fall further below the standard of complete living than one of but moderate power of acquiring money but great judgment as a parent; or that exhaustive information bearing on right social action, joined with entire want of general culture in literature and the fine arts, is less desirable than a more moderate share of the one joined with some of the other. But, after making all qualifications, there still remain these broadly marked divisions; and it still continues substantially true that these divisions subordinate one another in the foregoing order, because the corresponding divisions of life make one another *possible* in that order.

Of course the ideal of education is—complete preparation in all these divisions. But failing this ideal, as in our phase of civilization every one must do more or less, the aim should be to maintain a *due proportion* between the degrees of preparation in each. Not exhaustive cultivation in any one, supremely important though it may be—not even an exclusive attention to the two,

three, or four divisions of greatest importance; but an attention to all,—greatest where the value is greatest, less where the value is less, least where the value is least. For the average man (not to forget the cases in which peculiar aptitude for some one department of knowledge rightly makes that one the bread-winning occupation)—for the average man, we say, the desideratum is, a training that approaches nearest to perfection in the things which most subserve complete living, and falls more and more below perfection in the things that have more and more remote bearings on complete living.

In regulating education by this standard, there are some general considerations that should be ever present to us. The worth of any kind of culture, as aiding complete living, may be either necessary or more or less contingent. There is knowledge of intrinsic value; knowledge of quasi-intrinsic value; and knowledge of conventional value. Such facts as that sensations of numbness and tingling commonly precede paralysis, that the resistance of water to a body moving through it varies as the square of the velocity, that chlorine is a disinfectant,—these, and the truths of Science in general, are of intrinsic value: they will bear on human conduct ten thousand years hence as they do now. The extra knowledge of our own language, which is given by an acquaintance with Latin and Greek, may be considered to have a value that is quasi-intrinsic: it must exist for us and for other races whose languages owe much to these sources; but will last only as long as our languages last. While that kind of information which, in our schools, usurps the name History—the mere tissue of names and dates and dead unmeaning events—has a conventional value only: it has not the remotest bearing upon any of our actions; and is of use only for the avoidance of those unpleasant criticisms which current opinion passes upon its absence. Of course, as those facts which concern all mankind throughout all time must be held of greater moment than those which concern only a portion of them during a limited era, and of far greater moment than those which concern only a portion of them during the continuance of a fashion; it follows that in a rational estimate, knowledge of intrinsic worth must, other things equal, take precedence of knowledge that is of quasi-intrinsic or conventional worth.

One further preliminary. Acquirement of every kind has two values—value as *knowledge* and value as *discipline*. Besides its use for guidance in conduct, the acquisition of each order of facts has also its use as mental exercise; and its effects as a preparative for complete living have to be considered under both these heads.

These, then, are the general ideas with which we must set out.

in discussing a *curriculum*:—Life as divided into several kinds of activity of successively decreasing importance; the worth of each order of facts as regulating these several kinds of activity, intrinsically, quasi-intrinsically, and conventionally; and their regulative influences estimated both as knowledge and discipline.

Happily that all-important part of education which goes to secure direct self-preservation, is in great part already provided for. Too momentous to be left to our blundering, Nature takes it into her own hands. While yet in its nurse's arms, the infant, by hiding its face and crying at the sight of a stranger, shows the dawning instinct to attain safety by flying from that which is unknown and may be dangerous; and when it can walk, the terror it manifests if an unfamiliar dog comes near, or the screams with which it runs to its mother after any startling sight or sound, shows this instinct further developed. Moreover, knowledge subserving direct self-preservation is that which it is chiefly busied in acquiring from hour to hour. How to balance its body; how to control its movements so as to avoid collisions; what objects are hard, and will hurt if struck; what objects are heavy, and injure if they fall on the limbs; which things will bear the weight of the body, and which not; the pains inflicted by fire, by missiles, by sharp instruments—these, and various other pieces of information needful for the avoidance of death or accident, it is ever learning. And when, a few years later, the energies go out in running, climbing, and jumping, in games of strength and games of skill, we see in all these actions by which the muscles are developed, the perceptions sharpened, and the judgment quickened, a preparation for the safe conduct of the body among surrounding objects and movements; and for meeting those greater dangers that occasionally occur in the lives of all. Being thus, as we say, so well cared for by Nature, this fundamental education needs comparatively little care from us. What we are chiefly called upon to see, is, that there shall be free scope for gaining this experience, and receiving this discipline,—that there shall be no such thwarting of Nature as that by which stupid schoolmistresses commonly prevent the girls in their charge from the spontaneous physical activities they would indulge in; and so render them comparatively incapable of taking care of themselves in circumstances of peril.

This, however, is by no means all that is comprehended in the education that prepares for direct self-preservation. Besides guarding the body against mechanical damage or destruction, it has to be guarded against injury from other causes—against the disease and death that follow breaches of physiologic law. For complete living it is necessary, not only that sudden anni-

lutions of life shall be warded off; but also that there shall be escaped the incapacities and the slow annihilation which unwise habits entail. As, without health and energy, the industrial, the parental, the social, and all other activities become more or less impossible; it is clear that this secondary kind of direct self-preservation is only less important than the primary kind; and that knowledge tending to secure it should rank very high.

It is true that here, too, guidance is in some measure ready supplied. By our various physical sensations and desires, Nature has insured a tolerable conformity to the chief requirements. Fortunately for us, want of food, great heat, extreme cold, produce promptings too peremptory to be disregarded. And would men habitually obey these and all like promptings when less strong, comparatively few evils would arise. If fatigue of body or brain were in every case followed by desistance; if the oppression produced by a close atmosphere always led to ventilation; if there were no eating without hunger, or drinking without thirst; then would the system be but seldom out of working order. But so profound an ignorance is there of the laws of life, that men do not even know that their sensations are their natural guides, and (when not rendered morbid by long-continued disobedience) their trustworthy guides. Nay, not only are they mostly ignorant of this truth, but they actually deny it when propounded to them. Judging from various prevalent ascetic doctrines, the current belief would seem to be that our sensations exist not for our guidance, but for our misguidance; and should be thwarted as much as possible. So that though, to speak teleologically, Nature has provided efficient safeguards to health, lack of knowledge makes them in a great measure useless.

If any one doubts the importance of an acquaintance with the fundamental principles of physiology as a means to complete living, let him look around and see how many men and women he can find in middle or later life who are thoroughly well. Occasionally only do we meet with an example of vigorous health continued to old age; hourly do we meet with examples of acute disorder, chronic ailment, general debility, premature decrepitude. Scarcely is there one to whom you put the question, who has not, in the course of his life, brought upon himself illnesses which a little knowledge would have saved him from. Here is a case of heart disease consequent on a rheumatic fever that followed reckless exposure. There is a case of eyes spoiled for life by over-study. Yesterday the account was of one whose long-enduring lameness was brought on by continuing, spite of the pain, to use a knee after it had been slightly injured. And to-day we are told of another who has had to lie by for years, because he did not know that the palpitation he suffered from resulted from over-

taxed brain. Now we hear of an irremediable injury that followed some silly feat of strength ; and, again, of a constitution that has never recovered from the effects of excessive work needlessly undertaken. While on all sides we see the perpetual minor ailments which accompany feebleness. Not to dwell on the actual pain, the weariness, the gloom, the waste of time and money thus entailed, only consider how greatly ill-health hinders the discharge of all duties—makes business often impossible, and always more difficult ; produces an irritability fatal to the right management of children ; puts the functions of citizenship out of the question ; and makes amusement a bore. Is it not clear that the physical sins—partly our forefathers' and partly our own—which produce this ill-health, deduct more from complete living than anything else ? and to a great extent make life a failure and a burden instead of a benefaction and a pleasure ?

To all which add the fact, that life, besides being thus immensely deteriorated, is also cut short. It is not true, as we commonly suppose, that a disorder or disease from which we have recovered leaves us as before. No disturbance of the normal course of the functions can pass away and leave things exactly as they were. In all cases a permanent damage is done—not immediately appreciable, it may be, but still there ; and along with other such items which Nature in her strict account-keeping never drops, will tell against us to the inevitable shortening of our days. Through the accumulation of small injuries it is that constitutions are commonly undermined, and break down, long before their time. And if we call to mind how far the average duration of life falls below the possible duration, we see how immense is the loss. When, to the numerous partial deductions which bad health entails, we add this great final deduction, it results that ordinarily more than one-half of life is thrown away.

Hence, knowledge which subserves direct self-preservation by preventing this loss of health, is of primary importance. We do not contend that possession of such knowledge would by any means wholly remedy the evil. For it is clear that in our present phase of civilization men's necessities often compel them to transgress. And it is further clear that, even in the absence of such compulsion, their inclinations would frequently lead them, spite of their knowledge, to sacrifice future good to present gratification. But we do contend that the right knowledge impressed in the right way would effect much ; and we further contend that as the laws of health must be recognised before they can be fully conformed to, the imparting of such knowledge must precede a more rational living—come when that may. We infer that as vigorous health and its accompanying high spirits are larger elements of happiness than any other things whatever, the teach-

ing how to maintain them is a teaching that yields in moment to no other whatever. And therefore we assert that such a course of physiology as is needful for the comprehension of its general truths, and their bearings on daily conduct, is an all-essential part of a rational education.

Strange that the assertion should need making! Stranger still that it should need defending! Yet are there not a few by whom such a proposition will be received with something approaching to derision. Men who would blush if caught saying Iphigénia instead of Iphigenia, or would resent as an insult any imputation of ignorance respecting the fabled labours of a fabled demi-god, show not the slightest shame in confessing that they do not know where the Eustachian tubes are, what are the actions of the spinal chord, what is the normal rate of pulsation, or how the lungs are inflated. While anxious that their sons should be well up in the superstitions of two thousand years ago, they care not that they should be taught anything about the structure and functions of their own bodies—nay, would even disapprove such instruction. So overwhelming is the influence of established routine! So terribly in our education does the ornamental override the useful!

We need not insist on the value of that knowledge which aids indirect self-preservation by facilitating the gaining of a livelihood. This is admitted by all; and, indeed, by the mass is perhaps too exclusively regarded as the end of education. But while every one is ready to endorse the abstract proposition that instruction fitting youths for the business of life is of high importance, or even to consider it of supreme importance; yet scarcely any inquire what instruction will so fit them. It is true that reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught with an intelligent appreciation of their uses; but when we have said this we have said nearly all. While the great bulk of what else is acquired has no bearing on the industrial activities, an immensity of information that has a direct bearing on the industrial activities is entirely passed over.

For, leaving out only some very small classes, what are all men employed in? They are employed in the production, preparation, and distribution of commodities. And on what does efficiency in the production, preparation, and distribution of commodities depend? It depends on the use of methods fitted to the respective natures of these commodities; it depends on an adequate knowledge of their physical, chemical, or vital properties, as the case may be; that is, it depends on Science. This order of knowledge, which is in great part ignored in our school courses, is the order of knowledge underlying the right performance of all those processes by which civilized life is made possible. Undeniable as is this truth, and thrust upon us as it is at every turn, there

seems to be no living consciousness of it: its very familiarity makes it unregarded. To give due weight to our argument, we must, therefore, realize this truth to the reader by a rapid review of the facts.

For all the higher arts of construction, some acquaintance with mathematics is indispensable. The village carpenter, who, lacking rational instruction, lays out his work by empirical rules learnt in his apprenticeship, equally with the builder of a Britannia Bridge, makes hourly reference to the laws of quantitative relations. The surveyor on whose survey the land is purchased; the architect in designing a mansion to be built on it; the builder in preparing his estimates; his foreman in laying out the foundations; the masons in cutting the stones; and the various artisans who put up the fittings; are all guided by geometrical truths. Railway-making is regulated from beginning to end by mathematics: alike in the preparation of plans and sections; in staking out the line; in the mensuration of cuttings and embankments; in the designing, estimating, and building of bridges, culverts, viaducts, tunnels, stations. And similarly with the harbours, docks, piers, and various engineering and architectural works that fringe the coasts and overspread the face of the country; as well as the mines that run underneath it. Out of geometry; too, as applied to astronomy, the art of navigation has grown; and so, by this science, has been made possible that enormous foreign commerce which supports a large part of our population, and supplies us with many necessaries and most of our luxuries. And now-a-days even the farmer, for the correct laying out of his drains, has recourse to the level—that is, to geometrical principles. When from those divisions of mathematics which deal with *space*, and *number*, some small smattering of which is given in schools, we turn to that other division which deals with *force*, of which even a smattering is scarcely ever given, we meet with another large class of activities which this science presides over. On the application of rational mechanics depends the success of nearly all modern manufacture. The properties of the lever, the wheel and axle, &c., are involved in every machine—every machine is a solidified mechanical theorem; and to machinery in these times we owe nearly all production. Trace the history of the breakfast-roll. The soil out of which it came was drained with machine-made tiles; the surface was turned over by a machine; the seed was put in by a machine; the wheat was reaped, thrashed, and winnowed by machines; by machinery it was ground and bolted; and had the flour been sent to Gosport, it might have been made into biscuits by a machine. Look round the room in which you sit. If modern, probably the bricks in its walls were machine-made; by machinery the flooring was sawn and planed, the

mantel-shelf sawn and polished, the paper-hangings made and printed; the veneer on the table, the turned legs of the chairs, the carpet, the curtains, are all products of machinery. And your clothing—plain, figured, or printed—is it not wholly woven, nay perhaps even sewed, by machinery? And the volume you are reading—are not its leaves fabricated by one machine and covered with these words by another? Add to which that for the means of distribution over both land and sea, we are similarly indebted. And then let it be remembered that according as the principles of mechanics are well or ill used to these ends, comes success or failure—individual and national. The engineer who misapplies his formulæ for the strength of materials, builds a bridge that breaks down. The manufacturer whose apparatus is badly devised, cannot compete with another whose apparatus wastes less in friction and inertia. The ship-builder adhering to the old model, is outsailed by one who builds on the mechanically-justified wave-line principle. And as the ability of a nation to hold its own against other nations depends on the skilled activity of its units, we see that on such knowledge may turn the national fate. Judge then the worth of mathematics.

Pass next to physics. Joined with mathematics, it has given us the steam-engine, which does the work of millions of labourers. That section of physics which deals with the laws of heat, has taught us how to economise fuel in our various industries; how to increase the produce of our smelting furnaces by substituting the hot for the cold blast; how to ventilate our mines; how to prevent explosions by using the safety-lamp; and, through the thermometer, how to regulate innumerable processes. That division which has the phenomena of light for its subject, gives eyes to the old and the myopic; aids through the microscope in detecting diseases and adulterations; and by improved lighthouses prevents shipwrecks. Researches in electricity and magnetism have saved incalculable life and property by the compass; have subserved sundry arts by the electrotpe; and now, in the telegraph, have supplied us with the agency by which for the future all mercantile transactions will be regulated, political intercourse carried on, and perhaps national quarrels often avoided. While in the details of indoor life, from the improved kitchen-range up to the stereoscope on the drawing-room table, the applications of advanced physics underlie our comforts and gratifications.

Still more numerous are the bearings of chemistry on these activities by which men obtain the means of living. The bleacher, the dyer, the calico-printer, are severally occupied in processes that are well or ill done according as they do or do not conform to chemical laws. The economical reduction from their ores of copper, tin, zinc, lead, silver, iron, are important measures ques-

tions of chemistry. Sugar-refining, gas-making, soap-boiling, gunpowder manufacture, are operations all partly chemical; as are also those by which are produced glass and porcelain. Whether the distiller's wort stops at the alcoholic fermentation or passes into the acetous, is a chemical question on which hangs his profit or loss; and the brewer, if his business is sufficiently large, finds it pay to keep a chemist on his premises. Glance through a work on technology, and it becomes at once apparent that there is now scarcely any process in the arts or manufactures over some part of which chemistry does not preside. And then, lastly, we come to the fact that in these times, agriculture, to be profitably carried on, must have like guidance. The analysis of manures and soils; their adaptations to each other; the use of gypsum or other substance for fixing ammonia; the utilization of coprolites; the production of artificial manures—all these are boons of chemistry which it behoves the farmer to acquaint himself with. Be it in the lucifer match, or in disinfected sewage, or in photographs—in bread made without fermentation, or perfumes extracted from refuse, we may perceive that chemistry affects all our industries; and that, by consequence, knowledge of it concerns every one who is directly or indirectly connected with our industries.

And then the science of life—biology: does not this, too, bear fundamentally upon these processes of indirect self-preservation? With what we ordinarily call manufactures, it has, indeed, little connexion; but with the all-essential manufacture—that of food—it is inseparably connected. As agriculture must conform its methods to the phenomena of vegetable and animal life, it follows necessarily that the science of these phenomena is the rational basis of agriculture. Various biological truths have indeed been empirically established and acted upon by farmers while yet there has been no conception of them as science: such as that particular manures are suited to particular plants; that crops of certain kinds unfit the soil for other crops; that horses cannot do good work on poor food; that such and such diseases of cattle and sheep are caused by such and such conditions. These, and the every-day knowledge which the agriculturist gains by experience respecting the right management of plants and animals, constitute his stock of biological facts; on the largeness of which greatly depends his success. And as these biological facts, scanty, indefinite, rudimentary, though they are, aid him so essentially; judge what must be the value to him of such facts when they become positive, definite, and exhaustive. Indeed, even now we may see the benefits that rational biology is conferring on him. The truth that the production of animal heat implies waste of substance, and that, therefore, preventing loss of heat prevents the need for extra food—a purely theoretical conclusion—now

guides the fattening of cattle: it is found that by keeping cattle warm, fodder is saved. Similarly with respect to variety of food. The experiments of physiologists have shown that not only is change of diet beneficial, but that digestion is facilitated by a mixture of ingredients in each meal: both which truths are now influencing cattle-feeding. The discovery that a disorder known as "the staggers," of which many thousands of sheep have died annually, is caused by an entozoon which presses on the brain; and that if the creature is extracted through the softened place in the skull which marks its position, the sheep usually recovers; is another debt which agriculture owes to biology. When we observe the marked contrast between our farming and farming on the Continent, and remember that this contrast is mainly due to the far greater influence science has had upon farming here than there; and when we see how, daily, competition is making the adoption of scientific methods more general and necessary; we shall rightly infer that very soon, agricultural success in England will be impossible without a competent knowledge of animal and vegetable physiology.

Yet one more science have we to note as bearing directly on industrial success—the Science of Society. Without knowing it, men who daily look at the state of the money-market, glance over prices current, discuss the probable crops of corn, cotton, sugar, wool, silk, weigh the chances of war, and from all those data decide on their mercantile operations, are students of social science: empirical and blundering students it may be; but still, students who gain the prizes or are plucked of their profits, according as they do or do not reach the right conclusion. Not only the manufacturer and the merchant must guide their transactions by calculations of supply and demand, based on numerous facts and tacitly recognising sundry general principles of social action; but even the retailer must do the like: his prosperity very greatly depending upon the correctness of his judgments respecting the future wholesale prices and the future rates of consumption. Manifestly, all who take part in the entangled commercial activities of a community, are vitally interested in understanding the laws according to which those activities vary.

Thus, to all such as are occupied in the production, exchange, or distribution of commodities, acquaintance with science in some of its departments, is of fundamental importance. Whoever is immediately or remotely implicated in any form of industry (and few are not) has a direct interest in understanding something of the mathematical, physical, and chemical properties of things; perhaps, also, has a direct interest in biology; and certainly has in sociology. Whether he does or does not succeed well in that indirect self-preservation which we call getting a good livelihood,

depends in a great degree on his knowledge of one or more of these sciences: not, it may be, a rational knowledge; but still a knowledge, though empirical. For what we call learning a business, really implies learning the science involved in it; though not perhaps under the name of science. And hence a grounding in science is of great importance, both because it prepares for all this, and because rational knowledge has an immense superiority over empirical knowledge. Moreover, not only is it that scientific culture is requisite for each, that he may understand the *how* and the *why* of the things and processes with which he is concerned as maker or distributor; but it is often of much moment that he should understand the *how* and the *why* of various other things and processes. In this age of joint-stock undertakings, nearly every man above the labourer is interested as capitalist in some other occupation than his own; and, as thus interested, his profit or loss often depends on his knowledge of the sciences bearing on this other occupation. Here is a mine, in the sinking of which many shareholders ruined themselves, from not knowing that a certain fossil belonged to the old red sandstone, below which no coal is found. Not many years ago, 20,000*l.* was lost in the prosecution of a scheme for collecting the alcohol that distils from bread in baking: all which would have been saved to the subscribers, had they known that less than a hundredth part by weight of the flour is changed in fermentation. Numerous attempts have been made to construct electro-magnetic engines, in the hope of superseding steam; but had those who supplied the money, understood the general law of the correlation and equivalence of forces, they might have had better balances at their bankers. Daily are men induced to aid in carrying out inventions which a mere tyro in science could show to be futile. Scarcely a locality but has its histories of fortunes thrown away over some impossible project.

And if already the loss from want of science is so frequent and so great, still greater and more frequent will it be to those who hereafter lack science. Just as fast as productive processes become more scientific, which competition will inevitably make them do; and just as fast as joint-stock undertakings spread, which they certainly will; so fast will scientific knowledge grow necessary to every one.

That which our school-courses leave almost entirely out, we thus find to be that which most nearly concerns the business of life. All our industries would cease, were it not for that information which men begin to acquire as they best may after their education is said to be finished. And were it not for this information, that has been from age to age accumulated and spread by unofficial means, these industries would never have existed. Had

there been no teaching but such as is given in our public schools, England would now be what it was in feudal times. That increasing acquaintance with the laws of phenomena which has through successive ages enabled us to subjugate Nature to our needs, and in these days gives the common labourer comforts which a few centuries ago kings could not purchase, is scarcely in any degree owed to the appointed means of instructing our youth. The vital knowledge—that by which we have grown as a nation to what we are, and which now underlies our whole existence, is a knowledge that has got itself taught in nooks and corners; while the ordained agencies for teaching have been mambling little else but dead formulas. *

We come now to the third great division of human activities—a division for which no preparation whatever is made. If by some strange chance not a vestige of us descended to the remote future save a pile of our school-books or some college examination papers, we may imagine how puzzled an antiquary of the period would be on finding in them no indication that the learners were ever likely to be parents. “This must have been the *curriculum* for their celibates,” we may fancy him concluding. “I perceive here an elaborate preparation for many things: especially for reading the books of extinct nations and of co-existing nations (from which indeed it seems clear that these people had very little worth reading in their own tongue); but I find no reference whatever to the bringing up of children. They could not have been so absurd as to omit all training for this gravest of responsibilities. Evidently then, this was the school course of one of their monastic orders.”

Seriously, is it not an astonishing fact, that though on the treatment of offspring depend their lives or deaths, and their moral welfare or ruin; yet not one word of instruction on the treatment of offspring is ever given to those who will hereafter be parents? Is it not monstrous that the fate of a new generation should be left to the chances of unreasoning custom, impulse, fancy—joined with the suggestions of ignorant nurses and the prejudiced counsel of grandmothers? If a merchant commenced business without any knowledge of arithmetic and book-keeping, we should exclaim at his folly, and look for disastrous consequences. Or if, before studying anatomy, a man set up as surgical operator, we should wonder at his audacity and pity his patients. But that parents should begin the difficult task of rearing children without ever having given a thought to the principles—physical, moral, or intellectual—which ought to guide them, excites neither surprise at the actors nor pity for their victims.

To tens of thousands that are killed, add hundreds of thousands that survive with feeble constitutions, and millions that grow up with constitutions not so strong as they should be; and you will have some idea of the curse inflicted on their offspring by parents ignorant of the laws of life. Do but consider for a moment that the regimen to which children are subject is hourly telling upon them to their life-long injury or benefit; and that there are twenty ways of going wrong to one way of going right; and you will get some idea of the enormous mischief that is almost everywhere inflicted by the thoughtless, haphazard system in common use. Is it decided that a boy shall be clothed in some flimsy short dress, and be allowed to go playing about with limbs reddened by cold? The decision will tell on his whole future existence—either in illnesses; or in stunted growth; or in deficient energy; or in a maturity less vigorous than it ought to have been, and consequent hindrances to success and happiness. Are children doomed to a monotonous dietary, or a dietary that is deficient in nutritiveness? Their ultimate physical power and their efficiency as men and women, will inevitably be more or less diminished by it. Are they forbidden vociferous play, or (being too ill-clothed to bear exposure), are they kept in-doors in cold weather? They are certain to fall below that measure of health and strength to which they would else have attained. When sons and daughters grow up sickly and feeble, parents commonly regard the event as a misfortune—as a visitation of Providence. Thinking after the prevalent chaotic fashion, they assume that these evils come without causes; or that the causes are supernatural. Nothing of the kind. In some cases the causes are doubtless inherited; but in most cases foolish regulations are the causes. Very generally parents themselves are responsible for all this pain, this debility, this depression, this misery. They have undertaken to control the lives of their offspring from hour to hour; with cruel carelessness they have neglected to learn anything about these vital processes which they are unceasingly affecting by their commands and prohibitions; in utter ignorance of the simplest physiologic laws, they have been year by year undermining the constitutions of their children; and have so inflicted disease and premature death, not only on them but on their descendants.

Equally great are the ignorance and the consequent injury, when we turn from physical training to moral training. Consider the young mother and her nursery legislation. But a few years ago she was at school, where her memory was crammed with words, and names, and dates, and her reflective faculties scarcely in the slightest degree exercised—where not one idea was given her respecting the methods of dealing with the opening mind of

childhood; and where her discipline did not in the least fit her for thinking out methods of her own. The intervening years have been passed in practising music, in fancy-work, in novel-reading, and in party-going: no thought having yet been given to the grave responsibilities of maternity; and scarcely any of that solid intellectual culture obtained which would be some preparation for such responsibilities. And now see her with an unfolding human character committed to her charge—see her profoundly ignorant of the phenomena with which she has to deal, undertaking to do that which can be done but imperfectly even with the aid of the profoundest knowledge. She knows nothing about the nature of the emotions, their order of evolution, their functions, or where use ends and abuse begins. She is under the impression that some of the feelings are wholly bad, which is not true of any one of them; and that others are good, however far they may be carried, which is also not true of any one of them. And then, ignorant as she is of that with which she has to deal, she is equally ignorant of the effects that will be produced on it by this or that treatment. What can be more inevitable than the disastrous results we see hourly arising? Lacking knowledge of mental phenomena, with their causes and consequences, her interference is frequently more mischievous than absolute passivity would have been. This and that kind of action, which are quite normal and beneficial, she perpetually thwarts; and so diminishes the child's happiness and profit, injures its temper and her own, and produces estrangement. Deeds which she thinks it desirable to encourage, she gets performed by threats and bribes, or by exciting a desire for applause: considering little what the inward motive may be, so long as the outward conduct conforms; and thus cultivating hypocrisy, and fear, and selfishness, in place of good feeling. While insisting on truthfulness, she constantly sets an example of untruth, by threatening penalties which she does not inflict. While inculcating self-control, she hourly visits on her little ones angry scoldings for acts that do not call for them. She has not the remotest idea that in the nursery, as in the world, that alone is the truly salutary discipline which visits on all conduct, good and bad, the natural consequences—the consequences, pleasurable or painful, which in the nature of things such conduct tends to bring. Being thus without theoretic guidance, and quite incapable of guiding herself by tracing the mental processes going on in her children, her rule is impulsive, inconsistent, mischievous, often in the highest degree; and would indeed be generally ruinous, were it not that the overwhelming tendency of the growing mind to assume the moral type of the race, usually subordinates all minor influences.

And then the culture of the intellect—is not this, too, mis-

managed in a similar manner? Grant that the phenomena of intelligence conform to laws; grant that the evolution of intelligence in a child also conforms to laws; and it follows inevitably that education can be rightly guided only by a knowledge of these laws. To suppose that you can properly regulate this process of forming and accumulating ideas, without understanding the nature of the process, is absurd. How widely, then, must teaching as it is, differ from teaching as it should be; when hardly any parents, and but few teachers, know anything about psychology. As might be expected, the system is grievously at fault, alike in matter and in manner. While the right class of facts is withheld, the wrong class is forcibly administered in the wrong way and in the wrong order. With that common limited idea of education which confines it to knowledge gained from books, parents thrust primers into the hands of their little ones years too soon, to their great injury. Not recognising the truth that the function of books is supplementary—that they form an indirect means to knowledge when direct means fail—a means of seeing through other men what you cannot see for yourself; they are eager to give second-hand facts in place of first-hand facts. Not perceiving the enormous value of that spontaneous education which goes on in early years—not perceiving that a child's restless observation, instead of being ignored or checked, should be diligently administered to, and made as accurate and complete as possible; they insist on occupying its eyes and thoughts with things that are, for the time being, incomprehensible and repugnant. Possessed by a superstition which worships the symbols of knowledge instead of the knowledge itself, they do not see that only when his acquaintance with the objects and processes of the household, the streets, and the fields, is becoming tolerably exhaustive—only then should a child be introduced to the new sources of information which books supply: and this, not only because immediate cognition is of far greater value than mediate cognition; but also, because the words contained in books can be rightly interpreted into ideas, only in proportion to the antecedent experience of things. Observe next, that this formal instruction, far too soon commenced, is carried on with but little reference to the laws of mental development. Intellectual progress is of necessity from the concrete to the abstract. But regardless of this, highly abstract subjects, such as grammar, which should come quite late, are begun quite early. Political geography, dead and uninteresting to a child, and which should be an appendage of sociological studies, is commenced betimes; while physical geography, comprehensible and comparatively attractive to a child, is in great part passed over. Nearly every subject dealt with is arranged in abnormal order:

definitions, and rules, and principles being put first, instead of being disclosed, as they are in the order of nature, through the study of cases. . . And then, pervading the whole, is the vicious system of rote learning—a system of sacrificing the spirit to the letter. See the results. What with perceptions unnaturally dulled by early thwarting, and a coerced attention to books—what with the mental confusion produced by teaching subjects before they can be understood, and in each of them giving generalizations before the facts of which these are the generalizations—what with making the pupil a mere passive recipient of other's ideas, and not in the least leading him to be an active inquirer or self-instructor—and what with taxing the faculties to excess; there are very few minds that become as efficient as they might be. Examinations being once passed, books are laid aside; the greater part of what has been acquired, being unorganized, soon drops out of recollection; what remains is mostly inert—the art of applying knowledge not having been cultivated; and there is but little power either of accurate observation or independent thinking. To all which add, that while much of the information gained is of relatively small value, an immense mass of information of transcendent value is entirely passed over.

Thus we find the facts to be such as might have been inferred *à priori*. The training of children—physical, moral, and intellectual—is dreadfully defective. And in great measure it is so, because parents are devoid of that knowledge by which this training can alone be rightly guided. What is to be expected when one of the most intricate of problems is undertaken by those who have given scarcely a thought to the principles on which its solution depends? For shoe-making or house-building, for the management of a ship or a locomotive-engine, a long apprenticeship is needful. Is it, then, that the unfolding of a human being in body and mind, is so comparatively simple a process, that any one may superintend and regulate it with no preparation whatever? If not—if the process is with one exception more complex than any in Nature, and the task of administering to it one of surpassing difficulty; is it not madness to make no provision for such a task? Better sacrifice accomplishments than omit this all-essential instruction. When a father, acting on false dogmas adopted without examination, has alienated his sons, driven them into rebellion by his harsh treatment, ruined them, and made himself miserable; he might reflect that the study of Ethology would have been worth pursuing, even at the cost of knowing nothing about *Æschylus*. When a mother is mourning over a first-born that has sunk under the sequelæ of scarlet-fever—when perhaps a candid medical man has confirmed her suspicion that her child would have recovered had not its system

been enfeebled by over study—when she is prostrate under the pangs of combined grief and remorse; it is but a small consolation that she can read Dante in the original.

Thus we see that for regulating the third great division of human activities, a knowledge of the laws of life is the one thing needful. Some acquaintance with the first principles of physiology and the elementary truths of psychology is indispensable for the right bringing up of children. We doubt not that this assertion will by many be read with a smile. That parents in general should be expected to acquire a knowledge of subjects so abstruse, will seem to them an absurdity. And if we proposed that an exhaustive knowledge of these subjects should be obtained by all fathers and mothers, the absurdity would indeed be glaring enough. But we do not. General principles only, accompanied by such detailed illustrations as may be needed to make them understood, would suffice. And these might be readily taught—if not rationally, then dogmatically. Be this as it may, however, here are the indisputable facts:—that the development of children in mind and body rigorously obeys certain laws; that unless these laws are in some degree conformed to by parents, death is inevitable; that unless they are in a great degree conformed to, there must result serious physical and mental defects; and that only when they are completely conformed to, can a perfect maturity be reached. Judge, then, whether all who may one day be parents, should not strive with some anxiety to learn what these laws are.

From the parental functions let us pass now to the functions of the citizen. We have here to inquire what knowledge best fits a man for the discharge of these functions. It cannot be alleged, as in the last case, that the need for knowledge fitting him for these functions is wholly overlooked; for our school courses contain certain studies which, nominally at least, bear upon political and social duties. Of these the only one that occupies a prominent place is History.

But, as already more than once hinted, the historic information commonly given is almost valueless for purposes of guidance. Scarcely any of the facts set down in our school-histories, and very few even of those contained in the more elaborate works written for adults, give any clue to the right principles of political action. The biographies of monarchs (and our children commonly learn little else) throw scarcely any light upon the science of society. Familiarity with court intrigues, plots, usurpations, or the like, and with all the personalities accompanying them, aids very little in elucidating the principles on which national welfare depends. We read of some squabble for power,

that it led to a pitched battle; that such and such were the names of the **generals** and their leading subordinates; that they had each so many thousand infantry and cavalry, and so many cannon; that they arranged their forces in this and that order; that they manœuvred, attacked, and fell back in certain ways; that at this part of the day such disasters were sustained, and at that such advantages gained; that in one particular movement some leading officer fell, while in another a certain regiment was decimated: that after all the changing fortunes of the fight, the victory was gained by this or that army; and that so many were killed and wounded on each side, and so many captured by the conquerors. And now, out of the accumulated details which make up the narrative, say which it is that helps you in deciding on your conduct as a citizen. Supposing even that you had diligently read, not only "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," but accounts of all other battles that history mentions; how much more judicious would your vote be at the next election? "But these are facts—interesting facts," you say. Without doubt they are facts (such, at least, as are not wholly or partially fictions); and to many they may be interesting facts. But this by no means implies that they are valuable. Factitious or morbid opinion often gives seeming value to things that have scarcely any. A tulipomaniac will not part with a choice bulb for its weight in gold. To another man an ugly piece of cracked old china seems his most desirable possession. And there are those who give high prices for the relics of celebrated murderers. Will it be contended that these tastes are any measures of value in the things that gratify them? If not, then it must be admitted that the liking felt for certain classes of historical facts is no proof of their worth; and that we must test their worth as we test the worth of other facts, by asking to what uses they are applicable. Were some one to tell you that your neighbour's cat kittened yesterday, you would say the information was worthless. Fact though it might be, you would say it was an utterly useless fact—a fact that could in no way influence your actions in life—a fact that would not help you in learning how to live completely. Well, apply the same test to the great mass of historical facts, and you will get the same result. They are facts from which no conclusions can be drawn—*unorganizable* facts; and therefore facts which can be of no service in establishing principles of conduct, which is the chief use of facts. Read them, if you like, for amusement; but do not flatter yourself they are instructive.

That which constitutes History, properly so called, is in great part omitted from works on the subject. Only of late years have historians commenced giving us, in any considerable quantity, the truly valuable information. As in past ages the

king was everything and the people nothing ; so, in past histories the doings of the king fill the entire picture, to which the national life forms but an obscure background. While only now, when the welfare of nations rather than of rulers is becoming the dominant idea, are historians beginning to occupy themselves with the phenomena of social progress. That which it really concerns us to know, is the natural history of society. We want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organized itself. Among these, let us of course have an account of its government ; with as little as may be of gossip about the men who officered it, and as much as possible about the structure, principles, methods, prejudices, corruptions, &c., which it exhibited : and let this account not only include the nature and actions of the central government, but also those of local governments, down to their minutest ramifications. Let us of course also have a parallel description of the ecclesiastical government—its organization, its conduct, its power, its relations to the State : and accompanying this, the ceremonial, creed, and religious ideas—not only those nominally believed, but those really believed and acted upon. Let us at the same time be informed of the control exercised by class over class, as displayed in all social observances—in titles, salutations, and forms of address. Let us know, too, what were all the other customs which regulated the popular life out of doors and in-doors : including those which concern the relations of the sexes, and the relations of parents to children. The superstitions, also, from the more important myths down to the charms in common use, should be indicated. Next should come a delineation of the industrial system : showing to what extent the division of labour was carried ; how trades were regulated, whether by caste, guilds, or otherwise ; what was the connexion between employers and employed ; what were the agencies for distributing commodities ; what were the means of communication ; what was the circulating medium. Accompanying all which should come an account of the industrial arts technically considered : stating the processes in use, and the quality of the products. Further, the intellectual condition of the nation in its various grades should be depicted : not only with respect to the kind and amount of education, but with respect to the progress made in science, and the prevailing manner of thinking. The degree of æsthetic culture, as displayed in architecture, sculpture, painting, dress, music, poetry, and fiction, should be described. Nor should there be omitted a sketch of the daily lives of the people—their food, their homes, and their amusements. And lastly, to connect the whole, should be exhibited the morals, theoretical and practical, of all classes : as indicated in their laws, habits, proverbs, deeds. All these facts, given with as much

brevity as consists with clearness and accuracy, should be so grouped and arranged that they may be comprehended in their *ensemble*; and thus may be contemplated as mutually dependent parts of one great whole. The aim should be so to present them that we may readily trace the *consensus* subsisting among them; with the view of learning what social phenomena co-exist with what others. And then the corresponding delineations of succeeding ages should be so managed as to show us, as clearly as may be, how each belief, institution, custom, and arrangement was modified; and how the *consensus* of preceding structures and functions was developed into the *consensus* of succeeding ones. Such alone is the kind of information respecting past times, which can be of service to the citizen for the regulation of his conduct. The only history that is of practical value, is what may be called Descriptive Sociology. And the highest office which the historian can discharge, is that of so narrating the lives of nations, as to furnish materials for a Comparative Sociology; and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform.

But now mark, that even supposing an adequate stock of this truly valuable historical knowledge has been acquired, it is of comparatively little use without the key. And the key is to be found only in Science. Without an acquaintance with the general truths of biology and psychology, rational interpretation of social phenomena is impossible. Only in proportion as men obtain a certain rude, empirical knowledge of human nature, are they enabled to understand even the simplest facts of social life: as, for instance, the relation between supply and demand. And if not even the most elementary truths of sociology can be reached until some knowledge is obtained of how men generally think, feel, and act under given circumstances; then it is manifest that there can be nothing like a wide comprehension of sociology, unless through a competent knowledge of man in all his faculties, bodily and mental. Consider the matter in the abstract, and this conclusion is self-evident. Thus:—Society is made up of individuals; all that is done in society is done by the combined actions of individuals; and therefore, in individual actions only can be found the solutions of social phenomena. But the actions of individuals depend on the laws of their natures; and their actions cannot be understood until these laws are understood. These laws, however, when reduced to their simplest expression, are found to depend on the laws of body and mind in general. Hence it necessarily follows, that biology and psychology are indispensable as interpreters of sociology. Or, to state the conclusion still more simply:—All social phenomena are phenomena of life—are the most complex manifestations of life—are ulti-

mately dependent on the laws of life—and can be understood only when the laws of life are understood. • Thus, then, we see that for the regulation of this fourth division of human activities, we are, as before, dependent on Science. Of the knowledge commonly imparted in educational courses, very little is of any service in guiding a man in his conduct as a citizen. Only a small part of the history he reads is of practical value; and of this small part he is not prepared to make proper use. He commonly lacks not only the materials for, but the very conception of, descriptive sociology; and he also lacks that knowledge of the organic sciences, without which even descriptive sociology can give him but little aid.

And now we come to that remaining division of human life which includes the relaxations, pleasures, and amusements filling leisure hours. After considering what training best fits for self-preservation, for the obtainment of sustenance, for the discharge of parental duties, and for the regulation of social and political conduct; we have now to consider what training best fits for the miscellaneous ends not included in these—for the enjoyments of Nature, of Literature, and of the Fine Arts, in all their forms. Postponing them as we do to things that bear more vitally upon human welfare; and bringing everything, as we have, to the test of actual value; it will perhaps be inferred that we are inclined to slight these less essential things. No greater mistake could be made, however: We yield to none in the value we attach to æsthetic culture and its pleasures. Without painting, sculpture, music, poetry, and the emotions produced by natural beauty of every kind, life would lose half its charm. So far from thinking that the training and gratification of the tastes are unimportant, we believe the time will come when they will occupy a much larger share of human life than now. When the forces of Nature have been fully conquered to man's use—when the means of production have been brought to perfection—when labour has been economized to the highest degree—when education has been so systematized that a preparation for the more essential activities may be made with comparative rapidity—and when, consequently, there is a great increase of spare time; then will the poetry, both of Art and Nature, rightly fill a large space in the minds of all.

But it is one thing to admit that æsthetic culture is in a high degree conducive to human happiness; and another thing to admit that it is a fundamental requisite to human happiness. However important it may be, it must yield precedence to those kinds of culture which bear more directly upon the duties of life. As before hinted, literature and the fine arts are made possible by those activities which make individual and social life possible;

and manifestly, that which is made possible, must be postponed to that which makes it possible. A florist cultivates a plant for the sake of its flower; and regards the roots and leaves as of value, chiefly because they are instrumental in producing the flower. But while, as an ultimate product, the flower is the thing to which everything else is subordinate; the florist very well knows that the root and leaves are intrinsically of greater importance; because on them the evolution of the flower depends. He bestows every care in rearing a healthy plant; and knows it would be folly if, in his anxiety to obtain the flower, he were to neglect the plant. Similarly in the case before us. Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry, &c., may be truly called the efflorescence of civilized life. But even supposing them to be of such transcendent worth as to subordinate the civilized life out of which they grow (which can hardly be asserted), it will still be admitted that the production of a healthy civilized life must be the first consideration; and that the knowledge conducing to this must occupy the highest place.

And here we see most distinctly the vice of our educational system. It neglects the plant for the sake of the flower. In anxiety for elegance, it forgets substance. While it gives no knowledge conducive to self-preservation—while of knowledge that facilitates gaining livelihood it gives but the rudiments, and leaves the greater part to be picked up any how in after life—while for the discharge of parental functions it makes not the slightest provision—and while for the duties of citizenship it prepares by imparting a mass of facts, most of which are irrelevant, and the rest without a key; it is diligent in teaching everything that adds to refinement, polish, *éclat*. However fully we may admit that extensive acquaintance with modern languages is a valuable accomplishment, which, through reading, conversation, and travel, aids in giving a certain finish; it by no means follows that this result is rightly purchased at the cost of that vitally important knowledge sacrificed to it. Supposing it true that classical education conduces to elegance and correctness of style; it cannot be said that elegance and correctness of style are comparable in importance to a familiarity with the principles that should guide the rearing of children. Grant that the taste may be greatly improved by reading all the poetry written in extinct languages; yet it is not to be inferred that such improvement of taste is equivalent in value to an acquaintance with the laws of health. Accomplishments, the fine arts, *belles lettres*, and all these things which, as we say, constitute the efflorescence of civilization, should be wholly subordinate to that knowledge and discipline on which civilization rests. *As they occupy the leisure part of life, so should they occupy the leisure part of education.*

Recognising thus the true position of æsthetics, and holding that while the cultivation of them should form a part of education from its commencement, such cultivation should be subsidiary; we have now to inquire what knowledge is of most use to this end—what knowledge best fits for this remaining sphere of activity. To this question the answer is still the same as heretofore. Unexpected as the assertion may be, it is nevertheless true, that the highest Art of every kind is based upon Science—that without Science there can be neither perfect production nor full appreciation. Science, in that limited technical acceptation current in society, may not have been possessed by many artists of high repute; but acute observers as they have been, they have always possessed a stock of those empirical generalizations which constitute science in its lowest phase; and they have habitually fallen far below perfection, partly because their generalizations were comparatively few and inaccurate. That science necessarily underlies the fine arts, becomes manifest, *à priori*, when we remember that art-products are all more or less representative of objective or subjective phenomena; that they can be true only in proportion as they conform to the laws of these phenomena; and that, before they can thus conform, the artist must know what these laws are. That this *à priori* conclusion tallies with experience we shall soon see.

Youths preparing for the practice of sculpture, have to acquaint themselves with the bones and muscles of the human frame in their distribution, attachments, and movements. This is a portion of science; and it has been found needful to impart it for the prevention of those many errors which sculptors who do not possess it, commit. For the prevention of other mistakes, a knowledge of mechanical principles is requisite; and such knowledge not being usually possessed, grave mechanical mistakes are frequently made. Take an instance. For the stability of a figure it is needful that the perpendicular from the centre of gravity—"the line of direction," as it is called—should fall within the base of support; and hence it happens, that when a man assumes the attitude known as "standing at ease," in which one leg is straightened and the other relaxed, the line of direction falls within the foot of the straightened leg. But sculptors, unfamiliar with the theory of equilibrium, not uncommonly so represent this attitude, that the line of direction falls midway between the feet. Ignorance of the laws of momentum leads to analogous errors: as witness the admired Discobolus, which, as it is posed, must inevitably fall forward the moment the quoit is delivered.

In painting, the necessity for scientific knowledge, empirical if not rational, is still more conspicuous. In what consists the grotesqueness of Chinese pictures, unless in their utter disregard

of the laws of appearances—in their absurd linear perspective, and their want of aerial perspective? In what are the drawings of a child so faulty, if not in a similar absence of truth—an absence arising, in great part, from ignorance of the way in which the aspects of things vary with the conditions? Do but remember the books and lectures by which students are instructed; or consider the criticisms of Ruskin; or look at the doings of the Pre-Raphaelites; and you will see that progress in painting implies increasing knowledge of how effects in Nature are produced. The most diligent observation, if not aided by science, fails to preserve from error. Every painter will indorse the assertion that unless it is known what appearances must exist under given circumstances, they often will not be perceived; and to know what appearances must exist, is, in so far, to understand the science of appearances. From want of science Mr. J. Lewis, careful painter as he is, casts the shadow of a lattice-window in sharply-defined lines upon an opposite wall; which he would not have done, had he been familiar with the phenomena of the penumbrae. From want of science, Mr. Rosetti, catching sight of a peculiar iridescence displayed by certain hairy surfaces under particular lights (an iridescence caused by the refraction, and perhaps in part by the diffraction, of light in passing the hairs), commits the error of showing this iridescence on surfaces and in positions where it could not occur.

To say that music, too, has need of scientific aid will seem still more surprising. Yet it is demonstrable that music is but an idealization of the natural language of emotion; and that consequently, music must be good or bad according as it conforms to the laws of this natural language. The various inflections of voice which accompany feelings of different kinds and intensities, have been shown to be the germs out of which music is developed. It has been further shown, that these inflections and cadences are not accidental or arbitrary; but that they are determined by certain general principles of vital action; and that their expressiveness depends on this. Whence it follows that musical phrases, and the melodies built of them, can be effective only when they are in harmony with these general principles. It is difficult here properly to illustrate this position. But perhaps it will suffice to instance the swarms of worthless ballads that infest drawing-rooms, as compositions which science would forbid. They sin against science by setting to music ideas that are not emotional enough to prompt musical expression; and they also sin against science by using musical phrases that have no natural relation to the ideas expressed: even where these are emotional. They are bad because they are untrue. And to say they are untrue, is to say they are unscientific.

Even in poetry the same thing holds. Like music, poetry has its root in those natural modes of expression which accompany deep feeling. Its rhythm, its strong and numerous metaphors, its hyperboles, its violent inversions, are simply exaggerations of the traits of excited speech. To be good, therefore, poetry must pay respect to those laws of nervous action which excited speech obeys. In intensifying and combining the traits of excited speech, it must have due regard to proportion—must not use its appliances without restriction; but, where the ideas are least emotional, must use the forms of poetical expression sparingly; must use them more freely as the emotion rises; and must carry them all to their greatest extent, only where the emotion reaches a climax. The entire contravention of these principles results in bombast or doggerel. The insufficient respect for them is seen in didactic poetry. And it is because they are rarely fully obeyed, that we have so much poetry that is inartistic.

Not only is it that the artist, of whatever kind, cannot produce a truthful work without he understands the laws of the phenomena he represents; but it is that he must also understand how the minds of spectators or listeners will be affected by the several peculiarities of his work—a question in psychology. What impression any given art-product generates, manifestly depends upon the mental natures of those to whom it is presented; and as all mental natures have certain general principles in common, there must result certain corresponding general principles on which alone art-products can be successfully framed. These general principles cannot be fully understood and applied, unless the artist sees how they follow from the laws of mind. To ask whether the composition of a picture is good, is really to ask how the perceptions and feelings of observers will be affected by it. To ask whether a drama is well constructed, is to ask whether its situations are so arranged as duly to consult the power of attention of an audience, and duly to avoid overtaxing any one class of feelings. Equally in arranging the leading divisions of a poem or fiction, and in combining the words of a single sentence, the goodness of the effect depends upon the skill with which the mental energies and susceptibilities of the reader are economized. Every artist, in the course of his education and after-life, accumulates a stock of maxims by which his practice is regulated. Trace such maxims to their roots, and you find they inevitably lead you down to psychological principles. And only when the artist rationally understands these psychological principles, and their various corollaries, can he work in harmony with them.

We do not for a moment believe that science will make an artist. While we contend that the leading laws both of objective and subjective phenomena must be understood by him, we by no

means contend that knowledge of such laws will serve in place of natural perception. Not only the poet, but also the artist of every type, is born, not made. What we assert is, that innate faculty alone will not suffice; but must have the aid of organized knowledge. Intuition will do much, but it will not do all. Only when Genius is married to Science can the highest results be produced.

As we have above asserted, Science is necessary not only for the most successful production, but also for the full appreciation, of the fine arts. In what consists the greater ability of a man than of a child to perceive the beauties of a picture; unless it is in his more extended knowledge of those truths in nature or life which the picture renders? How happens the cultivated gentleman to enjoy a fine poem so much more than a boor does; if it is not because his wider acquaintance with objects and actions enables him to see in the poem much that the boor cannot see? And if, as is here so obvious, there must be some familiarity with the things represented, before the representation can be appreciated; then the representation can be completely appreciated, only in proportion as the things represented are completely understood. The fact is, that every additional truth which a work of art expresses, gives an additional pleasure to the perceptive mind—a pleasure that is missed by those ignorant of this truth. The more realities an artist embodies in any given amount of work, the more faculties does he appeal to; the more numerous associated ideas does he suggest; the more gratification does he afford. But to receive this gratification the spectator, listener, or reader, must know the realities which the artist has indicated; and to know these realities is to know so much science.

And now let us not overlook the further great fact, that not only does science underlie sculpture, painting, music, poetry, but that science is itself poetic. The current opinion that science and poetry are opposed is a delusion. It is doubtless true that as states of consciousness, cognition and emotion tend to exclude each other. And it is doubtless also true that an extreme activity of the reflective powers tends to deaden the feelings; while an extreme activity of the feelings tends to deaden the reflective powers: in which sense, indeed, all orders of activity are antagonistic to each other. But it is not true that the facts of science are unpoetical; or that the cultivation of science is necessarily unfriendly to the exercise of imagination or the love of the beautiful. On the contrary science opens up realms of poetry where to the unscientific all is a blank. Those engaged in scientific researches constantly show us that they realize not less vividly, but more vividly, than others, the poetry of their subjects. Whoever will dip into Hugh Miller's works on geology, or read Mr. Lewes's "*Sea-*

side Studies," will perceive that science excites poetry rather than extinguishes it. And whoever will contemplate the life of Goethe will see that the poet and the man of science can co-exist in equal activity. Is it not, indeed, an absurd and almost a sacrilegious belief that the more a man studies Nature the less he reveres it? Think you that a drop of water, which to the vulgar eye is but a drop of water, loses anything in the eye of the physicist who knows that its elements are held together by a force which, if suddenly liberated, would produce a flash of lightning? Think you that what is carelessly looked upon by the uninitiated as a mere snow-flake, does not suggest higher associations to one who has seen through a microscope the wondrously varied and elegant forms of snow-crystals? Think you that the rounded rock marked with parallel scratches calls up as much poetry in an ignorant mind as in the mind of a geologist, who knows that over this rock a glacier slid a million years ago? The truth is, that those who have never entered upon scientific pursuits know not a tithe of the poetry by which they are surrounded. Whoever has not in youth collected plants and insects, knows not half the halo of interest which lanes and hedge-rows can assume. Whoever has not sought for fossils, has little idea of the poetical associations that surround the places where imbedded treasures were found. Whoever at the sea-side has not had a microscope and aquarium, has yet to learn what the highest pleasures of the sea-side are. Sad, indeed, is it to see how men occupy themselves with trivialities, and are indifferent to the grandest phenomena—care not to understand the architecture of the Heavens, but are deeply interested in some contemptible controversy about the intrigues of Mary (Queen of Scots) !—are learnedly critical over a Greek ode, and pass by without a glance that grand epic written by the finger of God upon the strata of the Earth !

We find, then, that even for this remaining division of human activities, scientific culture is the proper preparation. We find that æsthetics in general are necessarily based upon scientific principles ; and can be pursued with complete success only through an acquaintance with these principles. We find that for the criticism and due appreciation of works of art, a knowledge of the constitution of things, or in other words, a knowledge of science, is requisite. And we not only find that science is the handmaid to all forms of art and poetry, but that, rightly regarded, science is itself poetic.

Thus far our question has been, the worth of knowledge of this or that kind for purposes of guidance. We have now to judge the relative values of different kinds of knowledge for purposes of discipline. This division of our subject we are obliged to treat with

comparative brevity; and happily, no very lengthened treatment of it is needed. Having found what is best for the one end, we have by implication found what is best for the other. We may be quite sure that the acquirement of those classes of facts which are most useful for regulating conduct, involves a mental exercise best fitted for strengthening the faculties. It would be utterly contrary to the beautiful economy of Nature, if one kind of culture were needed for the gaining of information and another kind were needed as a mental gymnastic. Everywhere throughout creation we find faculties developed through the performance of those functions which it is their office to perform; not through the performance of artificial exercises devised to fit them for these functions. The Red Indian acquires the swiftness and agility which make him a successful hunter, by the actual pursuit of animals; and by the miscellaneous activities of his life, he gains a better balance of physical powers than gymnastics ever give. That skill in tracking enemies and prey which he has reached by long practice, implies a subtlety of perception far exceeding anything produced by artificial training. And similarly throughout. From the Bushman, whose eye, which being habitually employed in identifying distant objects that are to be pursued or fled from, has acquired a quite telescopic range, to the accountant whose daily practice enables him to add up several columns of figures simultaneously, we find that the highest power of a faculty results from the discharge of those duties which the conditions of life require it to discharge. And we may be certain, *à priori*, that the same law holds throughout education. The education of most value for guidance, must at the same time be the education of most value for discipline. Let us consider the evidence.

One advantage claimed for that devotion to language-learning which forms so prominent a feature in the ordinary *curriculum*, is, that the memory is thereby strengthened. And it is apparently assumed that this is an advantage peculiar to the study of words. But the truth is, that the sciences afford far wider fields for the exercise of memory. It is no slight task to remember all the facts ascertained respecting our solar system; much more to remember all that is known concerning the structure of our galaxy. The new compounds which chemistry daily accumulates, are so numerous that few, save professors, know the names of them all; and to recollect the atomic constitutions and affinities of all these compounds, is scarcely possible without making chemistry the occupation of life. In the enormous mass of phenomena presented by the Earth's crust, and in the still more enormous mass of phenomena presented by the fossils it contains, there is matter which it takes the geological student years of application to master. In each leading division of physics—sound, heat, light,

electricity—the facts are numerous enough to alarm any one proposing to learn them all. And when we pass to the organic sciences, the effort of memory required becomes still greater. In human anatomy alone, the quantity of detail is so great, that the young surgeon has commonly to get it, up half-a-dozen times before he can permanently retain it. The number of species of plants which botanists distinguish, amounts to some 320,000; while the varied forms of animal life with which the zoologist deals, are estimated at some two millions. So vast is the accumulation of facts which men of science have before them, that only by dividing and subdividing their labours can they deal with it. To a complete knowledge of his own division, each adds but a general knowledge of the rest. Surely, then, science, cultivated even to a very moderate extent, affords adequate exercise for memory. To say the very least, it involves quite as good a training for this faculty as language does.

But now mark that while for the training of mere memory, science is as good as, if not better than, language; it has an immense superiority in the kind of memory it cultivates. In the acquirement of a language, the connexions of ideas to be established in the mind correspond to facts that are in great measure accidental; whereas, in the acquirement of science, the connexions of ideas to be established in the mind correspond to facts that are mostly necessary. It is true that the relations of words to their meaning is in one sense natural, and that the genesis of these relations may be traced back a certain distance; though very rarely to the beginning; (to which let us add the remark that the laws of this genesis form a branch of mental science—the science of philology). But since it will not be contended that in the acquisition of languages, as ordinarily carried on, these natural relations between words and their meanings are habitually traced, and the laws regulating them explained; it must be admitted that they are commonly learned as fortuitous relations. On the other hand, the relations which science presents are causal relations; and, when properly taught, are understood as such. Instead of being practically accidental, they are necessary; and as such, give exercise to the reasoning faculties. While language familiarizes with non-rational relations, science familiarizes with rational relations. While the one exercises memory only, the other exercises both memory and understanding.

Observe next that a great superiority of science over language as a means of discipline, is, that it cultivates the judgment. As, in a lecture on mental education delivered at the Royal Institution, Professor Faraday well remarks the most common intellectual fault is deficiency of judgment. He contends that “society, speaking generally, is not only ignorant as respects

education of the judgment, but is also ignorant of its ignorance." And the cause to which he ascribes this state is want of scientific culture. The truth of his conclusion is obvious. "Correct judgment with regard to all surrounding things, events, and consequences, becomes possible only through knowledge of the way in which surrounding phenomena depend on each other. No extent of acquaintance with the meanings of words, can give the power of forming correct inferences respecting causes and effects. The constant habit of drawing conclusions from data, and then of verifying those conclusions by observation and experiment, can alone give the power of judging correctly. And that it necessitates this habit is one of the immense advantages of science.

Not only, however, for intellectual discipline is science the best; but also for *moral* discipline. The learning of languages tends, if anything, farther to increase the already undue respect for authority. Such and such are the meanings of these words, says the teacher or the dictionary. So and so is the rule in this case, says the grammar. By the pupil these dicta are received as unquestionable. His constant attitude of mind is that of submission to dogmatic teaching. And a necessary result is a tendency to accept without inquiry whatever is established. Quite opposite is the attitude of mind generated by the cultivation of science. By science, constant appeal is made to individual reason. Its truths are not accepted upon authority alone; but all are at liberty to test them—nay, in many cases, the pupil is required to think out his own conclusions. Every step in a scientific investigation is submitted to his judgment. He is not asked to admit it without seeing it to be true. And the trust in his own powers thus produced, is further increased by the constancy with which Nature justifies his conclusions when they are correctly drawn. From all which there flows that independence which is a most valuable element in character. Nor is this the only moral benefit bequeathed by scientific culture. When carried on, as it should always be, as much as possible under the form of independent research, it exercises perseverance and sincerity. As says Professor Tyndall of inductive inquiry, "it requires patient industry, and an humble and conscientious acceptance of what Nature reveals. The first condition of success is an honest receptivity and a willingness to abandon all preconceived notions, however cherished, if they be found to contradict the truth. Believe me, a self-renunciation which has something noble in it, and of which the world never hears, is often enacted in the private experience of the true votary of science."

Lastly we have to assert—and the assertion will, we doubt not,

cause extreme surprise—that the discipline of science is superior to that of our ordinary education, because, of the *religious* culture that it gives. Of course we do not here use the words scientific and religious in their ordinary limited acceptations; but in their widest and highest acceptations. Doubtless, to the superstitions that pass under the name of religion, science is antagonistic; but not to the essential religion which these superstitions merely hide. Doubtless, too, in much of the science that is current, there is a pervading spirit of irreligion; but not in that true science which has passed beyond the superficial into the profound.

“True science and true religion,” says Professor Huxley at the close of a recent course of lectures, “are twin-sisters, and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death of both. Science prospers exactly in proportion as it is religious; and religion flourishes in exact proportion to the scientific depth and firmness of its basis. The great deeds of philosophers have been less the fruit of their intellect than of the direction of that intellect by an eminently religious tone of mind. Truth has yielded herself rather to their patience, their love, their single-heartedness, and their self-denial, than to their logical acumen.”

So far from science being irreligious, as many think, it is the neglect of science that is irreligious—it is the refusal to study the surrounding creation that is irreligious. Take a humble simile. Suppose a writer were daily saluted with praises couched in superlative language. Suppose the wisdom, the grandeur, the beauty of his works, were the constant topics of the eulogies addressed to him. Suppose those who unceasingly uttered these eulogies on his works were content with looking at the outsides of them; and had never opened them, much less tried to understand them. What value should we put upon their praises? What should we think of their sincerity? Yet, comparing small things to great, such is the conduct of mankind in general, in reference to the Universe and its Cause. Nay, it is worse. Not only do they pass by without study, these things which they daily proclaim to be so wonderful; but very frequently they condemn as mere triflers those who give time to the observation of Nature—they actually scorn those who show any active interest in these marvels. We repeat, ~~then~~, that not science, but the neglect of science, is irreligious. Devotion to science, is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied; and by implication in their Cause. It is not a mere lip-homage, but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect, but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought, and labour.

Nor is it thus only that true science is essentially religious. It is religious, too, inasmuch as it generates a profound respect

for, and an implicit faith in, those uniform laws which underlie all things. By accumulated experiences the man of science acquires a thorough belief in the unchanging relations of phenomena—in the invariable connexion of cause and consequence—in the necessity of good or evil results. Instead of the rewards and punishments of traditional belief, which men vaguely hope they may gain, or escape, spite of their disobedience; he finds that there are rewards and punishments in the ordained constitution of things, and that the evil results of disobedience are inevitable. He sees that the laws to which we must submit are not only inexorable but beneficent. He sees that in virtue of these laws, the process of things is ever towards a greater perfection and a higher happiness. Hence he is led constantly to insist on these laws, and is indignant when men disregard them. And thus does he, by asserting the eternal principles of things, and the necessity of conforming to them, prove himself intrinsically religious.

To all which add the further religious aspect of science, that it alone can give us true conceptions of ourselves and our relation to the mysteries of existence. At the same time that it shows us all which can be known, it shows us the limits beyond which we can know nothing. Not by dogmatic assertion does it teach the impossibility of comprehending the ultimate cause of things; but it leads us clearly to recognise this impossibility by bringing us in every direction to boundaries we cannot cross. It realizes to us in a way which nothing else can, the littleness of human intelligence in the face of that which transcends human intelligence. While towards the traditions and authorities of men its attitude may be proud, before the impenetrable mystery of things its attitude is humble—a true pride and a true humility. Only the sincere man of science (and by this title we do not mean the mere calculator of distances, or analyser of compounds, or labeller of species; but him who through lower truths seeks higher, and eventually the highest)—only the genuine man of science, we say, can truly know how utterly beyond, not only human knowledge, but human conception, is the Universal Power of which Nature, and Life, and Thought are manifestations.

We conclude, then, that for discipline, as well as for guidance, science is of chiefest value. In all its effects, learning the meanings of things, is better than learning the meanings of words. Whether for intellectual, moral, or religious training, the study of surrounding phenomena is immensely superior to the study of grammars and lexicons.

Thus to the question with which we set out—What knowledge is of most worth?—the uniform reply is—Science. This is the

verdict on all the counts. For direct self-preservation, or the maintenance of life and health, the all-important knowledge is—Science. For that indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of greatest value is—Science. For the due discharge of parental functions, the proper guidance is to be found only in—Science. For that interpretation of national life, past and present, without which the citizen cannot rightly regulate his conduct, the indispensable key is—Science. Alike for the most perfect production and highest enjoyment of art in all its forms, the needful preparation is still—Science. And for purposes of discipline—intellectual, moral, religious—the most efficient study is, once more—Science. The question which at first seemed so perplexed, has become, in the course of our inquiry, comparatively simple. We have not to estimate the degrees of importance of different orders of human activity, and different studies as severally fitting us for them; since we find that the study of Science, in its most comprehensive meaning, is the best preparation for all these orders of activity. We have not to decide between the claims of knowledge of great though conventional value, and knowledge of less though intrinsic value; seeing that the knowledge which we find to be of most value in all other respects, is intrinsically most valuable: its worth is not dependent upon opinion, but is as fixed as is the relation of man to the surrounding world. Necessary and eternal as are its truths, all Science concerns all mankind for all time. Equally at present, and in the remotest future, must it be of incalculable importance for the regulation of their conduct, that men should understand the science of life, physical, mental, and social; and that they should understand all other science as a key to the science of life.

And yet the knowledge which is of such transcendent value is that which, in our age of boasted education, receives the least attention. While this which we call civilization could never have arisen had it not been for science; science forms scarcely an appreciable element in what men consider civilized training. Though to the progress of science we owe it, that millions find support where once there was food only for thousands; yet of these millions but a few thousands pay any respect to that which has made their existence possible. Though this increasing knowledge of the properties and relations of things has not only enabled wandering tribes to grow into populous nations, but has given to the countless members of those populous nations comforts and pleasures which their few naked ancestors never even conceived, or could have believed; yet is this kind of knowledge only now receiving a grudging recognition in our highest educational institutions. To the slowly growing acquaintance with the uniform co-existences and sequences of phenomena—to the establishment of invariable

laws, we owe our emancipation from the grossest superstitions. But for science we should be still worshipping fetishes; or, with hecatombs of victims, propitiating diabolical deities. And yet this science, which, in place of the most degrading conceptions of things, has given us some insight into the grandeurs of creation, is written against in our theologies and frowned upon from our pulpits.

Paraphrasing an Eastern fable, we may say that in the family of knowledges, Science is the household drudge, who, in obscurity, hides unrecognised perfections. To her has been committed all the work; by her skill, intelligence, and devotion, have all the conveniences and gratifications been obtained; and while ceaselessly occupied in ministering to the rest, she has been kept in the background, that her haughty sisters might flaunt their fripperies in the eyes of the world. The parallel holds yet further. For we are fast coming to the *dénouement*, when the positions will be changed; and while these haughty sisters sink into merited neglect, Science, proclaimed as highest alike in worth and beauty, will reign supreme.

ART. II.—JOWETT AND THE BROAD CHURCH.

The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans: with Critical Notes and Dissertations. By Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford.* In two volumes. London. 1855.

IT is very convenient for statesmen who want to carry some measure, and for reasoners who dislike complications and puzzles, when the characters of men distribute themselves naturally into a very few types. To classify them, to predict or recount their doings, to marshal the forces of a party, to pass sentence on sects, is then a comparatively easy task. Such is the state of ruder and emphatically of barbarous times; such, in comparison to the present, was the state of the Anglican Church in the last century.

In the old Tory days, although then as at every time individual clergymen existed whose character was too rich and varied to be sketched by one rude outline, yet the great majority of ecclesiastics were easily to be recognised as of the High or Low

* Since Regius Professor of Greek.

Church; and the High might be described as the worldly and the learned, except that the same man was often both. Without any sensible or censurable untruth, a sufficiently unfavourable picture might be drawn of all the types. That small portion of the High Church which was certainly learned was eminently wanting in independent active thought. It arranged, digested, and reproduced the opinions, sentences, arguments of other men. It did not inquire what was true, but what had been decided. It was to theology what a school of lawyers is to past legislation. It set forth the four first Councils as authoritative, the later Councils as respectable, except where they happened to be heretics. It often talked of Apostolic Succession, but without dreaming to push to its legitimate results the logic which lies at the bottom of that theory. It neither had nor desired any scientific principles. It revered all the learned men of the Anglican Church, and was not wholly unable to honour learning even in unepiscopal Protestants. These respectable and probably amiable persons were the chief ornaments of that old High Church, the majority of whom measured ecclesiastical good by the wealth of revenues and worldly dignities, and saw with quiescent apathy the grossest vices of the people around, if indeed they did not share them. Nor only so; but when a new body arose, vehemently moved by the moral scandals of the day and earnest for practical purity, it met with rude and insolent opposition from the whole High Church, every branch of which had been alike inactive, and felt itself alike reprov'd by the new-born zeal of those whom they stigmatized as "Methodists." Wesley was a true Churchman by education, by desire, by temperament, by his very love of organization, as well as by his orthodox creed and his moderated approval of Episcopacy, yet he was driven out of the Church by those who would not allow its doctrines and its morality to be enforced, except in places, times, and manners where the profligate would not be reached by them. Wesley and his associates, the true founders of the Evangelical party within the Church which he unwillingly abandoned, were in that day a great agency of moral good; and during the infancy of the party its weaknesses were less hurtful, by reason of the especial work which was then to be performed, and the character of the opponents.

The weakness of the Evangelicals always lay in their deficiency of learning, and consequent narrowness of view; and this deficiency itself rises naturally out of their religious theory. A young man of earnest character and deep religious sentiment becomes conscious of a strong internal struggle between opposite principles. The good principle prevails. In an auspicious hour he solemnly devotes himself, body and mind and fortunes, to the service of God; that is, to the following of everything pure and

right, and good, by a strength not his own, to his life's end; and presently a flood of joy pours in upon him, and an accession of moral strength, such that he appears to himself and to others to be a new creature. Who can reasonably doubt that this change is, alike to the individual and to his immediate circle, a herald of good? But to the spiritual transformation a special religious theory is superadded, under the guidance of which the devotee assumes a solemn vow henceforth "to *know nothing* save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified;" to count all other knowledge as dross; to despise the philosophies of men, as misleading the mind from the simplicity of Christ; in short, virtually to mistake the first twilight of religious knowledge for full and final day, and refuse to unlearn the errors, lest he lose the humility of childhood. While those whom he had to oppose were practically without religious sentiment, were immersed in worldly ambitions and supporters of public immoralities, the Evangelical of those days committed no very mischievous error in esteeming those who were enemies of his doctrines as enemies of the divine purposes; and as long as persecution purified his sect from self-seekers, he was nearly right in treating that sect as pre-eminently "the people of God." Neither much learning nor delicate discrimination of character is needed in those who have to preach against gross and indefensible immoralities. Strength, earnestness, pertinacity, self-sacrifice, physical courage, are the great requirements; and though a man pass a long life in such action without gaining a single new idea, it is by no means certain that he is the less efficient preacher on that account. The dogged perseverance needed for this work is perhaps not too dearly bought by even a sensible dash of fanaticism—as with English Methodists, so with American Abolitionists. But in proportion as the Methodist and Evangelical movement effected the great ends at which it first aimed, its own internal defects became of greater influence. When Wesley himself was withdrawn from his labours in ripe old age, the visible public fruit of these labours was only begun to be gathered. In the forty years which followed, though interrupted by the longest and most wasteful of all our wasteful wars, a very steady overthrow of many great public immoralities took place; the last of which was the system of West Indian slavery. If the old energy of the Evangelical enthusiasm had thereupon concentrated itself on other domestic iniquities, such as the trade in female unchastity and in drunkenness, we might not have to date the public decline of the sect from the era of 1833. But before this they had already become "respectable," and free from all real persecution. They had married into wealthy families, and sympathized with vested interests. Their domestic action was no longer that of the prophet preaching in God's name against

palpable iniquity, but that of the patronizing philanthropist anxious to do so much good to the poor as can be done without too great offence to the wealthy and comfortable. The trumpet voice of the prophet has been reserved by them for foreign missions and for the foreign opium trade; or, at home, for invectives against Romanism and Puseyism.

Meanwhile, the High Church has undergone vast internal changes, which began not at all from a religious, but from a purely scientific impulse. First in Cambridge, then in Oxford, was a spontaneous reform of the whole academic studies and examinations. Cambridge also took the lead in overthrowing impediments to the election of the ablest scholars to all the fellowships of the colleges. In the same direction Oxford moved, far more timidly as regards interference with the letter of statutes, but so energetically in separate colleges that this university has at last seemed to outstrip her sister in earnest action. In the course of half a century the whole mass of the clergy, educated in the re-awakening universities, has received a new stamp; and among them we can no longer trace the lineaments of those who supported the old grossnesses of the fairs and races, prize-fights and tavern-gatherings, the debauches following the hunting-field, or the saturnalia of an election.

In the very year 1833, while Evangelicalism was ending its public mission, the first "Tracts for the Times" were published, which heralded the birth of Puseyism—a passing storm, which has cleared and renewed the air. The warm welcome and temporary strength of this essentially baseless school is to be accounted for (among other reasons) by the fact that the High Church was awakening to a painful sense that *it had no scientific theology*. It still had a few representatives of the old *learning*; but, as we have said, these learned men aimed at no consistent and boldly-pushed logic, much less at any deeply-founded first principles. Dr. Lloyd, Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford, who shortly afterwards was made bishop also, was the first in recent days who tried to found a school of learned theology in that university; and under him both Pusey and J. H. Newman, then very young men, heard (perhaps for the first time) systematic efforts at really scientific exposition and thorough discussion, on at least a historical, if not also on a philosophic basis. But Bishop Lloyd died prematurely; and when, soon after, his young friends commenced a new movement, widely different from his, it would seem that Pusey (then Hebrew Professor and an Arabic scholar) chiefly contributed learning, while Newman gave subtle thought and all-grasping fusing logic. The Evangelicals had never affected to be learned, much less to be philosophical and profound; yet if such accomplishments are to be despised, what is all the academical

apparatus to the Church? Minds which had risen above the low, dull atmosphere in which the old Church vegetated, could not help aspiring to unite science and religion; perhaps even the more when they consciously understood little the foundations of such religion as they had. Dislike of Evangelical pretensions was superadded to contempt of Evangelical want of learning; hence nearly the whole residue of the Church and University, older and younger (that is, nearly all that was not merely Evangelical), seemed for a little while to be joined in the Puseyite movement. The new Regius Professor of Theology, Dr. Burton, and the accomplished Dr. Hampden, since Bishop of Hereford, were at first supposed to belong to it; as also was the Rev. F. Maurice, though his very first published book is said to have gravely offended Pusey. The explosion at Oxford against Hampden, when he was appointed successor to Burton (who also proved short-lived), first revealed to the non-academical public that the High Church itself contained strongly-marked diversities, since recognised as the Broad Church and the Hard Church, both opposed to Puseyism.

The *Hard Church* is new in name only. The epithet is not complimentary, and does not need illustration by the mention of personalities. It applies to one who, though fancying himself a theologian, is eminently deficient in that first element of religion which philosophers call "a sense of the Infinite;" who actively plies a very confident logic concerning the superficial parts and propositions of religion, while wholly insensible of its inward depth and difficulty; and imagines that he can frame an indictment, not only against the human kind, but against thousands of the best men of his own age, and convict them at the bar of God and of reason. An utter want of humility conspires in such men with defect of veneration and absence of tenderness.

The Broad Church includes, as its very name may suggest, types of character largely distinct, the lowest of which was obvious enough in a past day. We mean that of the clergyman, in whom other accomplishments not properly theological, so predominate, that his clerical character seems but an accident, and his large toleration of dissentients savours more of the strong-minded man of the world than of the tender-hearted spiritualist. But what is practically new in the Broad Church is the union of learning, science, comprehensive charity, devotional character, and sufficient orthodoxy to remain in the Anglican ministry. In a stage of knowledge which cannot recur, men like Cudworth or Hooker might combine these qualities; but since the development of modern physics, nothing of the sort seemed possible; and probably the English public was incredulous of it, until the revelation of Dr. Arnold's character took them by surprise. Arnold had great simplicity and force of moral sense. Intellectually, he

was first-rate in nothing; but he had what Bacon defines as great "capacity"—the quality most needed by a statesman. He had enough learning to estimate learning and borrow it; sufficient idea of the need of a theological philosophy to be a respectful listener to all philosophies, while modestly attaching himself to one. To a superficial observer he might seem not to be a devotedly religious man, because he was an ardent politician: but his religion embraced politics as a part of duty, and aspired to Christianize all worldly action. To compare him, as to the depth of his devotional principles, with this or that Evangelical, is no problem for us. Suffice it here to say, that he clearly had enough of inward religion to understand and appreciate that of other men of every school, and that while he lived he was vilified by those Evangelical organs which would now gladly claim him as one of their worthies.

Another good man, lately deceased, may be here named for honour as still more characteristic of the Broad Church than Arnold, because he was neither schoolmaster nor politician, but long devoted his great accomplishments and peculiar genius exclusively to theological action;—we mean Archdeacon Julius Hare. His defects as an observer of life were more than compensated by a certain passionate inwardness. In doctrinal theory he perhaps approached the Evangelicals more nearly than did Arnold, of which indeed his fervent admiration of Luther may seem to be an indication. But his theoretical and practical estimate of learning, his efforts for scientific treatment, his Platonic and historical erudition, as well as his wide sympathies for good men of every creed, separate him from the Evangelical school, and award him to the Broad Church. Such a man was a singular phenomenon forty and thirty years ago. We dare not sit as judges to say who or how many remain with us as his equals; but without presumption we may express the belief that clergymen now abound who are popularly referred to the High Church, or perhaps even to the Puseyites, but really are of too noble and rich a character for any of the current appellations; who esteem and pursue learning and science as essential to religion, who disdain and grieve over the narrowness of the Evangelicals and their devotion to systems of words, who nevertheless have as much fervour of religion as would set their credit high for sanctity if they would adopt the Evangelical exclusiveness.

The vast improvement which the High Church (in laity as well as clergy) has undergone since the days of Wesley and Romaine, of itself makes the position of the old Low Church absurd and mischievous, and marks it to belong to a bygone system as much as that of Romanism. The perpetual assumption that they were peculiarly and solely "the people of God,"

the true Israel, the regenerate, and that all who did not hold their formulas and enter their freemasonry were "the world that lieth in wickedness," has tainted them with unreality, with foppery, and with absurdity. To pay this homage to their superiority is the passport to their sympathies, to refuse it is to ensure that one shall be looked at as but "almost a Christian." We do not mean wholly to deny that the general increase of research and knowledge has reached this part of the clergy; nevertheless, that other primitive error of their founders—contempt of learning and of all profound inquiry—has entailed on the school collectively (alike in Church and in dissent) a peculiar weakness of mind, which is felt through every page of their writing. They never even attempt to sound a moral question to the bottom. They reason incessantly, yet they would not have other men reason, and claim a right to despise both the argumentative and the perceptive powers of others. They profess that they possess the Spirit of God, but are amazed and affronted if others make the same profession. They imagine that the tones of prophecy which the first Evangelicals adopted against drunkenness and other sensualities, against low worldliness, against grasping covetousness, against slave-dealing or election bribery, can have weight in *their* mouths against men who are ostensibly their equals in noble aims and pure morals, and possibly their superiors in knowledge, talents, and age. So long as they imbibe with their first strong religious emotions the dogma that thenceforward they are to confine close thought and analysis to the process of *justifying* the Scripture and *harmonizing* it with itself, they must continue, we suppose, to degenerate.

A few men may indeed be named who, on the whole, would popularly be referred to the Evangelicals, and nevertheless show more zeal for the public virtue than for notions. To these, we believe, the Bishop of London belongs. We should be sorry to think that so numerous a body is surrendered to untractable fanaticism, yet we cannot mistake in judging that it is the "Broad Church" to which alone a thoughtful and reasonable Anglican can look with pride. Many of this class have achieved the task of being able to understand their opponents, which is at once the token and cause of superiority. So long as two parties are deaf to one another or incapable of sympathy, each loses a precious advantage. The Broad Church now not only has its ear open to the voice of antiquity, as the Puseyites and their predecessors the learned clergy, but is bold enough to read German theology, German philosophy, and, boldest of all, the writings of English heresy. Their principal men are aware that they speak and write, not to an artificial audience, but to the nation, and that as the nation hears every side of a question, so must its

instructors, if they are to be respected by the classes which have the highest accomplishment. It is in this openness to listen with candour, far more than by any definite doctrine, that the Broad Church is contrasted at once to the Hard Church and to the Evangelicals, and claims, as of course, such men as Arnold, Hampden, and Julius Hare. The contrast is seen at its maximum in actual controversy. When we consider the evil eminence which divines have attained for disingenuousness, we become aware how high a virtue the Broad Church has here achieved, under circumstances peculiarly trying. It is not by accident that in the popular writings of Romanist divines, equally as in those of the Evangelicals, misrepresentation assumes proportions so startling and odious. In each case it results from the limited reading of those who are to be taught; in each the bigotry which has been instilled into the pupils reacts upon the teachers. The Evangelical preacher or writer is well aware that his hearers and readers will not examine for themselves the heretical work which he is criticising and condemning: there is no more danger of this than in the case of the Romanist. He is then safe in almost any amount of misrepresentation. It may be complained of, it may be exposed, but it will not be believed by the docile flock, who will always be rather sure that a heretic is absurd and profane than that its venerated teacher is calumnious. On the other hand, if the Evangelical critic desires to be candid, or even to be drily just, he finds it hard to act this part without danger to his own reputation. All kind or admiring words from him must be neutralized by censure or contempt, else he will seem to be recommending parley with the foe. What is worse, when he quotes in order to seem just, it is *offensive* in him to quote so fairly and fully as to allow the adversary to speak for himself. In fact, to do this, is to put "persuasive error" before those who could not, without presumption, encounter the danger and defilement of listening. So urgent is this difficulty, that it seems to overpower alike all natures in Evangelical criticism; and to make the amiable and the bitter, the candid and the perverse, alike essentially unfair: indeed, if all of that school needed to engage in controversy, it would end in the result, that none but the narrow-minded could possibly stay in it. Evidently its normal mode of dealing with an opponent is to select out of his opinions and expressions whatever are conceived to be most revolting to its readers or hearers;—carefully to omit everything likely to win their sympathies and their approbation, but present the offensive parts without the reasons for them, and often without any softening from their context; then, by so moralizing on them as to make their author despicable or odious, to confirm the audience in the resolution never to brook either his writings or

his presence. We from without, keeping as clear as we please from this atmosphere of falsehood, perhaps ill understand the distress occasioned by it to those who move within it, while discerning its iniquity. Expressions of intense disgust occasionally heard show the indignation and shame for their Church and their order excited in the nobler minds of the clergy by the arts of Evangelical controversy.

How vast and wonderful is the change when we turn to such a man as Professor Jowett, whom, without disrespect to others, we suppose we may entitle the foremost mind in the Anglican Church. In subtlety and breadth conjoined, possibly Mr. Maurice may be his equal, but who can for a moment claim for him equal clearness and masculine vigour? Who ever yet has complained that he cannot understand Jowett? Even in dealing with the topics which inferior minds overcloud by foreign scholasticism, he writes with English idiomatic simplicity, as a man ought to do who thoroughly understands himself, and is not hiding his meaning. Nor is his clearness attained by keeping on the surface of his subject. He probes it to the bottom, generally as frankly and fearlessly as a man of science ought, and with the delicate feeling of one to whom profound religious experience is not strange. We could mention more than one honourable name among the English clergy who have learned from physical science a candour and breadth hitherto rare with professed divines; but the training of mere physics, like that of the political historian, is apt to engender very superficial views of a great religious movement and of its leading minds. What is stranger still (or sadder still, the pseudo-orthodox may say), Jowett is not overwhelmed by the greatness of the apostle whose doctrine and character he expounds. Julius Hare was not able to admire Luther without becoming partially blind to his weak side; to such an extent, as to run to the verge of apparent insincerity in disguising Luther's fatalistic doctrine when it was reproved by the late Sir W. Hamilton: but Jowett is quite open-eyed to every error into which Paul fell. Without denying or softening them, he shows how they rose out of the position and the age, and were inseparable from the rest of the character. Neander could scarcely follow the religious experience of Paul with greater subtlety: Strauss would not have dissected it more impartially. On the whole, we are disposed to say, that for the first time has the combined learning, fairness, religious sentiment, and profound thought of modern Germany been exhibited in an Anglican divine, and that with a directness and simplicity more English than German.

As regards his adversaries within his own Church, Jowett has an advantage, not only in the general progress of the last thirty

years, but also in the fact that they have blunted their horns in attacks on Hampden, Arnold, and even Pusey. The ground of offence which he has given seems to us graver than that of Hampden, but he has been assailed with only a small fraction of the bitterness and fanaticism by which for a time Hampden was overwhelmed. Not but that by his own conduct Jowett has in part earned this difference. For it cannot be denied that Hampden bent to the storm, so changing his tone as to give countenance to the imputation of dishonesty; and altogether he appeared to have too much dejection and too much personal feeling for a man who sat in the chief theological chair, and whose conscience was on his own side. As Professor of Greek, not of Theology, he has not the same leading position as Hampden had; but neither does he give so much permanent irritation to adversaries.* His book is much more than a challenge; much more than a repository of learning; it is a mine of thought. To it of necessity young academicians will have recourse to study the problem of uniting free masculine knowledge with the Christian religion, and, if possible, with Anglican subscriptions. Whether Mr. Jowett's disciples will be able to solve that problem in the same direction as he, is a question for the future.

The work consists of two volumes, of which the first deals with the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and that to the Galatians; the second with the Epistle to the Romans. The Greek text is given according to the readings of Lachmann, and is translated anew in parallel pages. We observe that he does not shrink from following Lachmann in so punctuating Rom. ix. 5, as to deprive Trinitarians of a text by which they are accustomed to prove against "Socinians" that Christ is "God over all, blessed for ever." To the text and translation are appended ample footnotes in English. But the most characteristic part of the book is in the Introductions and numerous Essays which it contains; and the mere titles of these may interest our readers.

I. Genuineness of the First Epistle (to the Thessalonians).
Thessalonica.

Date and Place of Writing.

Evils in the Church of the Apostolic Age.

On the belief in the Coming of Christ in the Apostolic Age.

On Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.

II. Genuineness of the Second Epistle (to the Thessalonians).
Time and Place of the Second Epistle.

On the Man of Sin.

* We are unwilling to believe that the effort is made to cripple his pecuniary resources: a mean form of combat.

- III. Galatin. Genuineness, &c. &c.
On the Conversion of St. Paul.
Fragment on the Character of St. Paul.
St. Paul on the Twelve.
Paley on the Galatians.
On the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New.
St. Paul and Philo.
- IV. Time and Place (of the Epistle to the Romans).
On the Connexion of Immorality and Idolatry.
On the State of the Heathen World.
On the Abstract Ideas of the New Testament.
On the Modes of Time and Place in Scripture.
The Old Testament.
On the Imputation of the Sin of Adam.
On Conversion and Changes of Character.
Contrasts of Prophecy.
Casuistry.
Natural Religion.
The Law as "the Strength of Sin."
On Righteousness by Faith.
The Doctrine of the Atonement.
On Predestination and Free-will.

Out of so ample a supply of matter it is impossible to give more than specimens, and yet we feel disagreeably that we cannot do justice to Professor Jowett by any partial quotations. The merit of thorough research and wise decision is not to be seen through in short compass; nor indeed will any of our readers duly make acquaintance with the author through us, unless we can persuade them to peruse the original.

If, under the idea of gratifying them, we were briefly to sum up his conclusions, omitting his arguments and his modifications, and of necessity losing the phraseology and style, we might commit exactly the unfairness which we reprobate in Evangelical critics. Nevertheless, we must try by extracts to give some insight into Professor Jowett's method and tone.

In the essay on the connexion of Immorality and Idolatry, vol. ii. p. 64, he writes:—

"[The connexion] is first to be sought for in their origin. As the Christian religion may be regarded as the great pillar and rock of morality, so the heathen religions sprang up in an age prior to morality. We see men in the dawn of the world's history, just raised above the worship of stocks and stones, 'making to themselves gods to go before them.' These gods represent partly the maxims and opinions of uncivilized races, partly the actions and passions of mankind in general, partly the irregularity of the course of the world itself, the fearful

law of which is the wayward fancy of heaven. Must not such an enthronement of injustice above tend to confuse and stunt the natural ideas of morality?" "Idolatry is a sort of religious passion, almost on a level with physical want, which from time to time bursts forth, and gives rein to every other passion. In the presence of the gods themselves in the idol's temple, as the festive pomp passes or the mystic hymn sounds, there is a place for sensuality. It is not repugnant, but acceptable to them and a part of their service. Impure religious rites are not the invention of magicians or priests, but deeply rooted in human nature itself. Like every other impulse of man, sensual love seeks to find expression, and perceives likenesses and resemblances of itself in the world around. It is one of the elements of Nature Worship, consecrated by antiquity, and in later times graced and half-concealed by Art."

"But besides this direct connexion between idolatry and every form of moral evil, there is also an indirect and general influence which it exercised, even in its better form, adverse to morality. Not from religion, but from philosophy, came the higher aspirations of the human soul in Greece and Rome. Idolatry detains men in the world of sight: it offers an outward form to the eye and imagery to the fancy: it draws the many-coloured veil of art over the corruption of human nature. It heals the strife of man with himself superficially. It takes away the conscious want of the higher life, but leaves the real need. But Morality has to do with an unseen world. It has no form nor comeliness, when separated from the hope which the gospel holds out. It is severe and stoical in its demands. It tells man to look within: it deepens the battle with self. It presents duty almost as an abstraction, which in the face of death they must pursue, though there be no reward here, though their name perish for evermore. The spirit of all idolatry is the very opposite of this: it bids men rest in this world; it pacifies them about another. The nature of God, who is the ideal and perfection of all morality, it lowers to the level of man: the virtue which is above, the truth which is beyond us, it embodies in the likeness of the human form, or the wayward and grotesque fancies of the human mind. It bids us seek without for what can only be found within."—p. 66.

It would gratify us much if the same author would discuss from the same point of view the moral influences of modern poetical pantheism; how far akin to, how far differing from, the old idolatry. It would be too much to expect from him a discussion whether Christianity, like the older religions, has not stereotyped as for eternity the morality which was highest in its day, but is not the highest now, nor hereafter.

Virtually on the same subject he adds:—

"[It] is a sad reflection, which we would fain conceal from ourselves, and yet cannot avoid making, when contemplating the glorious Athens, its marvels of art and beauty, its deeds of patriotism, its speculations of wisdom and philosophy; not perhaps without the thought flashing

across our minds that there was a phase of human life in that old Paganism, which in Christianity has never been developed in equal perfection, and from which even Christianity may be said to have borrowed something which it has incorporated with itself. The reflection is this:—That if the inner life had been presented to us of that period which in political greatness and in art is the most brilliant epoch of humanity, we should have turned away from the sight with loathing and detestation. The greatest admirers of old heathen virtues, the men endowed with the finest sensibilities for beauty and form, would feel at once that there was a great gulph fixed between us and them, which no willingness to make allowance for the differences of ages and countries would enable us to pass.”—p. 70.

We turn to a more purely theological controversy to exhibit Mr. Jowett's mode of treatment:—

“How slender is the foundation in the New Testament for the doctrine of Adam's sin being imputed to his posterity! *two* passages of St. Paul at most, and these of uncertain interpretation. The little cloud no bigger than a man's hand has covered the heavens. To reduce such subjects to their proper proportions we should consider, first, what space they occupy in Scripture; secondly, how far the language used respecting them is literal or figurative; thirdly, whether they agree with the more general truths of Scripture and our moral sense, or are not ‘rather repugnant hereto;’ fourthly, whether their origin may not be prior to Christianity, or traceable in the after-history of the Church; fifthly, how far to ourselves they are anything more than words.”—p. 162.

Just and necessary as are all these topics, or rather heads of refutation, the reader can hardly fail to remark how adapted they are to cause a panic in High and Low Church alike. The corruptions of Romanism and the systems of Augustine, Anselm, and Calvin, which predominate in the Protestant confessions, were alike developed out of the text of Scripture by a flagrant neglect of the four first canons of interpretation. The fifth is the most terrible of all; yet Mr. Jowett fearlessly applies it in few but decisive words:—

“It is hardly necessary to ask the further question, what meaning we can attach to the imputation of sin and guilt which are not our own, and of which we are unconscious. God can never see us other than we really are, or judge us without reference to all our circumstances and antecedents. If we can hardly suppose that He would allow a fiction of mercy to be interposed between ourselves and Him, still less can we imagine that He would interpose a fiction of vengeance. If He requires holiness before He will save, much more (may we say in the Apostle's form of speech) will He require sin before He dooms us to perdition. Nor can anything be in spirit more contrary to the living consciousness of sin, of which the Apostle everywhere speaks, than the conception of sin as dead, unconscious evil, originating in the act of an individual man in the world before the flood.”—p. 166.

This paragraph reminds us of an avowal of Channing, in his "Moral Argument against Calvinism,"—that it is a ~~creed~~ which men must outgrow by the strengthening of the mind; a ~~creed~~ for rude and childish nations only. Channing ought indeed to have extended the remark to the ecclesiastical theology of all Christendom; for if the doctrinal scheme of the Reformers is based on a crude philosophy, much more are the specific tenets and practices of Romanism pre-eminently childish. But we apprehend it is impossible for an Anglican to read such a paragraph as the last quoted without feeling how intensely puerile and unmeaning some other "orthodox" doctrines must be to Mr. Jowett. The offence of his work is far less in any definite results than in the whole tone and scope, which is too manly and simple to evade broad facts or skulk into the hiding-place of unmeaning words.

On "sudden conversions" Mr. Jowett writes with much discernment:—

"In the sudden conversions of the early Christians we observe three things which either tend to discredit or do not accompany* the working of a similar power among ourselves. First, that conversion was marked by ecstatic and unusual phenomena; secondly, that it fell upon whole multitudes at once; thirdly, that though sudden, it was permanent.

"When we consider what is implied in such expressions as 'not many wise, not many learned' were called to the knowledge of the truth, we can scarcely avoid feeling that there must have been much in the early Church which would have been distasteful to us as men of education; much that must have worn the appearance of excitement and enthusiasm. Is the mean conventicle, looking almost like a private house, more like that first assembly of Christians in the large upper room; or the Catholic Church, arrayed in all the glories of Christian art? Neither of them is altogether like in spirit perhaps, but in externals the first. . . . If we try to embody in the mind's eye the form of the first teachers, and still more of their followers, we cannot help reading the true lesson, however great may be the illusions of poetry or of art. . . . And when we look at this picture 'full in the face,' however we might by nature be inclined to turn aside from it, or veil its details in general language, we cannot deny that many things that accompany the religion of the uneducated now, must then also have accompanied the Gospel preached to the poor. There must have been, humanly speaking, spiritual delusions, where men lived so exclusively in the spiritual world. There were scenes which we know took place such as St. Paul says

* This appears to say that modern sudden conversions are never permanent. But in the rest of the essay we find Mr. Jowett to hold that sudden conversions of ~~creed~~ do not occur in modern days (qy. Mormonites?), and that sudden moral conversions are often permanent.

would make the unbeliever think that they were mad. The best and holiest persons among the poor and ignorant are not entirely free from superstition, according to the notions of the educated. . . . Could our nerves have borne to witness the 'speaking with tongues,' or the administration of baptism, or the love-feasts as they probably existed in the early Church?

"This difference between the feelings and habits of the first Christians and ourselves must be borne in mind in relation to the subject of conversion. For as sudden changes are more likely to be met with amongst the poor and uneducated in the present day, it certainly throws light on the subject of the first conversions, that to the poor and uneducated the Gospel was first preached. And yet these sudden changes were as real, nay more real, than any gradual changes which take place among ourselves. The Stoic or Epicurean philosopher who had come into an assembly of believers speaking with tongues would have remarked that among the vulgar religious extravagances were usually short-lived. But it was not so. There was more than he had eyes to see, or than was dreamed of in a philosophy like his. Not only was there the superficial appearance of poverty and meanness and enthusiasm, from a nearer view of which we are apt to shrink, but underneath this, brighter from its very obscurity, purer from the meanness of the raiment in which it was apparelled, was the life hidden with Christ and God. There, and there only, was the power which made a man humble instead of proud, self-denying instead of self-seeking, spiritual instead of carnal, a *Christian* instead of a *Jew*; which made him embrace not only the 'brethren,' but the whole human race, in the arms of His love."—p. 199.

In passing, we may express a hope that with the increasing education of the Jews some historian will arise among them to set forth the obverse side of Jewish proselytism, which Christian writers generally suppress or deform. Mr. Jowett maintains that the Christians at Rome to whom Paul wrote his Epistle were principally Gentiles, who had first become Jewish proselytes of the gate. The very fact that the Jewish teachers habitually admitted Gentiles to participate in religious instruction and worship, without exacting that they should become entire Jews, of itself shows that an extravagant zeal for imposing their national law beyond the limits of their nation and country can only have been the fanaticism of a few. There is a remarkable account in Josephus (book xx. chap. 2) concerning conversions in the court of Adiabene, in which three Jewish missionaries are mentioned, only one of whom (Eleazar, recently arrived from Galilee) displays any zeal for circumcision and the law. The young Prince Izates becomes a convert to Jewish monotheism at a neighbouring court, and simultaneously his mother Helena is converted at home. On his return to become king of Adiabene, he is troubled with scruples of conscience about his uncircumcised state; but his

desire to obey the law in detail is vehemently opposed by his instructor (the Jewish merchant Ananias*) who threatens to leave the country if the king vex his subjects by what they would regard as an unbecoming act; and urges that, "if at all risk he is resolved to emulate the hereditary religion of the Jews, he can even without circumcision revere (σέβειν) God; and this is of higher importance than circumcision (τοῦτο εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνεσθαι)." For awhile his remonstrance is successful; but the reading of the sacred book so affects the king, that the new missionary from Galilee easily wins him to circumcision. His brother and kinsmen become zealous in the same direction, to the great disgust of the nobility and a consequent civil war. Here we do indeed see, as among ourselves, that the bigot who has the letter of the sacred law on his side fights with advantage against him who contends for a higher principle. Nevertheless, the truth seems to come out, that, before and independently of the preaching of Paul, Jewish missionaries were proclaiming to the Gentiles the grand truths of Hebrew monotheism, unfettered by any specifically Jewish observances. Considering the outrageous persecutions of Jews by Christians—persecutions which probably lasted a thousand years, and are scarcely fully ended yet—we would suggest to Mr. Jowett whether the contrast of the words *Christian* and *Jew*, which through our self-complacency is current as denoting liberality and narrowness, does not deserve to be reconsidered by a scholar of his wide impartiality. It was a pure Jew who, perhaps for the first time, proclaimed to the world the equality of all nations before God. "In that day . . . the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying: Blessed be *Egypt my people*, and *Assyria the work of my hands*, and *Israel my inheritance*."

In the course of the long and excellent essay on "Conversion and Changes of Character," Mr. Jowett takes occasion to express his dissent from Bishop Butler's celebrated theory of passive and active habits; a theory which, we believe, has become more easily dominant in Oxford, because it blends naturally with the somewhat exaggerated estimate of habit as a constituent and origin of virtue, which is fundamental in the Aristotelic ethics. The public recitation of creeds, even when we do not as yet believe them, has been publicly justified in Oxford by an eminent Puseyite (who has since passed over to Rome), on this ultra-Aristotelic ground, that the *habit* of recitation is an appointed means to belief. Mr. Jowett here as elsewhere cuts away the ground for all such extravagances, by propounding deeper and truer views of spiritual action:—

* The sameness of name to the Christian instructor of Paul is curious. The date is about A.D. 45, in the reign of Claudius.

"We are conscious that at particular times we have undergone great revolutions or emotions; and then again have intervened periods lasting perhaps for years, in which we have pursued the even current of our way. Our progress towards good may have been *in idea* an imperceptible and regular advance; *in fact*, we know it to have been otherwise. We have taken plunges in life; there are many eras noted in our existence. The greatest changes are those of which we are the least able to give account, and which we feel the most disposed to refer to a superior power. . . . Why we suddenly see a thing in a new light is often hard to explain; why we feel an action to be right or wrong, which has previously seemed indifferent, is not less inexplicable. We fix the passing dream or sentiment in action; the thought is nothing, the deed may be everything. That, day after day, to use a familiar instance, the drunkard will find abstinence easier, is probably untrue; but that from *once* abstaining he will gain a fresh experience and receive a new strength and inward satisfaction, which may result in endless consequences, is what every one is aware of. *It is not the sameness of what we do, but its novelty*, which seems to have such a particular power over us; *not the repetition of many blind actions, but the performance of a single conscious one*, that is the birth to a new life. . . . Nor is it less true that by the commission, not of many, but of a single act of vice or crime, an inroad is made into our whole moral constitution, which is not proportionably increased by its repetition. The *first* act of theft, falsehood, or other immorality, is an event in the life of the perpetrator which he never forgets. . . .

"Changes of character come more often in the form of feeling than of reason, from some new affection or attachment, or alienation of our former self, rather than from the slow growth of experience, or a deliberate sense of right and duty."—p. 209.

How different is all this in depth of knowledge from that which used to pass for moral and religious philosophy with the old High Church.

We wish that space would allow us to make other and ampler quotations from the masses of excellent matter before us, which show remarkably Mr. Jowett's strong common sense, side by side with his metaphysical acuteness and spiritual tenderness. Sometimes he may seem to us rather needlessly ample, as in his discussion on "the Law as the Strength of Sin;" in which he comes round to the simple and, we do not doubt, correct conclusion, that Paul often and habitually uses the word sin to mean "conscience of sin," that is, a guilty conscience. In short, the impossibility of obeying the law under the changes of time and place, filled the scrupulous votary with despair.

Many who have heard sermons innumerable on "Righteousness by Faith," might feel a certain dismay at being invited to read an essay on it by any clergyman, even by Mr. Jowett; but the freshness of his discussion is surprising. Sir James Macin-

tosh perhaps surprised some of his contemporary philosophers, by his version of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith.

"The enormities of Tetzel found Luther busied in the contemplation of the principle *which is the basis of all ethical judgment*, and by the power of which he struck a mortal blow at superstition. 'Men are not made truly righteous by performing certain actions which are externally good; but men must have righteous principles in the first place, and then they will not fail to perform virtuous actions.' The general terms here used enunciate a proposition equally certain and sublime; the basis of all pure ethics, the cement of the external alliance between morality and religion, and the badge of the independence of both on the low motives and dim insight of human laws."*

Sir James confines his view to the moral thought which was the proper basis of Luther's doctrine; Mr. Jowett shows a stronger sense of the Reformer's weak side.

"Why not repeat (says he, p. 447), with a slight alteration of the words rather than the meaning of the apostle, 'Neither justification by faith nor justification by works, but a new creature?' Was there not yet a more excellent way—to oppose things to words—the life and spirit and freedom of the Gospel to the deadness and powerlessness and slavery of the Roman Church? So it seems natural to us to reason, looking back after an interval of three centuries on the weary struggle, so absorbing to those who took part in it once, so distant now either to us or them. But so it could not be. The temper of the times, and the education of the Reformers themselves, made it necessary that one dogmatic system should be met by another. The scholastic divinity had become a charmed circle, and no man could venture out of it, though he might oppose or respond within it. And thus justification by faith and justification by works became the watch-words of two parties."

He proceeds to analyse the meaning of faith, and shows that the controversy vanishes into thin air of itself. With a deeper study of substance, the word-controversies of the schoolmen generally disappear. Even the awful questions of predestination and free will share the common fate of scholasticism; for reasonable controvertists discover that they either mean fundamentally the same thing, though they use different language, or at worst make different sides of their doctrine predominant. As to the freedom of the will, so great is the difficulty of just expression, that nothing is commoner than verbal and unreal controversy. None who maintain human freedom intend to assert that the will,

* Macintosh's "England."—Lardner's "Cyclopædia," vol. ii. p. 139. See the excellent comments of Mr. Sandford on the Calvinistic Puritanism as a *personal* religion ("Studies of the Great Rebellion," pp. 65—75), which are worthy of Macintosh or of Jowett.

any more than the arm and hand, is an infinite force; but simply that it has a force of its own, like the hand and arm. The true doctrine is, perhaps, summed up in few words by Professor Jowett, p. 486.

"It is not by abstract theories of freedom, but by the careful observation of circumstances, that we can in any degree control them; in other words, *true freedom can only exist by a rational belief in necessity*. We must limit ourselves, for we are finite creatures."

Later, in the same essay, he writes:—

"A religious mind feels the difference of saying—God chose me, I cannot tell why, not for any good that I have done, and I am persuaded that he will keep me unto the end:—and saying—God chooses men quite irrespective of their actions, and predestines them to eternal salvation:—and yet more, if we add the other half of the doctrine,—God refuses men quite irrespective of their actions, and they become reprobates predestined to everlasting damnation. *The first is the expression of Christian hope; the latter of a religious philosophy which has ceased to walk by faith*. The first is the temper of St. Paul and of Scripture; the latter the spirit of some Calvinist theologians." —p. 500.

We wish we could give the reader any idea of the noble essay on Natural Religion. We had marked many passages for extraction; but it fills forty closely-printed pages, and we should become insatiable of quotation. A second edition is in preparation; we hope that few who desire will be unable to peruse it. And we of necessity approach the only irksome part of our duty, as to which we are made diffident by our very high appreciation alike of Professor Jowett's moral and spiritual qualities, as of his powerful intellect and comprehensive knowledge. Still, where we are distinctly conscious of moral repugnances and moral alarm, it seems to be our duty to give some expression in this direction. We refer to the essay on Casuistry.

This is naturally divisible into two parts, as the following passage may explain:—

"So far we seem to arrive at a general conclusion like St. Paul's,—Whether ye eat or drink, do all to the glory of God. Have the spirit of truth, and the truth shall make you free, and the entanglements of words and the perplexities of action shall disappear. But there is another way in which such difficulties have been resolved, which meets them *in detail*; viz., the practice of Confession, and the rules of casuistry which are the guides of the confessor. When the spirit is disordered within us, it may be urged that we ought to go out of ourselves and confess our sins to another. But he who leads, and he who is led, alike require some *rules* for the examination of conscience, to quicken or moderate the sense of sin, to assist experience, to show men to themselves as they really are, neither better nor worse. Hence the necessity for casuistry."—p. 350.

All that follows is devoted to an analytical history—very acute, clear, and instructive,—of casuistry, as practised in the school of the Jesuits. Professor Jowett's object is to expound and expose the vicious system of meeting conscientious difficulties by formal and authoritative rules. He intends to be an advocate of true and spiritual freedom against what in theory is a rigid enforcement of morals, but in fact an arbitrary licence to sin and crime. The first part of the essay sets forth the method of St. Paul, and seeks to apply it to modern life; the second part virtually denounces a system, which, though a "byword among mankind for hypocrisy and dishonesty," is not the less fostered by Ultramontane Romanism and by certain sections of the Puseyites. So far, in a broad view, we must heartily approve of his essay; but when we consider in detail what he says and what he suggests, in the early and positive half of it, we are constrained to pause, to question, and to remonstrate.

Transferring the apostle's precepts into modern life, Professor Jowett shows how we may be, as it were, forced out of the world by an extravagant fear of being contaminated by evil: as, because slavery is wrong, a man scruples to buy the produce of slavery, or a manufacture into which slave produce has entered, "and so on without end." Or if I may not practise a trade deleterious to the health or morals of those engaged in it, it is inferred that neither may I let a house to another so engaged.

"Numberless questions of the same kind relating to the profession of an advocate, a soldier, or a clergyman, have been pursued into endless consequences. In all these cases there is a point at which *necessity* comes in and compels us to adopt the rule of the Apostle, which may be paraphrased, *Do as other men do in a Christian country*. Conscience may say: He who is guilty of the least, is guilty of all. In the apostle's language, it then becomes 'the strength of sin,' encouraging us to despair of all, because in that mixed condition of life in which God has placed us we cannot fulfil all."—p. 342.

"Quite independently of real sorrows for sin, most religious persons in the course of their lives have felt unreal scruples or difficulties. . . . Honour or truth seem to be at stake about *trifles light as air*, or conscience has become a burden too heavy for them to bear in some doubtful matter of conduct. . . . There are few greater dangers in religion than the indulgence of such scruples. . . . *A tender conscience is a conscience unequal to the struggles of life*. . . . In our moral, as in our physical nature, we are finite beings, capable only of a certain degree of tension, ever liable to suffer disorder or derangement. . . . No one can fix his mind intently on a trifling scruple, or *become absorbed in an eccentric fancy*, without finding the great principles of truth and justice depart from him. . . ."—p. 346.

"In daily life cases often occur, where *we must do as other men do*, . . . even though unable to reconcile a particular practice with the

letter of truthfulness, or *even* to our individual conscience. It is hard in such cases to lay down a definite rule. But *in general we should be suspicious of any conscientious scruple in which other good men do not share.*"—p. 349.*

It is with fear that we touch at all so entangled a subject, lest it become necessary to treat it too minutely. That there is such a thing as a morbid conscience, and that Professor Jowett does not overrate its mischief, we perfectly allow; but our first regret is, that he does not sharply distinguish the questions: "Is my scruple needless and overstrained?" and: "Ought I to abandon practices which, after allowing the argument from authority to exert its full influence, I cannot reconcile with moral right?" He appears to us to invest that argument with such extravagant and pernicious importance, as virtually supersedes individual conscience entirely. To be morbidly tender in scruples is the weakness of barely a small fraction of mankind, yet he treats it as a prevalent danger. "To go with the multitude to do evil," is precisely the sin to which we are all prone, even the best of us: yet he accounts it as rather a mark of strength of mind to "brush away scruples." Rightly to proportion the parts of duty; to esteem the near as more urgent than the distant; to elevate the moral and make light of the merely ceremonial; to distinguish when a trifling observance is a mere trifle, and when it assumes moral importance, is necessary for healthy judgment and right conduct. But to confound, under the phrase of "scruples," questions so unlike as, on the one hand, the observance of new moons and sabbaths, the eating of various meats, and, on the other, the hiring oneself to the trade of a soldier or advocate, or having "doubts concerning orders" (pp. 344, 347, 348) appears to us highly adverse to the interests of truth and sound conscience. This whole argument ignores the idea of martyrdom as having any possible claim on us moderns: nor do we see how, according to his principles, there could ever have been martyrs in any time, except among the weak-minded and morbidly scrupulous. Neither could there have been conversions to a new religion; but men would have gone on conforming for ever to old superstitions, if the arguments which he pleads had been allowed to bear sway.

We have read, in one of the religious periodicals of the day, extracts from a work on casuistry, officially recommended by a Romish bishop, in which it is laid down that a vendor of milk who dilutes the beverage *only* as much as he is forced by the necessities of his trade and the competition of rivals, ought to make his conscience easy, and (may we add?) "brush away his scruples." Professor Jowett's acuteness will perhaps be able

* The italics are our own.

to show why such a case is not included in his rule,—Do as men do in a Christian country; but we are apprehensive that very few of his readers will be acute enough to find the distinction; or rather, we feel assured that it cannot be expected of one practically subject to the temptation. If the final consideration,—“Supposing I leave my profession, *how am I to live?*”—is to have as much weight as Professor Jowett gives it (p. 348) with an incipient soldier, barrister, or clergyman, all must calculate that it will be equally weighty with the milkman or grocer. Do as men do in a Christian country! Comfortable doctrine to those “strong-minded” enough to accept it, in numberless evil trades certainly not contemplated by its propounder. It is related of the Rev. John Newton, the friend of the poet Cowper, that while engaged in the slave-trade he was driven to the devoutest religious exercises, in order to counteract the carnal temptations incident to the having so many young black females in his absolute power; and that at that time he regarded the trade as a disagreeable, but certainly an honest means of earning a livelihood. England is, in Professor Jowett’s view, “a Christian country;” but surely so she was a century and two centuries ago. If the phrase is to bear any moral influence now, it had an equal right to sway men’s judgment then. If to live by hiring out one’s tongue to plead either side of a cause, and one’s sword for uncertain work, at the bidding of we know not who, nor on what principles, is now practised and defended in a Christian country, and by men so amiable and respectable that we feel ashamed to refuse them the title “good,” the same has been true at other times and places, even under Christianity, of many practices which we have generally learned to disapprove.

When the thought flashes across a man’s conscience,—“The cause which they are paying me to plead is a scandalous one; the war to which I have hired myself to fight is unjust and hateful; how can I kill the innocent without solemn judgment and sacred verdict?”—such a thought (let us grant to Professor Jowett) may be the morbid scruple of a weak mind; but it can never be justly quelled or brushed away by the topic, that Christendom at large is unscrupulous. We add, it is distressing to find such phrases as “trifles light as air”—“unreal” objections—used in connexion, on the one side, no doubt, with scruples unsubstantial enough, but, on the other, with oblique reference to difficulties of no less magnitude than the piercing questions, “Am I becoming the hired despoiler of families? Am I selling myself to secret, unknown, and probably unscrupulous cabinets, to become their tool of murder? Am I professing to preach truth in God’s name and by his inward inspiration, but really binding myself to uphold articles of religion which I do not believe, and which I

ought publicly to renounce? How can I nourish professional falsehood, and yet be a successful minister of truth?" Surely an infinite chasm separates *such* scruples from those of new moons, sabbaths, and unclean meats. No analogy at all unites them. Nay, and a grave, painful thought here presses us hard. What earnest Christian but sighs and groans over Christendom? One school flatly denies that *countries* are Christian at all, and says that only an elect remnant deserves the name. We will not enter that controversy. But, whatever theory be adopted, a heart wise and tender like Professor Jowett's, must sometimes be ready to burst with grief at the established vices and atrocities of Christian countries and nations; and what else, we ask, maintains these and makes them possible, except that the individual agents in each case cast the responsibility off themselves on to the system? And, on the contrary, what has ever led to the overthrow of established iniquities, except the acting on precisely the opposite principle from that to which Professor Jowett lends his great influence? When an old Roman Christian declined to conform to the laws of the land and the practice of loyal subjects, by casting a little incense into the censer which burnt before the emperor's image, undoubtedly his friends told him that his scruple was "light as air." We all know what it means (they would say); none of us really think emperors, living or dead, to be gods; it means only that we are loyal. To refuse obedience will be interpreted to mean *more* than you desire. We admit it is a pity that the emperor exacts this form of observance. We look on this as an evil; but, we pray you, *be not insensible* [we use Professor Jowett's words] *to the great truth, that though we may not do evil that good may come, yet good and evil, truth and falsehood, are bound together on earth, and we cannot separate ourselves from them* (p. 348). If such topics had availed with the early Christians, no martyrdoms would have been requisite, and Christendom of every age has been absurd and pernicious in her admiration of the martyr spirit. Professor Jowett, we anticipate, would candidly reply, that that spirit has been *too much and too indiscriminately* admired; and if he said this, we should agree with him. Yet we cannot resign the conviction, that where the martyr-spirit is extinguished, no new and quickening morality will ever rise in a nation. On the contrary, they will ever gravitate more and more towards materialism, the love of "substantial" comfort carrying the day in each successive conflict.

Society does not like to be disturbed in its routine; men in authority are affronted if their orders are criticised by inferiors. It needed perhaps some eccentricity of mind, before an English officer at Malta objected to saluting the host at military bidding, or in India to escort the pilgrims, or pay the dancing-women at

the temple of Jaganaut. • It is but a little while since it would have been judged impertinent and absurd in a Chancellor of the Exchequer to object to raising money by lotteries. In short, we know not what moral evil which has once struck root into an established system could be shaken off otherwise than by foreign conquest,* if each individual in turn submits his conscience to that which has grown up in the society. The first objectors are often ill-informed or extravagant, as the old Lollards and Wickliffe may seem to be; yet they are not useless; it is something to have protested; it stimulates the conscience of society, and prepares it for improvement. Nor is he always useless who, by throwing himself out of a profession, cuts himself off from many means of improvement and sources of wisdom, and seems to the eye of sense to be a pining, foolish, lost man. • Take the case of the poet Cowper, who for forty years at least might naturally have seemed a lamentable instance of morbid feeling superinducing inaction and insanity; yet few will now doubt that he did more good to mankind by the moral effect of his poems than any dozen of able barristers have done by all the private lawsuits which they have pleaded.

And what, after all, is that "walking by faith," of which Professor Jowett knows how to write so well, if it be not the resolute doing, or refusing to do, that which we see to be right or wrong, without calculating how it is to affect the rest of our lives? Conscience goes on with us, as a lantern in a dark night, showing sometimes but one step before us, yet that one we take. If in consequence we become poorer in pocket, yet we are richer in faith, and better fitted to become lights of the world morally, than if we attained greater accomplishment of mind at the expense of damage to our conscience. Professor Jowett speaks of the tenderly conscientious as "absorbed in an eccentric fancy," and weakened by over-tension. Tension there must be, perhaps over-tension, for one who has day by day to fight hard against wickedness in high places, as (we will say) a GARRISON contending against slavery in the United States. If such a man suffers some overstraining, some distortion of mind, it is only as a warrior may suffer in body from a terrible and honourable conflict. But in a majority of cases we think the "tension" and the "absorption" are fictitious. Somebody will not allow his servant to say "My master is not at home," when he is at home; he will not sign himself "your obedient humble servant" to one to whom he owes no service; or perhaps he will not eat slave sugar know-

* Is it not precisely *because* the old religions superseded private by public conscience, that conquest was the only mode by which established vices could be exterminated?

ingly; these things may be trifles, but what tension and exhaustion of mind follows, we do not see. Or again, a young man's father wanted him to go into the army, his mother into the Church, but his tutor advised the bar; from scruples which Professor Jowett judges weak, he refused them all. While they pressed him hard, he perhaps had struggle and tension; but from the day that his course is fixed, all occasion and possibility of this seems to vanish. Surely moral strength is earned by every sacrifice made to conscience, earned precisely by such struggles, even when ignorance and mistake mingle in our acts; nor was it by asking "How they were to live," that either Socrates, or Paul, or another who shall be nameless, or any of those of whom the world was not worthy, wrought righteousness and out of weakness were made strong.

In fine, we desire to replace Professor Jowett's practical doctrine on this head by another widely different. "Condemn your ownself by the highest law which your conscience discerns, but condemn all others by the current morality of the society to which they fitly belong." We must not call our neighbours to the bar of our private perceptions; but unless we would quench within us the diviner spirit, we must cherish and obey it ourselves; and this we hold to be a truer exposition of Paul's benign and genial doctrine than the over-accommodating one which we regret to have had to combat.

But our readers, it may be anticipated, will not stop here. Many of them will carry their ruminations farther, and will ask whether these principles of casuistry do not account for the fact that Professor Jowett can reconcile his conscience to the theological subscriptions required of him. We allude to this chiefly to deprecate the narrowing of the argument to any personal question, but also to point out its higher bearings and its whole legitimate width.

There is a class of "Churchmen," (so they delight to call themselves), who are eager to hunt down with invective a man of Professor Jowett's stamp, either not knowing, or not caring, how far their invective, if rightly deserved, ought to go. None of the Evangelical clergy sincerely believe the doctrine of the baptismal service, or the exposition of baptismal efficiency in the Catechism. None of the modern High Church, of either class, nor of the Broad Church, believe the article on predestination, or some others akin to it. The authoritative books of the Church have been put together by compromise, and are incoherent, mutually incompatible. Many did not at first discover this; but modern controversies have elicited the fact beyond reasonable contradiction. Hence the clergy collectively are involved in a position, to one and all equally indefensible; nor can we admit

the fairness of selecting for special attack a man whose free speaking does but bring into clear daylight the inherently contradictory nature of the Church documents. Dr. Arnold's mode of dealing with the difficulty was in intention perfectly frank and honest, though in our firm belief essentially dishonest and pernicious. He argued on the assumption that the Church *could* not be self-contradictory; hence, when two claims on his belief were in collision, he was free to adopt which of the two he pleased; which virtually amounts to the avowal: "When I am required to say that I believe *both* of two propositions, which I see *cannot* both be true, I am at liberty to say that I believe *both*, because I believe *one*." Different men, according to the bluntness or subtlety of their tempers, will modify the form of the license which they assume; but greater subtlety does but hide the fact, that the casuist is learning and teaching a clever mode of evading solemn professions. The mischief spreads from the Church and Universities through all society; no one can expect the lawyer or the statesman to be more particular as to truth than the clergyman. We breathe one moral atmosphere, and the corruption of each part aids to corrupt the rest. "We cannot go out of the world," "we cannot be very wrong when all the world is as bad," are topics terribly influential, even without academic enforcement. But while all imbibe moral degradation from tampering with the first principles of morality, none suffer so much damage as the Church, for the express reason that her pretensions are so lofty. It is a grave matter for an institution to claim to be an embassy from heaven itself. In the case of Rome, we see how fatally ruinous is a position which cannot be sustained; and that destruction is the only cure, where error must needs be sanctionious. Nearly the same must we say of the Church of England. If her best and ablest men are not allowed to keep a pure and simple conscience, but are either driven out of her pale or forced to practise subtle casuistry, she will become with the progress of knowledge more and more corrupt, and a greater nuisance to the land.

If, in the last century, when an important petition was offered to Parliament for the rescinding of ecclesiastical subscriptions, this reasonable and righteous request had been granted, the result to England would have been great and precious. We have not room to say (for the subject is a vast one) why this (though more necessary than ever) is now a boon less full of promise and less satisfactory. But in few words we would press that the religious laity, who love the Church, need to take to heart how cruel is their apathy in this matter. *They* are subject to no subscriptions; *they* are not forced to read formulas of worship in devout tones, against parts of which their judgment revolts. They are free,

and *they alone can free the clergy*; not one of whom can utter his grievances without being a mark of attack to every bigot. Religious laymen who are influential in the State have not even to risk a sacrifice of popularity and damage to their political prospects by advocating the freedom of the clergy. Is it not an indecency for the State to dictate to the bishops and clergy what religious truths they shall believe and teach? It is strictly the State that imposes the law, by that Act of Charles II. called "the Act of Uniformity," which ejected some two thousand clergymen. No modern Parliament would dream of perpetrating such an invasion. To lay down moral doctrines to the Professors of moral philosophy would be pronounced absurd and pernicious: to set apart an order of men to teach religion, and teach them what they shall teach, is at least as monstrous. Although to sustain by apathy an old oppression touches the legislator's conscience less keenly than it would now to originate the same, yet the pernicious effects are not thereby lessened; and if quiet-loving statesmen shrink from a timely renunciation of the right to impose on the teachers of religion fetters which they do not impose upon themselves, they may live to see in England explosions of the Church more violent than those which Scotland has witnessed.



ART. III.—THE INFLUENCE OF LOCAL CAUSES ON NATIONAL CHARACTER.

1. *The Physical Atlas.* By A. K. Johnston. Edinburgh and London: 1858.
2. *Principles of Human Physiology.* By W. B. Carpenter, M.D., F.R.S. London: 1845.
3. *Principles of Political Economy.* By J. S. Mill. London: 1848.
4. *History of Civilization in England.* By H. T. Buckle. London: 1858.

FEW truths equally comprehensive have been more universally admitted than that which asserts the influence of the climate, position, and general physical character of a country on the habits and manners of its inhabitants. There is such an obvious probability in the supposition—it is confirmed by so much of our most familiar experience, and appeals so strongly to a vague sense of fitness in things, that no one need wonder that it should

have commended itself to the intelligence of the world at large. But it is a little remarkable that the belief should so far have outstripped the proof of it. It is only within the last few years that the manner in which external circumstances operate to form or modify the character of a people has been really understood, and there is much, very much, which still requires explanation. No English writer within our knowledge has devoted a substantive treatise to this most interesting inquiry; the information at present extant on the subject is chiefly to be gathered from books whose main object is independent of it, as, for example, Dr. Prichard's "*Physical History of Mankind*," and works of the class which stand at the head of this article. Much of this neglect is apparent only, and is owing to the comparatively late growth of political economy, physiology, and the kindred sciences; but to a certain extent it is real, and, so far, it is mainly due to the influence of Bacon, and to the attitude in which he stood towards investigations of this nature. That extraordinary man, who more than any other writer has guided the studies of England, is very guarded in his language when treating of the causes which affect the well-being of States. He mentions cosmographical history* as including "the description of countries, their situation and fruits," and the "accounts of cities, governments, and manners," but he does not point out the interdependence of these two classes of facts, he does not even hint that they are connected. He often and pointedly excludes politics;† he omits altogether from his *Great Instauration* the consideration of the arts of empire;‡ he says that, should he write on that subject, his work will probably be either posthumous or abortive. It is not too much to say that this reticence is due rather to the policy of the courtier than to the difficulties of the philosopher. The "prudent king" who raised Bacon "against the bent of his genius to the highest posts of honour, trust, and civil employ," would have been rather scandalized to have read in his Chancellor's works (if he did read them), anything implying that the "felicity of his Majesty's times" depended on a matter so far beyond the control of kings as the general physical constitution of the country. The philosopher perfectly understood the "policy of preserving a prudent or sound moderation or medium in disclosing or concealing one's mind as to particular actions," and squared his practice by that principle. No similar motive to silence now exists, and therefore, without the smallest fear of offending her present Majesty, we will proceed to offer a few remarks on the relationship which

* "*Advancement of Learning*," book ii. chap. x.

† "*Novum Organum*," book i. c. 9, app. 77.

‡ "*Advancement of Learning*," book viii. chap. iii.

exists between the physical aspect of a country and the moral and intellectual development of its inhabitants. By "physical aspect" and "local causes" is meant all those external conditions of a particular country which most immediately affect mankind—its climate, its geographical position, and its geological structure. These are, in their most general expression, the principal facts embraced under the terms, and something would be gained both in ease and clearness could we adhere to this threefold division. Unfortunately it is scarcely possible to do so, for the phenomena which form the subject of the inquiry combine with one another in a way which makes it rather difficult to keep them distinct, regard being had both to their own affinities and to the manner and degree of their action. So that, although it may be found useful to group the physical characteristics of a country under a general head, it must not be forgotten that this is merely a mark which indicates an infinity of other distinctions too numerous for individual mention; a convenience of thought rather than a natural classification, adopted partly for the sake of conciseness and partly because, as Bacon himself says, "the subtilty of nature is far beyond that of the sense or understanding."

There are two ways in which to treat such a subject as that now before us; we might consider it as a matter of fact to be proved,—Is national character influenced by local causes? or, assuming the fact, we might seek to explain it. Now, it is the latter question, and not the former, which will be considered here. But the assumption on which it is based must be a probable one; it must be, if not rigidly deducible from experience, at all events not inconsistent with it. We shall therefore attempt, in the first place, to show that history warrants the assumption of fact, and then that, on the supposition of its being true, certain results ought to follow which in effect do follow.

It would be interesting, had we the materials, to trace the steps by which the great nations of antiquity—the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, and Chinese—exchanged the barbarous simplicity of shepherd tribes for the highly-organized political institutions which meet us at the commencement of authentic history. But in the absence of any direct record, we are led to observe a very remarkable similarity between the regions in which all the early civilizations appear to have developed themselves.* These countries were, without an exception, plains or

* See Stanley's "Palestine," p. 119: "We do not sufficiently bear in mind that the East—that is the country between the Mediterranean and the tablelands of Persia, between the Sahara and the Persian Gulf—is a waterless desert, only diversified here and there by strips and patches of vegetation. Such green spots or tracts—which are in fact but oases on a large scale—are the rich plains on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the long strips

valleys traversed by navigable channels and irrigated by fertilizing streams.* In the valley of the Euphrates, in the valley of the Tigris, in the valley of the Nile, on the banks of the Indus, and in the plains of the Ganges and Yellow River, were laid the first foundations of those cities, the monuments of whose greatness have descended to our own days. But the resemblance does not end here; they all lie on or about the Northern Tropic, and their mean annual temperature does not differ 10°. Like every capital of modern Europe, they are situate on tertiary or alluvial soils. As a general consequence, they are one and all distinguished by an extraordinary fertility. These facts lead us to suspect that their early development was connected with the physical peculiarities of their respective districts, and the suspicion is strengthened by the negative evidence that nations which differed from them in the latter were also wanting in the former. For example, to the north of these anciently civilized States lies the elevated table-land of central Asia. This district presents a very decided contrast to the fertile plains of the Indo-Chinese peninsula in all the particulars in which they agree, and which we are now supposing to be the cause of their civilization. Whereas they are for the most part at very inconsiderable elevations, it is raised to a mean height of about 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. Owing to this cause, and also to its lying farther north, it is of course much colder and very much less productive; indeed, not suited for agriculture at all. Its general character, says Humboldt,† is that of a vast surface, divided into basins by mountain chains of different directions and different areas. It contains no large river, and the rivers which do flow through it discharge themselves into land-locked basins instead of communicating with the sea. This wilderness has been for ages the home of wandering tribes, who, so long as they were confined to their native plains, retained the rude civilization and primitive habits of the nomad life.‡ From time to time these nomad tribes have poured down upon the lower regions of Asia

of verdure on the banks of the Nile, the occasional centres of vegetation in Arabia Felix and Idumæa, and lastly, the cultivated, though narrow territory of Palestine itself."

- * Palestine is an exception, but an exception of the sort which is said to prove the rule. It is a mountainous country, but then the Israelitish civilization was derived from Egypt.

† Quoted in Dr. Prichard's "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. p. 279.

‡ Their habits were not only primitive, but barbarous to a degree. A glaring example is given by Gibbon—"Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iv. p. 201. For several ages they appear to have had no written alphabet whatever; at last they borrowed one from India, but even then, among some of their tribes, the only substitute for letters consisted of notched sticks. Prichard, "Physical History," &c. vol. iv. p. 277.

in search of new homes, and whenever they have done so their change of abode has been followed by a change of manners. We cannot expect any clear information as to the causes of these inroads. Sometimes the increase of the people beyond the means of sustenance (and it must be remembered that animal food is of all the least adapted to supply the wants of a large population), sometimes the ambition of a popular leader, or a weaker tribe flying before a stronger, originated an impulse which was propagated through several intermediate tribes, until the last was precipitated on the territory of a more fertile or less military neighbour. But whatever have been the causes of the irruptions which have from time to time desolated Europe and Asia, the invading race—in their own country so tenacious of their customs that we have historic proof of their not having materially varied for a thousand years at least—have in every case readily adapted their habits to the different physical circumstances of their new homes.

Take, for example, the inhabitants of the province of the Lower Danube. Their history is very shortly this. In the beginning of the fifth century large bodies of a Turkish tribe, descending from the Asiatic plateau, crossed the Don, and penetrated westward into the heart of France. After the death of Attila they retreated to the banks of the Volga, where they settled. From that country they issued forth at a later period, recrossed the Danube, established themselves on its banks, and there founded the Bulgarian kingdom, which was so formidable to the Byzantine emperors, and has been so troublesome to modern European politicians.

“It is needless,” says Gibbon, in describing their original condition, “to renew the simple and well-known picture of Tartar manners. They were bold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk and feasted on the flesh of their fleet and indefatigable horses. Their huts were hastily built of rough timber, and we may not without flattery compare them to the architecture of the beaver, which they resembled in a double issue to the land and water for the escape of the savage inhabitant—an animal less cleanly, less diligent, less social, than that marvellous quadruped.”*

This is the people which during the last few years has been so prominently brought under our notice. Western Europe has been earnestly appealed to on behalf of the Bulgarians, the development of whose civilization deserves, it is said, to be rewarded with independence. Allowing for the exaggeration of partisanship, it is certain not only that the improvement has been

* “Decline and Fall,” chap. xlii.

great, but that it has been independent, worked out by themselves with but little aid from external civilization. And we may feel tolerably sure that, had this people remained in the highlands of Asia, their habits would have been stationary, not progressive.

Turning from Europe to Asia, we see another tribe of the same restless people pouring down, as they had done periodically for ages, on to the Persian Empire, then held by the Saracens. For two hundred years the fury of the Arabs kept them back, but in the tenth century a Turkish dynasty was erected in the north of Persia, and about the same time inroads were made on Hindostan, ending with the establishment of the Mogul dynasty. The history of China is little else than the history of the successive inroads of their northern neighbours. All researches into the origin of the Chinese nation conduct the inquirer to the north-west, confirming the opinion, probable on other grounds, of the general derivation of all Asiatic civilization from the same quarter.* But whether at Constantinople, Bagdad, Delhi, or Peking, the descendants of the shepherds have easily yielded to surrounding influences. They have abandoned at once, and without a struggle, the ingrained habits of centuries, and their social and intellectual development, although not to be measured against that of Europe, has been at least equal to that of the nations whom they have successively supplanted.

But in one notable instance, instead of descending into the plains of lower Asia, they immigrated into a country in all essential respects similar to their own, and in this case they retained for centuries their distinctive habits. The people whom Herodotus calls Scythians, and who wandered over the steppes of southern Russia, were, it is pretty well settled, Mongolians.† He describes them as leading a wandering life, despising agriculture, and looking with extreme jealousy on all foreign habits, as they could well afford to do, since they had some very original customs of their own. He does not give them a high reputation for wisdom, and finds very little to commend in their institu-

* "We find no difficulty," says Professor Nickol, referring to the conclusions of M. Boué, "in agreeing that the further back we go into the twilight of the past, the probability is more forcibly impressed that the seats of the earliest discernible civilization were the mountainous parts of the several continents, from which the diverse tribes descended and diffused themselves gradually, as geological changes permitted the lowlands to be made habitable."

† Mr. Rawlinson ("Herodotus," vol. iii. appendix to book iv.), however, decides in favour of the Indo-Germanic hypothesis. His opinion is derived from an examination of the few Scythian words which have come down to us—remnants of the language of the royal tribe. He admits that there may have been a Mongolian element among the European Scythians.

tions.* In no respect does his language recall the praise of the poet—

Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens :
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fudit adultero.
Dos est magna parentum
Virtus——

but the account which he has left us of them would serve, with very slight alterations, as a history of the manners of their Asiatic ancestors, and is instructive as showing how uniformly similar circumstances tend to produce a similar character.

The history of the Arabs furnishes another example, more instructive because more familiar. What they were and are in their own country we know. But within a century of the flight of the Prophet the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic, over the provinces of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain. So long as they were confined to the sterile peninsula of Arabia, their language—the copiousness and beauty of which is universally extolled—had contributed nothing to the permanent knowledge of mankind. It was contained in the memory of an illiterate people. Not only do they possess no authentic literary relics of an earlier date than the sixth century of our era, but the northern tribes had not even an alphabet until a short time before Mahomet. But new scenes stimulated their curiosity, and conquest, which gave them both leisure and wealth, furnished the means of satisfying their cravings after knowledge. In the eighth century the works of the principal speculative and scientific writers of Greece were collected and translated into the Arabic language. A magnificent college was founded at Bagdad, another at Bokhara, and another at Cordova. Observatories were built both at Bagdad and Damascus, and in the various cities of Andalusia more than seventy public libraries were opened. Arabic literature, dating from this period, is rich in historical works, in mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, and criticism. Alchemy—a science to which we are too really indebted to treat either it or its professors with disrespect—derived from them both its name and existence. But the extent of their influence over the mind of Europe is best shown by the number of words in daily use amongst us which they have contributed—alchemy, alcohol, alkali, almanac, algebra, admiral. So much for the effect of six hundred years of foreign conquest on a people who previously possessed neither alphabet, books, nor, with the exception of poetry, any form of literature whatever.

* “Herodotus,” iv. c. 46.

These or similar considerations probably induced the widely-spread belief in the power of Nature to form and modify society; but it is obvious that although they may raise a presumption in favour of such belief, they do not amount to proof. Arguments inferring the connexion of phenomena from their co-existence or succession are indeed very common, and nowhere more so than in inquiries into the character of man and nations. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*; we never need look far for an illustration of that fallacy. But it does not require much reflection to see that in all civilized countries the character of the people is influenced by numerous circumstances very remotely connected with its physical condition. There will be some form or other of religion; there will be a certain political constitution; a standard of present opinion, and a large infusion of traditionary belief. Granting that no one of these is altogether independent of the direct operation of external nature—it cannot be denied that they are principally due to the action of the mind of man. And the more civilized a nation is, the less its character is the exclusive and immediate product of the physical conditions under which it lives; arguments derived from its history will therefore be the less pertinent. But the habits and actions of people successively lower in the social scale exhibit more and more of the direct interference of Nature, until at last we find in some of the African tribes such interference paramount, determining their life almost as effectually as it does that of the lower creation. Now were we well acquainted with the history of a sufficient number of these barbarous hordes, it is very possible that we might ascertain, by a direct comparison of their character with their country, the relation of which we are in search. But a nation savage enough to be useful for this purpose would scarcely possess records of any value. This, then, is the dilemma; in those cases in which we have historical data, the phenomena are so complex that we are unable to argue from them; in those cases in which the phenomenon is sufficiently simple we have no history.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to adopt the converse, *à priori*, deductive method;—to cast history to the winds, and solve the problem as best we may, by the aid of the known laws of the operation of Nature on man. The most obvious and satisfactory way of doing so would be by considering the effect of local causes on the various actions and motives which together constitute national character. But for our present purpose this investigation would be too long. If we could find something which is the symptom or mark of character; something so uniformly connected with particular habits and thoughts that we can argue from its presence to their existence, it would be sufficient to show that physical causes produced the former, to prove that they will cause

the latter. Of such indications we will select two; 1. The form of Government: 2. The state of knowledge.

It has been said that the mass of the people are generally very indifferent about theories of government; they are, nevertheless, most intimately concerned with them. So much so, that the mere substitution of an oligarchy for a monarchy, or of a monarchy for a republic—in the absence, let us suppose, of any corresponding alteration in the feelings or opinions of the people—is quite sufficient to divert the national character into an entirely new channel. If we know nothing of a given country except this, that in it the supreme power is wielded by the people, yet we are in possession of a most telling fact. We know that there will be a sense of responsibility in each member, and a feeling of interest in the State as distinguished from himself, which are not without their moral value; that there will be many sympathies, sentiments, and capacities to which a nation, the mass of whose members have no concern with the Government, will be entire strangers.* We may calculate on finding versatility rather than depth of acquirement, inconsistency, generosity, energy. From the fact of a despotism, we may conclude that there will be an increase of selfishness and a diminution of public virtue. The instincts of all men lead them in the direction of their private good, and it is only the consciousness of their exertions being recognised and productive that will induce them to interest themselves for the benefit of all. Despotism not only does not encourage such action, but is bound to suppress it at the price of its own existence. Combination for any purpose whatever, as it may be made the occasion of political change, is discouraged by the ruling power. Hence this kind of government frequently gives birth to solitary thinkers of great power—men who, shut out from active life, are led to concentrate their faculties on some one subject which they exhaust—and who rise high above the average level of intelligence, because, to the generality of men, co-operation is an essential element in success.† But even on the form of their studies Government impresses its stamp. Thought is an oppression to those who can at once discern what mankind is capable of, and see to what it has been reduced. And as under a despotism there is little encouragement to study any subjects connected with human nature, the progress of philosophy will

* “*Ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικά μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ’ ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν.*”—*Thucydides*, ii. 40. Pericles’ weighty words hold good of any other democracy.

† “It is precisely because there is at present much knowledge and enlightenment in France,” said Voltaire, “that we complain of the want of original genius.”

probably be rather in the direction of the physical and metaphysical than of the moral and political sciences.

In considering the second criterion, we must be content with general indications. It appears, from what has just been said, that the question of the state of knowledge does not admit of being wholly separated from that of the form of government, but that it is dependent on it both as to its direction and amount. It will still be useful to investigate apart the influence which local causes may exert in developing the reason or in exciting the feelings and sensations; since, in proportion to the energy of these faculties, the corresponding branches of knowledge will preponderate, and we shall have on the one hand historians, natural philosophers, and lawyers, and on the other poets, painters, musicians, and writers of fiction.

The position of man, considered merely as an animal living on the surface of the earth, differs in this from that of its other inhabitants: that, while they have certain limits beyond which they will not wander, if left to their natural freedom, he is a citizen of the world, inhabiting with almost equal readiness every part of its domain. And yet, while Nature allows him the most unbounded liberty of wandering where he wills, it is only on condition of his obeying certain of her laws that he is able to enjoy his privilege. In the natural, as in the moral and political schemes, rights involve duties. Now men of all races and temperaments, wherever they live, maintain a bodily temperature which never falls below 94° , nor rises above 102° . Whatever the relation may be—whether connected with the cause of life or only one of its effects—it seems certain that 8° , or, let us say, 10° are the narrow limits above and below which the heat of the body cannot long be maintained consistently with health and life. Narrow, indeed, these limits seem when compared with the enormous differences of external temperature under which mankind habitually exist. If we compare the Tropics with the Polar regions, this is not less than from 60° to 70° of mean annual temperature; that is to say, that in the Tropics, taking one day with another throughout the year, the heat is 80° , while within the Arctic circle it is 20° , and in many places 10° only:—in the former case 30° hotter, in the latter 30° colder, than the mean annual temperature of England. But if, instead of striking the average of the whole year, we compare the summer of the Tropics with the Polar winter, the extreme points differ fully 200° . It is obvious that the physiological condition of men who, under such opposite circumstances, maintain a bodily temperature which does not vary more than 10° , must be very dissimilar. The Brazilian or Hindoo has to make a permanent addition of about 20° to the temperature of his body, the rest being given by the climate; the

Esquimaux must supply nearly 80° , and he may fairly complain of being somewhat overtaxed. But how does he supply it? from what fund, and by what means? The answer to this question leads to the consideration of the food consumed by man. Food serves two main purposes; it supplies us, in the first place, with a certain proportion of that heat which we have just seen to be necessary to life, and, in the second place, it repairs the waste which is constantly taking place in the mechanism of the frame. For each of these different purposes a different kind of food is provided. The temperature of the body is maintained chiefly by a class of substances which may be called, for the sake of simplicity, "combustible substances." Almost everything which we eat contains a certain proportion of them; but in some kinds of food this proportion is so much greater, that when we have occasion for an additional supply of heat, it is sound policy to consume that kind instead of any other. Now the inhabitants of extremely cold climates, inasmuch as but little heat is supplied to them from without, are obliged to consume a large quantity of combustible food, otherwise the temperature of their bodies would inevitably fall below the limits within which alone life is possible. And in northern latitudes, where there is scarcely any vegetation, there is only one source whence this food can be obtained—the fat, blubber, and oil of fish, and the flesh of the reindeer and sea-fowl. The quantity, however, which they manage to consume may fairly be called large. Mrs. Somerville calculates it from ten to twelve pounds daily for each man. The account of the Moravian missionaries is less circumstantial, but more striking. It is not reduced to figures, but is presented to us in the form of a picture. After a general allusion to the gluttony which prevails, they go on to say—"It is a mother's greatest joy to see her children eat their fill, and then roll upon the bench to make themselves capable of receiving more."* A passage like this is worth a blue-book of figures. We may assume that the Esquimaux ladies are not destitute of natural affection. They would scarcely sit by in a state of visible gratification while their children were being gorged with food, rolled on a bench, and regorged, if such a proceeding were not good for them. And we have every reason to suppose that it is. For, independently of the testimony of science, which tells us that the necessity for a higher temperature involves an increased quantity of food, the mere fact of what we call gluttony being an universal habit goes far to prove it to be a necessary one. On these matters it is astonishing how just is the practice even of the mass of mankind. With regard to the mixture of their food, they are guided by what Liebig calls "an un-

* Crantz, "Greenland," i. 135.

erring instinct," but which is, no doubt, an unconscious experience to form precisely that combination which is best suited to the various wants of the system. And we may be sure that the regulation of the quantity of food is effected with no less certainty than that of the quality. Individual excesses are unfortunately peculiar to no country or nation; but that a whole people should, for the mere gratification of an appetite, habitually eat themselves into such a state that it is only by the application of external mechanical aids that they are enabled to eat more, is not only an uncomfortable belief, but one for which we have no warrant either in fact or reason. We must conclude therefore that an overruling physical necessity obliges these people to consume a quantity of food, which, when compared with our own requirements, seems excessive. It unfortunately happens that the substances proper for their purpose are not readily met with, and the difficulty of obtaining them is of course increased by the facts which have just been mentioned. Whether the deficiency is caused by a diminished supply, or an increased consumption, is a matter of no practical moment; in this case not only is there comparatively little to begin with, but there is a large demand for what little there is. It will follow that the population must necessarily be small. It rises as the means of subsistence rise, and falls when they fall, and is always ultimately in proportion to its means of support. So that one general result of an extremely cold climate, and of the local causes connected therewith, is that there will be a small population. This fact is a significant one, and deserves to be carefully weighed. A nation which only numbers a few thousand members, is, *ipso facto*, cut off from many of the higher forms of civilization. In the first place, inasmuch as the division of labour is limited by the extent of the market, and the extent of the market by the too small population, there will be none of that combination which economizes labour and cheapens its products—none of those results which are effected by the union of many insignificant forces. No public works, no great improvement can take place. There will be a constant tendency to throw each member of the community on his own resources, to widen the gulf which separates him from his fellow-men, to make society nothing more than an aggregation of independent units, to weaken social intercourse, and to make political sympathy impossible. And a further, but by no means remote consequence is, that there will be much freedom and much ignorance; great independence of character, and a low intellectual standard. For isolation, whilst it conduces to freedom, is adverse to intelligence. When a man is dependent on his own unaided unremitting exertions for lodging, food, and clothing, he is but likely to be wanting in self-reliance; but then his time is so much taken up with his necessary occupations, that he has but

little leisure for self-improvement. His whole life is spent in the bare process of living. And, owing to the thinness of the population, he loses the opportunity of sharpening his intellect by the collision of conflicting opinions which is so readily afforded when men congregate in considerable numbers.

We must not overlook the fact that the configuration of continents, the presence and direction of mountain chains, and the other features of physical geography, act with immense power, not only on the general civilization of a country, but on that part of it with which we are more immediately concerned—the form of its government. “It is of the nature of a republic,” said Montesquieu, “to have a small territory.” And it has been remarked that throughout all the larger nations of mediæval and modern Europe the prevailing sentiment has been favourable to monarchy; but wherever any single city, small district, or cluster of villages, whether in the plains of Lombardy, on the mountains of Switzerland or Greece, has acquired independence, the tendency has been towards some modification of republican government. Islanders, people separated from their neighbours by masses of mountains, or isolated by difficulties of transit, are virtually in the position of nations with a small territory. Now of course a mountain becomes much sooner impassable in a cold than in a hot climate, and many hills which would scarcely be an obstacle in the one case become an insurmountable barrier in the other. It happens, too, that in northern Asia and America, and in a less degree in Europe, the great rivers—so invaluable elsewhere as a means of communication—are entirely useless. For, owing to the inclination of the continents, they all flow towards the north and north-west, and they happen to discharge themselves into the sea within the limits of perpetual ice, so their mouths are blocked up, and they themselves shut out against navigation. These several circumstances, added to the usual difficulty of travelling amid ice and snow, all help to confine the people of the North within narrow limits. And if there is any truth in the connexion of freedom with a small territory, or of intelligence with an extended experience, they must also contribute to produce freedom and to prevent intelligence.

If we consider the effects of the temperature as an independent agent, it will be seen that they point in exactly the same direction. It is the skin which is chiefly affected by external cold. It contracts as any other body would do on its temperature being lowered. The effect of which is, first, to cause the extremities of the nerves to withdraw from the surface of the skin along which they had been spread out; next, by diminishing the diameter of the capillaries, to drive the blood inwards; thirdly, to close the pores and shut out communication by that channel from within

and without. The sensibility of any part of the body depends, 1, on the proportion of sensory fibres with which it is supplied; and 2, on the activity of its capillary circulation. Long-continued cold must of necessity diminish, and in time destroy sensation, since it weakens the conditions on which that faculty depends. And in fact it has long been noticed that the Esquimaux, in common with all the Hyperborean tribes, are as nearly as possible without feeling on the surface of their bodies. They can stand or walk on broken glass without the slightest inconvenience, and are described as being quite amused at the astonishment of the French sailors who saw them perform this feat.* This hardiness has its advantages, but it is highly unfavourable to mental development, as it is probable that all the operations of the intellect are originally dependent on the reception of sensations. The activity of the mind, in fact, is as much the result of the impressions by which its faculties are called into play, as the life of the body is the consequence of the excitement of its several vital properties by external stimuli. So that the proximate effect of cold being to diminish the number and weaken the strength of the external sensations transmitted to the brain, its remote effect will be to weaken the activity of the brain itself; for it is a general rule that every organ acts with increased or diminished energy as it is excited or not by its appropriate stimulus.

It only remains for us to notice under this head that agriculture and the pastoral life being both impossible, the people are of necessity hunters. The pursuit and capture of the animals which constitute their food is attended with much danger, and demands both skill and courage in no ordinary degree. Such men are not likely to surrender their personal independence, but they are still less likely either to seek or find opportunities of mental cultivation. Their life is passed in what Mr. Hallam well calls a state of "strenuous idleness." History fully confirms the general conclusion. But we think that, even in the absence either of records or experience, any one might easily have arrived by a strictly deductive chain of reasoning at this principal factor; that the local causes which prevail in the north tend, 1, to engender freedom; and 2, to produce ignorance.

It now becomes necessary to make a somewhat rapid transition; to migrate mentally from scenes typical of desolation and death to the living glories and teeming luxuriance of the Tropics. Here, if we may trust to external analogies, will be

* The story is told by Cabanis, "*Rapports du Physique et du Morale de l'Homme*," tome i. Mémoire 8. Compare Montesquieu, "*L'Esprit des Lois*," xiv. c. 2: "Il faut écorcher un Muscovite pour lui donner du sentiment."

found the most perfect specimens of our race. In the presence of all that is most lovely, as of all that is most majestic in nature, man, the living centre of this great work, will be worthy of his opportunities and position. That social progress should grow out of the development of those physical circumstances which, it is admitted, influence it in some mode or another—the highest forms of the one being correlative to the highest forms of the other, is perfectly agreeable to our tastes and prejudices; the worst that can be said of it is, that it is not true. The fact being that as far as moral and intellectual perfection are concerned—the tropics are very little, if at all, better than the poles. It has been already stated, that the number of the inhabitants of any given country is always proportional to the means of subsistence in it. To this it must be added, that whatever may be the natural or acquired powers of the soil, population will soon mount up to it unless restrained by wants whose gratification is inconsistent with such an increase. These wants are of course of a higher nature than the mere satisfaction of the necessary demands for personal shelter, food, and clothing. They consist in the desire to live in a more refined and orderly manner, in the wish for education and the ambition to rise. Wherever they are absent, population rapidly progresses to the extreme point at which it can be maintained by the supporting power of the particular country. The stimulus of increasing comforts and constantly elevated desires, when felt by a sufficiently large number of individuals, creates a demand which will always lead to its gratification by means of new inventions cheapening and diffusing the luxuries of life. But comforts are not necessities until they have been enjoyed a certain length of time, and they cannot be enjoyed at all by the majority unless a considerable number have the means of purchasing them—in other words, money in hand over and above what is sufficient to support and clothe them. So that the acquisition of wealth is not only desirable on account of the more obvious and material advantages which it enables its possessors to purchase, but without some measure of it neither an individual nor a state can attain anything like a high standard of moral and intellectual development. Poverty is indeed an evil, for it implies a degradation; lower tastes, lower habits, a less human life. Now, whether the masses in any country will have such a surplus fund depends of course on the rate of wages; and the rate of wages depends on the amount of capital devoted to the payment of wages compared with the number of labourers.

“So long as capital and population increase or diminish in the same proportion, the rate of wages or the quantity of necessities and con-
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conveniences falling to the share of the labourer can undergo no change. But if the mass of capital be on the one hand augmented without a corresponding augmentation taking place in the population, a larger share of such capital will fall to each individual, or the rate of wages will be increased. And if on the other hand population is augmented faster than capital, a less share will be apportioned to each individual, or the rate of wages will be reduced. The well-being and comfort of the labouring classes are thus especially dependent on the proportion which their increase bears to the increase of the fund which is to feed and employ them."*

"Wages cannot rise, but by an increase of the aggregate funds employed in hiring labourers, or a diminution in the number of competitors for hire; nor fall, except either by a diminution of the funds devoted to paying labour, or by an increase in the number of labourers to be paid."†

Now the causes which produce an increase of capital are perfectly distinct from those on which population depends; and an augmentation in the number of labourers has no tendency to increase the fund out of which they are paid, but *has* a tendency to diminish it.

The conclusion from these principles seems inevitable. The natural tendency of plentiful food, in the absence of a powerful restraint, is to keep the population up to the limit which that food will support; in other words, to keep them poor. Examining the nature of the restraint, it is found to depend for its existence on the rate of wages; a high rate being favourable to it and a low rate all but inconsistent with it. But the rate of wages is itself determined by the proportion of capital to population, and as these do not vary simultaneously, the effect of an increase in the number of any people will be to tend to lower wages—that is, to remove the very check on which we chiefly depend to prevent such increase from becoming excessive, and therefore, poverty from becoming prevalent.

As regards India, this conclusion is amply verified by experience, wages in that country averaging about 1s. 6d. a week.

"In Bengal," says Mr. Colebrooke, "where clothing, lodging, and fuel are of comparatively inferior importance, the necessary wages of labour are almost entirely determined by the cost of the food consumed by the labourer. But as this food is produced at very little cost, a labourer is able to subsist on a mere trifle; and the consequence is, that the customary rate of wages is so low as 2½d. a day."

And Mr. Buckle observes,

"If we examine the earliest Indian records which have been pre-

* Smith's "Wealth of Nations," vol. iv. p. 173, Note by McCulloch.

† Mill's "Political Economy," vol. i. p. 402.

served—records between 2000 and 3000 years old—we find evidence of a state of things similar to that which now exists, and which, we may rely upon it, always has existed ever since the accumulation of capital once fairly began. We find the upper classes enormously rich, and the lower classes miserably poor. We find those by whose labour wealth is created receiving the smallest possible share of it; the remainder being absorbed by the higher ranks in the form either of rent or of profit. The conclusion, therefore, which we are obliged to draw, is that in tropical districts there is a tendency for the mass of the people to become poor; this result being brought about by the fertility of the soil stimulating a dense population, and by the absence of those restraints of which the most important is a rate of wages which will enable the labourer to purchase not merely the necessaries, but also some of the luxuries of life."

So much for their poverty. The bearing of this fact on the form of government will be alluded to hereafter: for the present it will be convenient to sever for a while the thread of this particular inquiry, and to pass to the consideration of that other criterion of national character—the state of knowledge.

The local causes which prevailed in the north were found to be adverse to thought. Are the inhabitants of the tropics in a position more favourable to the acquisition of knowledge; and if they are not, what will be the effect of their ignorance?

Now in the first place it may be noticed that our reasoning and emotional powers are to a great degree mutually exclusive; that whatever increases the one operates to a considerable extent to diminish the other; and, in the second place, that while the reason is chiefly occupied with the study of what is abstract, the imagination and feelings are most powerfully stimulated by the picturesque. Hence men of a nervous, sensitive organization are more often musicians, painters, and poets than natural philosophers, mathematicians, or lawyers. Success in the last mentioned pursuits demands patient and sustained thought, together with a power of attending to the succession of events, and a certain coldness of temperament which are very unlikely to exist in a man whose feelings are quick and active, and whose attention is perpetually disturbed by fresh objects being forced upon it. The qualities which charm us in the musician or painter on the contrary depend on facility of illustration rather than depth of view; on the grace and ease with which they travel from one thought to another, and not on the determinate perseverance which follows out its subject until it has exhausted it; they are concerned with the co-existence and not with the succession of phenomena; the power of abstracting his mind from all surrounding circumstances which is so essential to the man of science, is fatal to the man of art. So completely does the latter follow

the lead of his feelings, that when he becomes very distinguished, he does not even think. "I say, 'he thinks this,' and 'introduces that,'" says Mr. Ruskin, speaking of Turner; "but strictly speaking he does not *think* at all. If he thought, he would instantly go wrong. *It is only the clumsy and unimaginative artist who thinks.*"* It will accordingly be found that countries favourable to the development of the imagination and sensations, and presenting many objects calculated to excite them, are the natural home of the fine arts. In comparing the proportion which artists and poets bear to men of science in the South and North of Europe respectively, it will be found that the literature of Italy and Spain is very much more imaginative than that of Germany and England. But if in the place of Italy, India were to be taken, the contrast would be more striking still. In the former case the disproportion between the two classes of writers is great; in the latter case there is no proportion at all. In the tropics everything conspires to produce that particular organization which is characteristic of the poetic temperament. You cannot look at an Oriental without seeing the quick restless eye—the ever watchful attention which accompany high nervous power. The whole character of their literature, their religion, their language, are intensely imaginative. In Southern Europe poetry predominates over philosophy; but the philosophy of India is itself poetry. And where this is the character of the thinking few, what will be the probable condition of the many who do *not* think? Where even the intelligence of a country is unrestrained by the sober exercise of reason, we may infer with some likelihood that the unreflecting portion of it will be ruled by their passions; that the national character will be impulsive rather than cautious, and marked by the vices as well as by the brilliant qualities of that state.

This result is heightened by an entirely different cause; the comparative shortness of life in the tropics. The average age of a nation, or the mean duration of life in it has, as every one would expect, a considerable influence on its character. The difference between a country where the average age is 50, as contrasted with one where it is only 30, is much the same as the difference between two men of these respective ages. We may see it in the instance of the Americans as compared with ourselves. The average age of the population in England and Wales is 26 years and 7 months; in the United States it is 22 years and 2 months. In England there are 1365 people in every 10,000 who have attained 50 years of age and consequently of experience; while in the United States only 830 in each

* "Modern Painters," vol. iv. p. 25.

10,000 have arrived at that age; consequently in the United States the moral predominance of the young and passionate is greatest.

It may not, perhaps, at first sight appear that the duration of life has anything to do with the tendency of knowledge to assume the form of poetry rather than that of science; but the connexion will be recognised when we recall the fact that musicians and poets usually die young, and that philosophers and lawyers do not. Of the last ten Chancellors from Lord Thurlow downwards, the youngest is Lord Cranworth, who is about 70 years of age. Their average age is at present something over 76 years; but inasmuch as Lords Lyndhurst, Brougham, St. Leonards, and Cranworth are, happily, yet alive, it will turn out to be rather higher. For the purpose of comparison, let us select ten of our most distinguished poets, beginning with Spencer:—

	Age.		Age.
Spencer	46	Lord Thurlow	76
Shakspeare	52	„ Loughborough	72
Milton	66	„ Erskine	73
Pope	56	„ Eldon	87
Thomson	48	„ Lyndhurst	87
Gray	55	„ Brougham	81
Keats	24	„ Cottenham	70
Wordsworth	80	„ Truro	73
Coleridge	62	„ St. Leonards	78
Byron	36	„ Cranworth	70

The average age of the poets is 52. Every one of them is, therefore, more than 24 years younger than each of the last ten Chancellors.

If these were mere facts unexplained by reference to any general law, it would be impossible to argue from them. But the reason of the thing is perfectly well understood. Poets are usually men of a high nervous development, and the exercise of their art calls for great temporary excitement, followed by a corresponding depression. This is not so healthy as the more prolonged but less intense effort which lawyers are in the habit of applying to their work; and of course the more unhealthy an occupation is, the sooner on the whole will those engaged in it die.

As the tendency of thought in the tropics is poetic and imaginative, the population will probably be short-lived; unless the operation of this cause is counteracted by that of any other exerting itself in a contrary direction. We should also expect the mortality in Italy to be greater than that in England. The duration of life is no doubt affected by many causes quite independent of this one; but a constant quantity is sure to tell on the average

result. The tables of mortality show that counterbalancing forces of sufficient power do not in fact exist.

In England,	since 1821,	there has been 1 death in	58
„ Germany,	„ 1825,	„ „	45
„ the Roman States,	„ 1829,	„ „	28
„ Bombay	the proportion is 1 death in		20

So that the causes which affect the state of knowledge in the tropics have a twofold operation. By increasing the proportion of imaginative writers and thinkers, they directly tend to subjugate the reason; indirectly they do the same by shortening the mean annual duration of life.

Let us now resume the unfinished inquiry into influence of local causes on the form of government within the tropics, which was broken in upon by the view which we have just taken of the state of knowledge. We had arrived at this point—that the effect of a large population was to keep the people poor. It is well said that wealth is, after intellect, the most permanent source of power. But when we talk of knowledge being power, it must be understood that the word refers solely to that insight into the nature and properties of things which is gained by the exercise of our purely reasoning faculties. In this sense Bacon uses the word when he says that “knowledge and human power are synonymous;” for, as he explains, “he who has learned the cause of a nature in particular subjects only, has but an imperfect knowledge.” Now we must have knowledge, or be able to purchase its results, if we would either hold our own or attain any degree of power or influence. But the mass of the people in a tropical country, being both poor and ignorant, are neither able to purchase the results of knowledge, nor to acquire it for themselves. We may be sure, therefore, that their political position will be one of dependence and subserviency—a dependence guaranteed by no rights, and a subserviency at once thankless and unrewarded; that they will lie an easy prey to the first ambitious man whom circumstances may happen to elevate, and that all the conditions most favourable to despotism already exist. The histories of Assyria, Egypt, Persia, China, and India, attest that these conditions have in fact been irresistible. Nowhere in the history of the world has the rigid irresponsible self-interested rule of one man been so uniformly acquiesced in. Their institutions seem to have caught something of the fixity and unchanging regularity of the great physical phenomena which surround them. For they are now at that precise point in their constitutional history at which they had arrived twenty-five centuries ago. During the whole of that time they have known no other change than that of one ruler for another; they have never risen to any

conception higher than that of a purely personal government. We can readily understand why they should have taken the lead in an early development of the civilization of the infancy of the world—that infancy which is sometimes appealed to as antiquity—and why they should have remained stationary ever since. Everything conspired to make them extremely fertile; heat, moisture, and a rich soil. A large population was the natural result of a profusion of food. The physical conditions, on which character most immediately depends, were exerted in a direction unfavourable to deep thought and strength of will, but most favourable to the development of the feelings, emotions, and passions. The restraints on population being wanting, population increased with a rapidity which far outstripped capital, and the great body of the people was therefore poor. Then a combination of circumstances took place by which wealth was placed at the disposal of some one either more able or more unscrupulous, or, perhaps, both abler *and* more unscrupulous than his neighbours. History leaves us at no loss to divine by what arts and through what crimes such a man would rise to supreme power, or how, arrived there, he would retain his position by practising, like Deioeces, on the fears and superstition of his subjects.* The latter, unaccustomed to independent action, and secure of their daily food, would not be likely to fret under the yoke, unless perhaps when extraordinary demands were made on their lives and labours in the prosecution of a great war, or the erection of gigantic mausoleums or palaces. And it is as obvious that a State, the whole of whose resources are grasped by a single hand, will dazzle posterity by the magnificence of its public works, as that it will be unable to compete with the legitimate expansions of modern freedom, and that so long as it retains its own type of government, it will remain in an essentially barbarous and unimproving state.

We cannot help adding our belief that the buildings which have been erected during the last few years in Paris, in order to create a fictitious demand for labour, and which, in the eyes of some Englishmen, prove the inferiority of their own Government, will hereafter be classed with the gardens of Semiramis, the palaces of the Incas, and the Pyramids, as among the most decisive proofs of a low political feeling among the people who tolerate, and of the ignorance of the rulers who have raised them.

There is one other subject to which allusion must be made, as

* Herod. i. 99, 100, where the leading feature of eastern court etiquette is neatly put: ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε [Δηϊόκης] τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἔοντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρῃς, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπείατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκῇ εἶναι μὴ ὀρῶσι.

it usually occupies a prominent position in inquiries of this nature—the question as to the influence of scenery upon character. If any effect at all is produced by the outward appearance of a country, it can only be by an appeal to that sense of the beautiful and the grand which some men possess in a very slight degree, and which others do not possess at all. In order to see anything in a landscape, it is necessary to carry to it an educated eye and a cultivated taste. There are many people to whom the most lovely view is nothing but a series of graduated shadows and confused colours. The inhabitants of mountain countries may or may not be sensible to the beauties which surround them: if they have by any means gained the requisite cultivation, they will be favourably placed for progress in poetry and the fine arts; but the mere fact of living among natural beauties does not imply that they are either seen or appreciated. Mr. Ruskin has been travelling in Switzerland: this is what he says of the Swiss:—

“It was somewhat depressing to me to find, as day by day I found more certainly, that this people which first asserted the liberties of Europe, and first conceived the idea of equitable laws, was in all the—shall I call them the slighter or the higher?—sensibilities of the human mind, utterly deficient; and not only had remained from its earliest ages till now without poetry, without art, without music, except a mere modulated sound; but, as far as I could judge from the rude efforts of their early monuments, would have been, at the time of their greatest national power, incapable of producing good poetry or art under any circumstances of education.”*

If this is a true picture, Alpine scenery has not had much effect on the Swiss. Indeed, the number of people who are capable of being influenced by it must always be extremely limited. We should be justified on this ground alone in assigning to scenery a much more restricted sphere of operation than is due to those other causes which act upon the wants and requirements which are common to mankind at large. Yet it is probable that scenery modifies character to some extent. In the north, where the perceptions of the inhabitants are weak, and the aspect of nature dead and unvaried, this influence is scarcely appreciable. But in the south an ardent imaginative temperament is produced, and we can well conceive that it should be powerfully acted upon by the stupendous scale of the physical phenomena which prevail there. Hence comes a feeling of awe, increased by the destructive effects of hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes, and apt, among a people ignorant of their cause, to degenerate into a superstitious reverence for the supposed powers of nature.

We are now in a position to state some general results. In

* Inaugural Address delivered at Cambridge, October 29th, 1858.

two opposite quarters of the world, the influence of local causes has been traced chiefly under two heads—in their operation on the political constitution, and on the knowledge of the inhabitants. As regards the first, we have seen that the result has been to create two forms of government, both objectionable—an unrestrained despotism in the south, and in the north a state of freedom scarcely to be distinguished from anarchy. Intellectually, also, very opposite conditions are produced under these different circumstances. Both are unfavourable to the growth of the reason, and hence to the progress of true knowledge. In the south, ignorance is produced by the power of the passions, causing a relative weakness of the intellect: in the north, by the absence of sensations producing an absolute deficiency. The characteristics of the Esquimaux are all referable to the idea of low energy; he is lazy, somnolent, and stupid: those of the Hindoo arise from misdirected power; he is cruel, sensual, and impetuous.

We have followed the growth of these results through the operation of cold, which, while it obliges man to be a large consumer of food, drives him to laborious and dangerous modes of procuring it, and hence makes him brave and independent indeed, but not wise; through the influence of a small population—the inevitable result of these and of other conditions—and which also tends to exaggerate their effect; through the outward aspect of the landscape, which is not calculated to stimulate thought; and, lastly, through the difficulties of transit debarring every northern tribe from intercommunication with themselves, and from contact with others.

We have seen in the tropics these conditions almost entirely reversed; food plentiful, labour all but unnecessary, nature herself grand and attractive to an unexampled degree, and, in Asia at least, favouring rather than retarding the intercourse of nation with nation. But we have been compelled to acknowledge that what she gives is almost as fatal as what she withholds; since population produces poverty, poverty ignorance, and poverty and ignorance together pave the way for one of those despotisms which seem inconsistent with the highest form of national greatness. The physical aspect of the country, by supplying objects calculated to stimulate the imagination, and the influence of climate, by exalting the perceptive powers—both aided by the shorter duration of life—exalt the emotional and depress the rational faculties, and have therefore an unfavourable influence on the general state of knowledge. These are the extreme cases. We may, therefore, expect that where the causes are less active the effects will be less violent, and that the countries in which real liberty is to be found will be intermediate between those which produce despotism on the one hand and licence on the

other ; that that balance of the faculties, mental and physical, which it is the aim of education to effect, will probably be due to a modification of the conditions which produce, as we have seen, the extremes of nervous energy and depression, passion and indifference, imagination and dulness.

It is an old opinion that nations like individuals pass through a series of regularly recurring changes ; that they have their critical periods of infancy and youth, in which a development of the constitution is attended with derangements more or less severe ; that they emerge from these to encounter the trials of a more mature state, and finally, having exhausted the pre-appointed cycle, make way in the natural order of things for higher forms of political existence. Whatever may be the scientific value of this theory, it contains, at least, some most important truths. It implies that the present position and future destiny of mankind are effects due to the operation of causes which are or may be known. It asserts that the life of every nation, as of every individual, is evolved according to the laws of its own organism ; that it is of a plan, that it forms part of a system, and that the present, which followed as of course from the past, will produce, equally of course, the future. In determining the course of that future, the operation of nature must, as we have seen, be counted as a most important element. But it is never to be forgotten, that if nature acts on man, man re-acts, and with almost equal force, on nature. A canal through the Isthmus of Suez or Panama—the draining of a large district—are sufficient to cause a revolution not inferior to the operation of many physical causes. It may be that we are the creatures of circumstances ; but it is no less true that those circumstances are very much of our own creation, and, even where they are found for us, may be modified, moulded, and impressed in a manner only limited by the knowledge which we bring to bear upon them. Hence the lesson to be deduced is not despondency at human impotence, but a well-grounded feeling of confidence in human power. The struggle between nature and man is of old standing, and, although even now carried on with varying fortune, will terminate, there is good reason to believe, in our favour. But the conditions of our success are rigidly imposed. We may be destined to conquer nature and subdue her ; but she can be conquered only by submission—we must subdue her by obeying her laws.

ART. IV.—THE LIFE OF A CONJUROR. ●

Memoirs of Robert-Houdin, Ambassador, Author, and Conjuror.
Written by Himself. Two vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859.

IN the first decade of this nineteenth century, a small watchmaker in the ancient town of Blois was made happy by the appearance of a son and heir, who, if not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, may be said to have^{*} rivalled that physiological abnormality by coming into the world with a file and hammer in his hand. These were his bells and coral. He played with these, as babies of a less mechanical turn play with soldier-toys and kittens. By the time he had reached his eighth year he had invented toys, which he had constructed for himself. No finger-cuttings, no punishments, could keep him from his father's workshop. To handle tools, and take a mechanism to pieces, became the hobby of this boy, who in time grew to be Robert-Houdin, the conjuror we have all admired.

In spite of the unequivocal genius for mechanics displayed by this boy, the proud father would not hear of his following the watchmaker's trade; he was to have a "liberal education," and make a figure in one of the professions. At school the boy was not happy; he had insatiable, cravings for the workshop; his holidays were passed in making snares, gins, and mousetraps. Having caught several mice, he turned their *mouse-power* to mechanical purposes. One of his inventions delighted the boys: it was a method of raising water by means of a pump made almost entirely of quills. A mouse, harnessed like a horse, was intended to set this Liliputian machine in action, but unhappily the mouse, though doing its best, could not quite overcome the resistance of the cog-wheels, and the inventor was obliged to lend a hand. Had he but a rat, how beautifully his machine would work! A rat must be got. A rat *is* got. A string is fastened round its legs, and the unwilling Rodent is carried off by the young mechanician to the dormitory, where masters and pupils are sound asleep. As sleep was necessary for the boy, too, the rat was thrust headforemost into one of his shoes, the shoe thrust into a stocking, and the stocking into the trousers, while the string which was tied round the leg of the rat was made fast to the bed-post. And now to bed, and happy dreams! The morning breaks; the boys get up; Houdin begins to dress, and at once pitcously remarks that the captive Rodent, dissatisfied with the arrange-

ments for ventilation, had gnawed his way through shoe, stocking, and trousers. He had not yet gnawed the string, there was some comfort in that. But what would the masters say? They, you may be sure, had little regard for rats, and would be wroth about the destruction of clothes. However, he made a clean breast of it, confessed all, and was forgiven, on making a promise henceforth to devote himself to books and give up mechanics. Greek and Latin, never greatly exhilarating to a boy, took the place of cog-wheels and springs. The "humanities" pushed aside the screw and lever; and, as he was energetic, he really devoted himself without disgrace to the drudgery of gerund-grinding.

At length he left college. What was he to be? His own inclinations pointed unequivocally to watchmaking, or some branch of mechanical ingenuity; but his father, not having made a fortune himself by watchmaking, had a poor opinion of that calling; and having at great cost to himself given his son a college education, wanted to see him in some liberal profession. The father gained his point, as far as the first step was concerned. Robert entered a lawyer's office. But the passion was too strong to be strangled by parchments. He was constantly at work inventing mechanical toys, and chance one day throwing in his hands a volume which explained how to perform a variety of conjuring tricks, his vocation in life was then irrevocably fixed.

"I was eagerly devouring every line of the magic book which described the astounding tricks; my head was a-glow, and I at times gave way to thoughts which plunged me in ecstasy. Still the hours slipped away, and while my mind was indulging in fanciful dreams, I did not notice that my candle had burned down in the socket. How can I describe my disappointment when it suddenly went out? It was the last candle I possessed; hence I was forced to quit the sublime realms of magic all for want of a halfpenny taper. At this instant I would have given my whole fortune, were it only for a street lamp.

"I was not exactly in the dark: a dim ray entered my window from a neighbouring lamp; but, though I made every effort to read by it, I could not decipher a single word, and was obliged to retire to bed willy-nilly.

"In vain I tried to sleep: the febrile excitement produced by the book prevented either sleep or rest. I went continually over the passages which had most struck me, and the interest they inspired only the more excited me. Finding it impossible to remain in bed, I repeatedly returned to the window, and while casting envious glances on the lamp, I had made up my mind to go down into the street and read by its light, when another idea occurred to me. In my impatience to realize it I did not wait to dress, but, confining my attire to what was strictly necessary, if I may so call a pair of slippers and my drawers, I took my hat in one hand, a pair of pincers in the other, and went down into the street.

"Once there, I proceeded straight to the lamp; for I must confess, that in my anxiety to profit at once by the sleight-of-hand tricks I had been studying, I intended to conjure away the oil-lamp provided by the authorities for the safety of the town. The parts the hat and pincers were to play in the operation were simple enough; the latter would wrench open the little box containing the end of the cord by which the lamp was raised, and the former would act as a dark lantern, and hide the rays of light which might betray my theft.*

"All prospered famously; and I was about to retire in triumph, when a miserable incident threatened to rob me of the profits of my trick. At the moment of my success a baker's man overthrew my plans by emerging from the door of his shop. I concealed myself in a doorway, and, while striving to hide the light, I waited perfectly motionless till the unlucky baker retired. But judge of my grief and terror when I saw him lean against the door and calmly smoke his pipe!

"My position was growing intolerable; the cold and the fear of detection made my teeth chatter, and, to increase my despair, I soon felt the lining of my hat catch fire. There was no time for hesitation: I crushed my failure of a lantern in my hands, and thus put out the fire; but it was a dreadful sacrifice. My poor hat, the one I wore on Sundays, was smoked, stained with oil, and shapeless. And while I was enduring all these torments, my tyrant continued to smoke with an air of calmness and comfort which drove me nearly mad.

"It was quite plain I could not stay here till daylight; but how to escape from this critical situation? To ask the baker to keep my secret would be running a risk; while, to return home straight would betray me, for I must pass in front of him, and he would be sure to recognise me. The only chance left was to go down a side street and make a détour to reach the house. This I decided on, even at the risk of any one meeting me in my bathing attire. Without delay I took hat and lamp under my arm, for I was forced to remove the proofs of my crime, and I started off like an arrow. In my trouble, I fancied the baker was after me. I even thought I heard his footfall behind me, and in my anxiety to escape I doubled my speed; first I turned to the right, then to the left, and went through such a number of streets, that it took me a quarter of an hour to regain my room, in a state of perfect collapse, yet glad to have escaped so cheaply."

'The study of this book set his imagination to work. He began to practise the elementary principles of sleight-of-hand. A corn-cutter initiated him into the art, and his own patient assiduity did the rest. He got so far as to be able to carry on two very distinct sets of actions at once—for example, to throw four balls in circles in the air, and all the while read a book placed before him. Severe practice of eye and hand gave him great precision

* It will be remembered that in those days French towns were lighted by a lamp suspended in the centre of the highway from a cord attached to two poles.

and delicacy, so that he could perform most of the sleight-of-hand tricks performed by others. In those days it was the fashion to wear coats with large pockets on the hips. Whenever his hands were not otherwise engaged, he slipped them into these pockets and set to work with cards, coins, or other objects of practice. Thus, when he went on an errand, his hands were actively employed; at dinner, while with one hand he held his spoon, with the other he was practising *sauter la coupe*. The consequence of this incessant practice was that he could make any object held in his hand disappear with ease.

Having thus slowly prepared himself for his future career, it required but a trifling accident to determine him. He fell in with Torrini, a celebrated conjuror, whose history he relates at some length, and which is a Dumas novel in all respects: not in the least credible, but tolerably amusing. With Torrini he travels for some time, and on one occasion performs for him *en amateur*. He then returns to his native town, and tries to work in harness again, but without success. At length he marries, and as his father-in-law was engaged in the making of astronomical clocks and chronometers, Robert joined him as an assistant, and came to Paris. To him Robert confided his scheme of setting up a room for the display of mechanical toys and sleight-of-hand tricks; and this scheme being approved, he set to work with great ardour. For this purpose he frequented the shop of a mechanical toymaker, and met there various persons who gave him instruction in the art he so passionately loved. Nor were his studies confined to conversation and practical experiment; he ransacked libraries for information, and gives us a sketch of the history of mechanical inventions. He discovered, in 1844, that Vaucanson's celebrated automaton Duck was an ingenious mechanism aided by a conjuror's trick. Vaucanson informed the public that:—

“In this duck will be noticed the mechanism of the viscera, intended to perform the functions of eating, drinking, and digesting. The action of all the parts is exactly imitated. The bird puts out its head to take up the seed, swallows it, digests it, and evacuates it by the ordinary channels.

“All thoughtful persons will understand the difficulty of making my automaton perform so many different movements, as when it stands on its legs and moves its head to the right and left. They will also see that this animal drinks, dabbles with its bill, quacks like the living duck, and, in short, is precisely similar in every respect.”

On examining the mechanism, Houdin found that:—

The trick was as simple as it was interesting. A vase, containing seed steeped in water, was placed before the bird. The motion of the bill in dabbling crushed the food, and facilitated its introduction into

a pipe placed beneath the lower bill. The water and seed thus swallowed fell into a box, placed under the bird's stomach, which was emptied every three or four days. The other part of the operation was thus effected: Bread-crumbs, coloured green, was expelled by a forcing pump, and carefully caught on a silver salver as the result of artificial digestion. This was handed round to be admired, while the ingenious trickster laughed in his sleeve at the credulity of the public."

Nor was it much better with the celebrated automaton chess-player. The story of this is so good that we must give the commencement:—

"In 1796, a revolt broke out in a half-Russian, half-Polish regiment stationed at Riga, at the head of the rebels being an officer of the name of Worousky, a man of great talent and energy. He was of short stature, but well built; and he exercised such influence, that the troops sent to suppress the revolt were beaten back with considerable loss. However, reinforcements came from St. Petersburg, and the insurgents were defeated in a pitched battle. A great number perished, and the rest took to flight across the marshes, where the soldiers pursued them, with orders to grant no quarter.

"In this rout Worousky had both thighs shattered by a cannon-ball, and fell on the battle-field; however, he escaped from the general massacre by throwing himself into a ditch behind a hedge. At night-fall, Worousky dragged himself along with great difficulty to the adjacent house of a physician of the name of Osloff, whose benevolence was well known, and the doctor, moved by his sufferings, attended upon, and promised to conceal him. His wound was serious, but the doctor felt confident of curing him, until gangrene set in, and his life could only be saved at the cost of half his body. The amputation was successful, and Worousky saved.

"During this time, M. de Kempelen, a celebrated Viennese mechanic, came to Russia to pay a visit to M. Osloff, with whom he had been long acquainted. He was travelling about to learn foreign languages, the study of which he afterwards displayed in his splendid work on the "*Mechanism of Words*," published at Vienna in 1791. M. de Kempelen stopped a short time in every country the language of which he desired to learn, and his aptitude was so great that he acquired it very speedily.

"This visit was the more agreeable to the doctor, as for some time he had been alarmed as to the consequences of the noble action he had performed; he feared being compromised if it were found out, and his embarrassment was extreme, for, living alone with an old housekeeper, he had no one to consult or to help him. Hence, he told M. de Kempelen his secret, and begged his aid. Though at first startled by sharing such a secret—for he knew that a reward was offered for the insurgent chief, and that the act of humanity he was about to help in might send him to Siberia—still, M. de Kempelen, on seeing Worousky's mutilated body, felt moved with compassion, and began contriving some plan to secure his escape.

“Dr. Osloff was a passionate lover of chess, and had played numerous games with his patient during his tardy convalescence; but Worousky was so strong at the game that the doctor was always defeated. Then Kempelen joined the doctor in trying to defeat the skilful player, but it was of no use; Worousky was always the conqueror. His superiority gave M. de Kempelen the idea of the famous Automaton Chess-player. In an instant his plan was formed, and he set to work immediately. The most remarkable circumstance is, that this wonderful chef-d’œuvre, which astonished the whole world, was invented and finished within three months.

“M. de Kempelen was anxious his host should make the first essay of his automaton; so, he invited him to play a game on the 10th of October, 1796. The automaton represented a Turk of the natural size, wearing the national costume, and seated behind a box of the shape of a chest of drawers. In the middle of the top of the box was a chess-board.

“Prior to commencing the game, the artist opened several doors in the chest, and M. Osloff could see inside a large number of wheels, pulleys, cylinders, springs, &c., occupying the larger part. At the same time, he opened a long drawer, from which he produced the chessmen and a cushion, on which the Turk was to rest his arm. This examination ended, the robe of the automaton was raised, and the interior of the body could also be inspected.

“The doors being then closed, M. de Kempelen wound up one of the wheels with a key he inserted in a hole in the chest; after which the Turk, with a gentle nod of salutation, placed his hand on one of the pieces, raised it, deposited it on another square, and laid his arm on the cushion before him. The inventor had stated that, as the automaton could not speak, it would signify check to the king by three nods, and to the queen by two.

“The doctor moved in his turn, and waited patiently till his adversary, whose movements had all the dignity of the Sultan he represented, had moved. The game, though slow at first, soon grew animated, and the doctor found he had to deal with a tremendous opponent; for, in spite of all his efforts to defeat the figure, his game was growing quite desperate. It is true, though, that for some minutes past, the doctor’s attention had appeared to be distracted, and one idea seemed to occupy him. But while hesitating whether he should impart his thoughts to his friend, the figure gave three nods. The game was over.

“‘By Jove!’ the loser said, with a tinge of vexation, which the sight of the inventor’s smiling face soon dispelled, ‘if I were not certain Worousky is at this moment in bed, I should believe I had been playing with him. His head alone is capable of inventing such a checkmate. And besides,’ the doctor said, looking fixedly at M. de Kempelen, ‘can you tell me why your automaton plays with the left hand, just like Worousky?’* ”

“The mechanic began laughing, and not wishing to prolong this

* The automaton chess-player always used the left hand—a defect falsely attributed to the carelessness of the constructor.

mystification, the prelude to so many others, he confessed to his friend that he had really been playing with Worousky.

“‘But where the deuce have you put him, then?’ the doctor said, looking round to try and discover his opponent.

“The inventor laughed heartily.

“‘Well! do you not recognise me?’ the ‘Turk’ exclaimed, holding out his left hand to the doctor in reconciliation, while Kempelen raised the robe, and displayed the poor cripple stowed away in the body of the automaton.

“M. Oslaff could no longer keep his countenance, and he joined the others in their laughter. But he was the first to stop, for he wanted an explanation.

“‘But how do you manage to render Worousky invisible?’

“M. de Kempelen then explained how he concealed the living automaton before it entered the ‘Turk’s’ body.

“‘See here!’ he said, opening the chest, ‘these wheels, pulleys, and cranks occupying a portion of the chest, are only a deception. The frames that support them are hung on hinges, and can be turned back to leave space for the player while you were examining the body of the automaton.

“‘When this inspection was ended, and as soon as the robe was allowed to fall, Worousky entered the ‘Turk’s’ body we have just examined, and, while I was showing you the box and the machinery, he was taking his time to pass his arms and hands into those of the figure. You can understand that, owing to the size of the neck, which is hidden by the broad and enormous collar, he can easily pass his head into this mask, and see the chess-board. I must add, that when I pretend to wind up the machine, it is only to drown the sound of Worousky’s movements.’”

It is a lesson which only young men need, but which they for the most part greatly need, that no eminence in any art can be acquired without patient labour, acting in alliance with native dispositions. Heaven-descended genius, in turn-down collars, will not suffice; and it is because young men of parts are too indolently satisfied with facile small successes, and cannot coerce their energies into steady labour, that we have so many incomplete performances, buds that never become fruit, cleverness that makes no lasting impression. In Robert-Houdin’s career, the lesson of patience is well illustrated. He had native dispositions, an unequivocal talent for sleight-of-hand, and mechanical contrivances. But he did not trust to this aptitude; he worked it till it became a power. We have already indicated the practice by which he educated this talent, and we shall now see the labour which he devoted to the invention of mechanical contrivances. Probably some youth of a literary turn will smile a sarcastic smile at the notion of a juggler illustrating the career of genius. He will, perhaps, consider Robert-Houdin too much his inferior in

intellectual rank to furnish him with an example. And yet, without any sarcastic intention, we might show that the conjuror was really a man of greater ability than many a successful author. We do not simply mean that he was able to do what the author could not do ; we mean that on a fair estimate of the intellectual power displayed in each case, the conjuror has the superiority. Both of them aim at amusing the public ; both appeal to the wonder, curiosity, and sympathy with talent, which exist largely in the public. Neither of them does more. They do not materially enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, nor impress a new direction on the current of men's thoughts. The amusement of a novel (not of the highest class), a book of sketches, or a criticism, may be superior in the kind of *influence* it exerts ; but its *production*, in the present state of literature, does not require faculties of a rarer or more admirable order than those required for such performances as Houdin's. There is little originality or sincerity in ordinary novels. There is only a more or less clever re-arrangement of the old materials. The characters are those of the circulating library ; the incidents are not only improbable, but mostly foolish, and such as have been used time out of mind ; the language is equally conventional ; the dialogue wholly fictitious and factitious. Indeed, we may say that books are rarely new. They are not contributions to our experience, but *rifacimenti*. The literary man juggles with phrases, as the juggler with cards. He amuses while he deceives us. We do not believe in him. We are content if he only whiles away the time. We admire his special talent for the manipulation of language, all the more because not having that talent ourselves we are disposed to think it admirable ; as we think the special talent of the juggler admirable because we know how impossible it would be for us to imitate his feats. If all men were able to juggle cards and balls, only supreme excellence would command attention. If all men could express themselves with facility and copiousness, without hurting the feelings of Lindley Murray, most of those who are now styled literary men would have no vocation ; only those who had new ideas, or new experience to communicate, would gain a hearing. Considering, therefore, that in the mass of current literature, invention, originality of any kind, is rare ; and considering further that Robert-Houdin, in his art, displayed remarkable invention, as well as great special talent—constructing machines which could only be constructed by a very ingenious mechanician, and inventing tricks which implied powers of combination and observation given but to few—we are perfectly serious in declaring our estimate of Robert-Houdin's *powers* to be higher than our estimate of the powers of many a man who makes a certain figure in the circulating libraries.

This, however, is a digression, and we return to Houdin's preparatory studies. He had determined on constructing a variety of automata. The first he made are thus described:—

“The first was a small pastrycook issuing from his shop-door at the word of command, and bringing, according to the spectator's request, patties and refreshments of every description. At the side of the shop assistant pastrycooks might be seen rolling paste and putting it in the oven.

“Another specimen represented two clowns, Auriol and Debureau. The latter held out at arm's length a chair, on which his merry comrade performed acrobatic tricks, like his namesake at the circus in the Champs Elysées. After these performances Auriol smoked a pipe, and ended by accompanying on the flageolet an air played by the orchestra.

“The next was a mysterious orange-tree, on which flowers and fruit burst into life at the request of the ladies. As the finale, a handkerchief I borrowed was conveyed into an orange purposely left on the tree. This opened and displayed the handkerchief, which two butterflies took by the corners and unfolded before the spectators.

“Lastly, I made a dial of transparent glass, which marked the hours at the will of the spectators, and struck the time on a crystal bell.”

Whatever importance we may attach to such works, no one will deny the ingenuity and labour required for their invention and construction. Only the inventor can truly know the pangs and pleasures, the tentatives and failures on the pathway of success. While Houdin was undergoing these, an unforeseen catastrophe ruined his father-in-law and himself; he could now no longer indulge in the inventor's delicious labours, he had to work for the daily support of his family. He resumed his old trade of repairing clocks and watches. He moved his whole family into a modest lodging in the rue du Temple, at three hundred francs a-year, consisting of a room, a bed-room, and “a stove in a cupboard, to which the proprietor gave the name of kitchen.” Thus housed, he worked courageously, now looking at a cog-wheel, and now diving into the kitchen to stir a ragout or watch the *pot au feu*.

“I had resumed my first trade, that of repairing watches and clocks. Still, this was only to secure our hand-to-mouth existence, for all the while I was repairing I was meditating a piece of clockwork the success of which restored some ease to our household. It was an alarm, which was thus arranged:

“You placed it by your side when you went to bed, and at the hour desired, a peal aroused the sleeper, while, at the same time, a ready lighted candle came out from a small box. I was the prouder of this invention and its success, as it was the first of my ideas which produced me any profit.

“This ‘alarm light,’ as I christened it, was so popular that, in

order to satisfy the great demand for it, I was obliged to add a workshop to my rooms and hire several workmen. • Encouraged by such a favourable result, I turned my attention afresh to inventions, and gave a free scope to my imagination. I succeeded in making several more toys, among which was one which my readers will probably remember to have seen in the shop-windows. It was a glass dial, mounted on a column of the same material. 'This 'mysterious clock' (as I called it), although entirely transparent, indicated the hour with the greatest exactness, and struck, without any apparent mechanism to make it move. I also constructed several automata, such as a conjuror playing with cups, a dancer on the tight-rope, singing birds, &c."

Ruin again threatened him. A bill of two thousand francs was due at the end of the month, and there was not a franc in the house to pay it. He had recently formed the idea of a new automaton, on which the most sanguine hopes of a sanguine inventor had been fixed: it was to be a writing-and-drawing automaton, which should answer in writing, or in emblems, any questions proposed by the spectators. In the urgency of his present distress, he hurried to a rich curiosity dealer, to whom several of his inventions had been sold. To him the new idea was explained, and so delighted was the dealer that he at once agreed to purchase it for five thousand francs—half the money down, and the other half on delivery, eighteen months from that date. Joy was once more on the faces and in the hearts of the little family. But presently a certain anxiety stole over the inventor. He had engaged to deliver the automaton by a certain day, and now he foresaw a thousand obstacles which had not occurred before. Determined to free himself from all the numerous interruptions occasioned by the visits of friends, customers, relatives, and bores, he made a wise resolution, and kept it: entrusting the management of his business to one of his workmen, he retired, in spite of the prayers and tears of his whole family, to a lodging in the suburbs, at Belleville, and there in solitude worked courageously at his automaton. The first days of solitude and separation from wife and children were bitter enough; and many of the hours were gloomy and despondent. But the strength of his passion, and a sense of duty, sustained him. If a tear stood in his eye, he closed it, and visions of the various combinations which were to move the automaton appeared before him: he gazed upon the wheels he had made: they too were his children, and he smiled the father's smile. Every Thursday his wife and children spent the evening with him, and every Sunday he dined with them. These few hours were the only hours given to relaxation. Work and solitary musings filled up the rest.

Nor were mechanical difficulties the only ones he had to contend against in the construction of his automaton. He had

ordered the body, legs, arms, and head to be made by a carver. At the end of a month these appeared; the legs and trunk were well enough, but the head was the head of a saint; and as the sculptor never carved anything but saints, nothing else was to be got from him. After trying elsewhere, in vain, Houdin determined to carve the head for himself, and actually taught himself how to do this. More than a twelvemonth passed, and the automaton was now complete.

"After many doubts as to the success of my enterprise, the solemn moment arrived when I should make the first trial of my writer. I had spent the whole day in giving the last touches to the automaton, which sat before me as if awaiting my orders, and prepared to answer the questions I asked it. I had only to press the spring in order to enjoy the long awaited result. My heart beat violently, and though I was alone, I trembled with emotion at the mere thought of this imposing trial.

I had just laid the first sheet of paper before my writer, and asked him this question :

" ' Who is the author of your being ?'

"I pressed the spring, and the clockwork began acting. I dared hardly breathe through fear of disturbing the operations. The automaton bowed to me, and I could not refrain from smiling on it as on my own son. But when I saw the eyes fix an attentive glance on the paper—when the arm, a few seconds before numb and lifeless, began to move and trace my signature in a firm handwriting—the tears started to my eyes, and I fervently thanked Heaven for granting me such success. And it was not alone the satisfaction I experienced as inventor, but the certainty I had of being able to restore some degree of comfort to my family, that caused my deep feeling of gratitude.

"After making my Sosia repeat my signature a thousand times, I gave it this next question : ' What o'clock is it ?'

"The automaton, acting in obedience to a clock, wrote : ' It is two in the morning.'

"This was a very timely warning. I profited by it, and went straight to bed. Against my expectations, I enjoyed a sleep I had not known for a long time."

This really remarkable invention was exhibited at the Exposition of 1844, and visited by thousands, as well as by the Royal Family. Houdin makes a remark connected with it, which is very instructive, and applies to a great many cases :—

"The public (I do not mean the educated portion) generally understand nothing of the mechanical effects by which an automaton is moved; but they are pleased to see them, and often only value them by the multiplicity of their parts. I had taken every care to render the mechanism of my writer as perfect as possible, and had set great store on making the clockwork noiseless. In doing this, I wished to imitate nature, whose complicated instruments act almost imperceptibly.

"Can it be credited that this very perfection, which I had worked so hard to attain, was unfavourable to my automaton? On its first exhibition, I frequently heard persons who only saw the outside, say:

" 'That writer is first-rate; but the mechanism is probably very simple. It often requires such a trifle to produce great results.'

"The idea then struck me of rendering the clockwork a little less perfect, so that a whizzing sound should be heard, something like cotton-spinning. Then the worthy public formed a very different estimate of my work, and the admiration increased in a ratio to the intensity of the noise. Such exclamations as these were continually heard: 'How ingenious! What complicated machinery! What talent such combinations must require!'

"In order to obtain this result, I had rendered my automaton less perfect; and I was wrong. In this I followed the example of certain actors who overdo their parts in order to produce a greater effect. They raise a laugh, but they infringe the rules of art, and are rarely ranked among first-rate artists. Eventually, I got over my susceptibility, and my machine was restored to its first condition."

His exile at Belleville did not terminate with the completion of the automaton writer; he also constructed an automaton nightingale, and found himself thus the possessor of seven thousand francs.

We must pass over the troubles and vexations he incurred in getting a theatre, building it, and making everything ready for his *Soirées Fantastiques*; and will pause at the 3rd July, 1845, when the terrible ordeal of a first appearance was to be made.

"The day of my first representation had at length arrived. To say how I spent it is impossible; all I remember is, that, at the end of a feverish and sleepless night, occasioned by the multiplicity of my tasks, I had to organize and foresee everything, for I was at once manager, machinist, author, and actor. What a terrible responsibility for a poor artist, whose life had hitherto been spent among his tools!

"At seven in the evening, a thousand things had still to be done, but I was in a state of febrile excitement which doubled my strength and energy, and I got through them all.

"Eight o'clock struck and echoed through my heart like the peal that summons the culprit to execution; never in my life did I experience such emotion and torture. Ah! if I could only draw back! Had it been possible to fly and abandon this position I had so long desired, with what happiness would I have returned to my peaceful avocations! And yet, why did I feel this mad terror? I know not, for three-fourths of the room were filled with persons on whose indulgence I could rely.

"I made a final attack on my pusillanimity.

" 'Come!' I said to myself, 'courage! I have my name, my future, my children's fortune at stake: courage!'

"This thought restored me; I passed my hand several times over

my agitated features, ordered the curtain to be raised, and without further reflection I walked boldly on the stage.

"My friends, aware of my sufferings, received me with some encouraging applause; this kind reception restored my confidence, and, like a gentle dew, refreshed my mind and senses. I began.

"To assert that I acquitted myself fairly would be a proof of vanity, and yet it would be excusable, for I received repeated signs of applause from my audience. But how to distinguish between the applause of the friendly and the paying public? I was glad to deceive myself, and my experiments gained by it.

"The first part was over and the curtain fell. My wife came directly to embrace me, to encourage me, and thank me for my courageous efforts. I may now confess it: I believed that I had been alone severe to myself, and that it was possible all this applause was sterling coin. This belief did me an enormous good; and why should I conceal it, tears of joy stood in my eyes, which I hastened to wipe away lest my feelings might prevent my preparations for the second part.

"The curtain rose again, and I approached my audience with a smile on my lips. I judged of this change in my face by those of my spectators, for they began all at once to share my good humour. How many times since have I tried this imitative faculty on the part of the public? If you are anxious, ill-disposed, or vexed, or should your face bear the stamp of any annoying impression, your audience, straightway imitating the contraction of your features, begins to frown, grows serious, and ill-disposed to be favourable to you. If, however, you appear on the stage with a cheerful face, the most sombre brows un wrinkle, and every one seems to say to the artist: 'How d'ye do, old fellow, your face pleases me, I only want an opportunity to applaud you.' Such seemed to be the case with my public at this moment.

"It was more easy for me to feel at my ease as I was beginning my favourite experiment, 'the surprising pocket-handkerchief,' a medley of clever deceptions. After borrowing a handkerchief, I produced from it a multitude of objects of every description, such as sugar-plums, feathers of every size up to a drum-major's, fans, comic journals, and, as a *finale*, an enormous basket of flowers, which I distributed to the ladies. This trick was perfectly successful, but to tell the truth, I had it at my fingers' ends.

"The next performance was the 'orange-tree,' and I had every reason to calculate on this trick, for, in my private rehearsals, it was the one I always did best. I began with a few juggling tricks as introduction, which were perfectly successful, and I had every reason to believe I was getting through it capitally, when a sudden thought crossed my mind and paralysed me. I was assailed by a panic which must have been felt to be understood, and I will try to explain it by an illustration.

"When you are learning to swim, the teacher begins by giving you this important piece of advice: 'Have confidence and all will be well.' If you follow his advice, you easily keep yourself up on the water, and it seems perfectly natural; thus you learn to swim. But it often happens that a sudden thought crosses your mind like lightning:

‘Suppose my strength failed me!’ From that time you hurry your movements, you redouble your speed, the water no longer sustains you, you flounder about, and, if a helping hand were not by, you would be lost.

“Such was my situation on the stage; the thought had suddenly struck me: ‘Suppose I were to fail!’ And immediately I began to talk quick, hurried on in my anxiety to finish, felt confused, and, like the tired swimmer, I floundered about without being able to emerge from the chaos of my ideas.

“Oh! then I experienced a torture, an agony which I could not describe, but which might easily become mortal were it prolonged.

“The real public were cold and silent, my friends were foolish enough to applaud, but the rest remained quiet. I scarcely dared to look round the room, and my experiment ended I know not how.

“I proceeded to the next, but my nervous system had reached such a degree of irritation that I no longer knew what I said or did. I only felt that I was speaking with extraordinary volubility, so that the four last tricks of my performance were done in a few minutes.

“The curtain fell very opportunely: my strength was exhausted; but a little longer and I should have had to crave the indulgence of my audience.

“In my life I never passed so frightful a night as the one following my first performance. I had a fever, I am quite certain, but that was as nothing in comparison with my moral sufferings. I had no desire left or courage to appear on the stage. I wished to sell, give up, or give away, if necessary, an establishment which taxed my strength too severely.

“‘No,’ I said to myself, ‘I am not born for this life of emotion. I will quit the parching atmosphere of a theatre. I will, even at the expense of a brilliant fortune, return to my gentle and calm employment.’

“The next morning, incapable of rising, and, indeed, firmly resolved to give up my representations, I had the bill taken down that announced my performance for that evening. I had made up my mind as to all the consequences of this resolution. Thus, the sacrifice accomplished, I found myself far more calm, and even yielded to the imperious claims of a sleep I had for a long time denied myself.”

Who can read this without sympathy? and who that knows the perfidious counsel of “friends” will be surprised to hear that one of these counsellors called on him the next morning, and blandly assuming that Houdin had resolved on not repeating the performance, informed him that “he had foretold it;” always thinking the experiment madness. Houdin was piqued. He *had* intended to retire; but now he resolved to hold his ground. The second performance went off much better, but unhappily to a very small audience. He went on. A few articles in the newspapers attracted attention, and the public at length flocked to his theatre. From that time his success was constant. It is true

that he made great improvements on his first performances. He became more at his ease and more effective on the stage, and invented new tricks. He mentions the difficulty he had, in common with all beginners, to conquer the tendency to rapid speaking. In public speaking of all kinds, the more slowly a story is told the shorter will it seem. If you speak slowly, your hearers, judging that you take an interest in each sentence, yield to your influence, and listen with sustained attention. If, on the contrary, you hurry on, as if anxious to get to the end, the auditors also become anxious and are influenced by your hurry.

As most of our readers have witnessed Houdin's remarkable trick of second sight, they will be interested to learn how he educated the senses of his son, as well as his own, to the requisite rapidity:—

“I took a domino, the cinq-quater for instance, and laid it before him. Instead of letting him count the points of the two numbers, I requested the boy to tell me the total at once.

“‘Nine,’ he said.

“Then I added another domino, the quater-tray.

“‘That makes sixteen,’ he said, without any hesitation.

“I stopped the first lesson here; the next day we succeeded in counting at a single glance four dominos, the day after six, and thus we at length were enabled to give instantaneously the product of a dozen dominos.

“This result obtained, we applied ourselves to a far more difficult task, over which we spent a month. My son and I passed rapidly before a toy-shop, or any other displaying a variety of wares, and cast an attentive glance upon it. A few steps further on we drew paper and pencil from our pockets, and tried which could describe the greater number of objects seen in passing. I must own that my son reached a perfection far greater than mine, for he could often write down forty objects, while I could scarce reach thirty. Often feeling vexed at this defect, I would return to the shop and verify his statement, but he rarely made a mistake.

“My male readers will certainly understand the possibility of this, but they will recognise the difficulty. As for my lady readers, I am convinced beforehand they will not be of the same opinion, for they daily perform far more astounding feats. Thus, for instance, I can safely assert that a lady seeing another pass at full speed in a carriage, will have had time to analyse her toilette from her bonnet to her shoes, and be able to describe not only the fashion and quality of the stuffs, but also say if the lace be real, or only machine made. I have known ladies do this.”

Nor was he satisfied with having acquired even this unusual rapidity and comprehensiveness of glance. Although he had a means of communication with his son which enabled him to describe any conceivable object, he foresaw many difficulties:—

"The experiment of second sight always formed the termination of my performance. Each evening I saw unbelievers arrive with all sorts of articles to triumph over a secret which they could not unravel. Before going to see Robert-Houdin's son a council was held, in which an object that must embarrass the father was chosen. Among these were half-effaced antique medals, minerals, books printed in characters of every description (living and dead languages), coats of arms, microscopic objects, &c.

"But what caused me the greatest difficulty was in finding out the contents of parcels, often tied with a string, or even sealed up. But I had managed to contend successfully against all these attempts to embarrass me. I opened boxes, purses, pocket-books, &c., with great ease, and unnoticed, while appearing to be engaged on something quite different. Were a sealed parcel offered me, I cut a small slit in the paper with the nail of my left thumb, which I always purposely kept very long and sharp, and thus discovered what it contained. One essential condition was excellent sight, and that I possessed to perfection. I owed it originally to my old trade, and practice daily improved it. An equally indispensable necessity was to know the name of every object offered me. It was not enough to say, for instance, "It is a coin;" but my son must give its technical name, its value, the country in which it was current, and the year in which it was struck. Thus, for instance, if an English crown were handed me, my son was expected to state that it was struck in the reign of George IV., and had an intrinsic value of six francs eighteen centimes.

"Aided by an excellent memory, we had managed to classify in our heads the name and value of all foreign money. We could also describe a coat of arms in heraldic terms. Thus, on the arms of the house X—— being handed me, my son would reply: 'Field gules, with two croziers argent in pale.' This knowledge was very useful to us in the *salons* of the Faubourg Saint Germain, where we were frequently summoned.

"I had also learned the characters—though unable to translate a word—of an infinity of languages, such as Chinese, Russian, Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, &c. We knew too, the names of all surgical instruments, so that a surgical pocket-book, however complicated it might be, could not embarrass us. Lastly, I had a very sufficient knowledge of mineralogy, precious stones, antiquities, and curiosities; but I had at my command every possible resource for acquiring these studies, as one of my dearest and best friends, Aristide le Carpentier, a learned antiquary, and uncle of the talented composer of the same name, had, and still has, a cabinet of antique curiosities, which makes the keepers of the imperial museums fierce with envy. My son and I spent many long days in learning here names and dates, of which we afterwards made a learned display. Le Carpentier taught me many things, and, among others, he described various signs by which to recognise old coins when the die is worn off. Thus, a Trajan, a Tiberius, or a Marcus Aurelius became as familiar to me as a five-franc piece.

"Owing to my old trade, I could open a watch with ease, and do it with one hand, so as to be able to read the maker's name without the

public suspecting it: then I shut up the watch again and the trick was ready; my son managed the rest of the business.

"But that power of memory which my son possessed in an eminent degree certainly did us the greatest service. When we went to private houses, he needed only a very rapid inspection, in order to know all the objects in a room, as well as the various ornaments worn by the spectators, such as châtelaines, pins, eye-glasses, fans, brooches, rings, bouquets, &c. He thus could describe these objects with the greatest ease, when I pointed them out to him by our secret communication. Here is an instance:

"One evening, at a house in the Chaussée d'Antin, and at the end of a performance which had been as successful as it was loudly applauded, I remembered that, while passing through the next room to the one we were now in, I had begged my son to cast a glance at a library and remember the titles of some of the books, as well as the order they were arranged in. No one had noticed this rapid examination.

" 'To end the second sight experiment, sir,' I said to the master of the house, 'I will prove to you that my son can read through a wall. Will you lend me a book?'

"I was naturally conducted to the library in question, which I pretended now to see for the first time, and I laid my finger on a book.

" 'Emile,' I said to my son, 'what is the name of this work?'

" 'It is Buffon,' he replied, quickly.

" 'And the one by its side?' an incredulous spectator hastened to ask.

" 'On the right or left?' my son asked.

" 'On the right,' the speaker said, having a good reason for choosing this book, for the lettering was very small.

" 'The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger,' the boy replied. 'But,' he added, 'had you asked the name of the book on the left, sir, I should have said Lamartine's Poetry. A little to the right of this row, I see Crébillon's works; below, two volumes of Fleury's Memoirs; and my son thus named a dozen books before he stopped.

"The spectators had not said a word during this description, as they felt so amazed; but when the experiment had ended, all complimented us by clapping their hands."

It has been made abundantly manifest by what has already been stated that Houdin's success is due to a real scientific power, as well as to a certain special aptitude for sleight-of-hand. His tricks and machines imply considerable sagacity, knowledge of the human mind, and mechanical invention. He is very far from being a mere juggler, and had he ventured on writing his Memoirs himself, with the simplicity of a genuine autobiography, he would have produced a work of lasting interest; instead of that, he has entrusted his memoirs to some feuilletoniste, as is the fashion among his countrymen, and we have not only heaps of tinsel in lieu of gold, but the very gold itself has the air of

The Roman Question.

proceeding from popular election. The *motu proprio* extends its powers to the full examination of the budget; "it is to give its opinion on new taxes, and the reduction of those existing, on the best mode of assessment . . . and on everything which concerns the interests of the public exchequer." Its composition is of twenty-five members, five being directly appointed by the Sovereign; the remainder are intended to represent the provinces, twenty in number; and they are selected by the Pope from lists of four names submitted to his choice for each seat by the councils of the respective provinces. The president a Cardinal, and the vice-president a Prelate, are not taken from the body, and are named by the Sovereign. When the short session of the council is at an end, any business which it may seem desirable to refer to it is transacted by a permanent committee, not instituted by the vote of its members, but at the arbitrary choice of the Cardinal Secretary of State. Now this much-vaunted Council of Finance, though decreed in 1849, was in the first place never established till the year 1853, and since its creation it has been treated by the executive with every mark of contempt. The "*Civiltà Cattolica*," in the article alluded to above, has published a table of the yearly estimates submitted by the ministers to its inspection, with accompanying tables of the sums which it proposed in their stead and of those which the Sovereign sanctioned as proper for the year's expenditure. The agreement between the last two is boldly given as evidence of the respect paid to the opinion of this body. What is one to think of the good faith of an apologist, who entirely omits to state the fact that the sanction thus accorded by the Sovereign to the year's prospective budget, as proposed by the council, was, in every instance, so much waste profession, and that the original expenditure proposed was only departed from in favour of an additional increase, a fact testified beyond denial by the accounts published at the end of each year in the official journal? M. de Rayneval dares to assert that "the accounts of the State have been regularly published, and therefore submitted to the control of the nation itself." Nothing has been published except a gross statement of the revenue. A few copies of very imperfect accounts have indeed been printed and distributed to some select persons, but their insufficiency can be gathered from the fact that the council has in vain requested to have the separate accounts of the ministers, in order to inspect the expense incurred in each branch of the administration. This demand has never been honoured with an answer; in fact, its authority is a mockery, and after the regular session the committee named by Government has actually sanctioned measures that had been rejected by the council. In spite of a direct vote to the contrary, new taxes on landed property—new charges

“ ‘ Because I don’t believe in your power.’

“ ‘ Ah, indeed! Well, then, if you do not believe in my power, I will compel you to believe in my skill.’

“ ‘ Neither in one nor the other.’

“ I was at this moment the whole length of the room from the Marabout.

“ ‘ Stay,’ I said to him; ‘ you see this five-franc piece?’

“ ‘ Yes.’

“ ‘ Close your hand firmly, for the piece will go into it in spite of yourself.’

“ ‘ I am ready,’ the Arab said, in an incredulous voice, as he held out his tightly-closed fist.

“ I took the piece at the end of my fingers, so that the assembly might all see it, then, feigning to throw it at the Marabout, it disappeared at the word ‘ Pass!’

“ My man opened his hand, and, finding nothing in it, shrugged his shoulders, as if to say, ‘ You see, I told you so.’

“ I was well aware the piece was not there, but it was important to draw the Marabout’s attention momentarily from his sash, and for this purpose I employed the feint.

“ ‘ That does not surprise me,’ I replied, ‘ for I threw the piece with such strength that it went right through your hand, and has fallen into your sash. Being afraid I might break your watch by the blow, I called it to me: here it is!’ And I showed him the watch in my hand.

“ The Marabout quickly put his hand in his waist-belt, to assure himself of the truth, and was quite stupified at finding the five-franc piece.

“ The spectators were astounded. Some among them began telling their beads with a vivacity evidencing a certain agitation of mind; but the Marabout frowned without saying a word, and I saw he was spelling over some evil design.

“ ‘ I now believe in your supernatural power,’ he said; ‘ you are a real sorcerer; hence, I hope you will not fear to repeat here a trick you performed in your theatre;’ and offering me two pistols he held concealed beneath his burnous, he added, ‘ Come, choose one of these pistols; we will load it, and I will fire at you. You have nothing to fear, as you can ward off all blows.’

“ I confess I was for a moment staggered; I sought a subterfuge and found none. All eyes were fixed upon me, and a reply was anxiously awaited.

“ The Marabout was triumphant.

“ Bou-Allem, being aware that my tricks were only the result of skill, was angry that his guest should be so pestered; hence he began reproaching the Marabout. I stopped him, however, for an idea had occurred to me which would save me from my dilemma, at least temporarily; then, addressing my adversary:

“ ‘ You are aware,’ I said, with assurance, ‘ that I require a talisman in order to be invulnerable, and, unfortunately, I have left mine at Algiers.’

"The Marabout began laughing with an incredulous air.

" 'Still,' I continued, 'I can, by remaining six hours at prayers, do without the talisman, and defy your weapon. To-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, I will allow you to fire at me in the presence of these Arabs, who were witnesses of your challenge.'

"Bou-Allem, astonished at such a promise, asked me once again if this offer were serious, and if he should invite the company for the appointed hour. On my affirmative, they agreed to meet before the stone bench I have already alluded to.

"I did not spend my night at prayers, as may be supposed, but I employed about two hours in ensuring my invulnerability; then, satisfied with the result, I slept soundly, for I was terribly tired.

"By eight the next morning we had breakfasted, our horses were saddled, and our escort was awaiting the signal for our departure, which would take place after the famous experiment.

"None of the guests were absent, and, indeed, a great number of Arabs came in to swell the crowd.

"The pistols were handed me; I called attention to the fact that the vents were clear, and the Marabout put in a fair charge of powder and drove the wad home. Among the bullets produced, I chose one which I openly put in the pistol, and which was then also covered with paper.

"The Arab watched all these movements, for his honour was at stake.

"We went through the same process with the second pistol, and the solemn moment arrived.

"Solemn, indeed, it seemed to everybody—to the spectators who were uncertain of the issue, to Madame Houdin, who had in vain besought me to give up this trick, for she feared the result—and solemn also to me, for as my new trick did not depend on any of the arrangements made at Algiers, I feared an error, an act of treachery—I knew not what.

"Still I posted myself at fifteen paces from the sheik, without evincing the slightest emotion.

"The Marabout immediately seized one of the pistols, and, on my giving the signal, took a deliberate aim at me.

"The pistol went off, and the ball appeared between my teeth.

"More angry than ever, my rival tried to seize the other pistol, but I succeeded in reaching it before him.

" 'You could not injure me,' I said to him, 'but you shall now see that my aim is more dangerous than yours. Look at that wall.'

"I pulled the trigger, and on the newly whitewashed wall there appeared a large patch of blood, exactly at the spot where I had aimed.

"The Marabout went up to it, dipped his finger in the blood, and, raising it to his mouth, convinced himself of the reality. When he acquired this certainty, his arms fell, and his head was bowed on his chest, as if he were annihilated.

"It was evident that for the moment he doubted everything, even the Prophet.

"The spectators raised their eyes to heaven, muttered prayers, and regarded me with a species of terror.

"This scene was a triumphant termination to my performance. I therefore retired, leaving the audience under the impression I had produced. We took leave of Bou-Allem and his son, and set off at a gallop.

"The trick I have just described, though so curious, is easily prepared. I will give a description of it, while explaining the trouble it took me.

"As soon as I was alone in my room, I took out of my pistol-case—without which I never travel—a bullet-mould.

"I took a card, bent up the four edges, and thus made a sort of trough, in which I placed a piece of wax taken from one of the candles. When it was melted, I mixed with it a little lamp-black I had obtained by putting the blade of a knife over the candle, and then ran this composition in the bullet-mould.

"Had I allowed the liquid to get quite cold, the ball would have been full and solid; but in about ten seconds I turned the mould over, and the portion of the wax not yet set ran out, leaving a hollow ball in the mould. This operation is the same as that used in making tapers, the thickness of the outside depending on the time the liquid has been left in the mould.

"I wanted a second ball, which I made rather more solid than the other; and this I filled with blood, and covered the orifice with a lump of wax. An Irishman had once taught me the way to draw blood from the thumb, without feeling any pain, and I employed it on this occasion to fill my bullet.

"Bullets thus prepared bear an extraordinary resemblance to lead, and are easily mistaken for that metal when seen a short distance off.

"With this explanation, the trick will be easily understood. After showing the leaden bullet to the spectators, I changed it for my hollow ball, and openly put the latter into the pistol. By pressing the wad tightly down, the wax broke into small pieces, and could not touch me at the distance I stood.

"At the moment the pistol was fired, I opened my mouth to display the lead bullet I held between my teeth, while the other pistol contained the bullet filled with blood, which, bursting against the wall, left its imprint, though the wax had flown to atoms."

In the concluding chapter he explains how the Marabouts perform their tricks, which are mere child's play compared with those of European jugglers. On the whole, we can recommend these "*Memoirs of Robert-Houdin*" as pleasant reading; an air of greater veracity would have increased their attractiveness tenfold, and a substitution of autobiographic details for the numerous passages foisted in by the compiler would have made it a book of permanent worth. As it is, we must accept it for what it is without too close a scrutiny.

ART. V.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA : ITS LIABILITIES
AND RESOURCES.

1. *British India, its Races and its History.* By JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW. 2 vols. London. 1858.
2. *Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, M.P., Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, on the Financial Resources of India, on the 14th February, 1859.* Revised and corrected. London. 1859.
3. *The English in India. Letters from Nagpore; written in 1857-8.* By CAPTAIN EVANS BELL, Second Madras Light European Infantry; Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent at Nagpore. London. 1859.
4. *The Land Tax of India, according to the Moohummudan law: translated from the Futawa Alumgeeree, with Explanatory Notes and an Introductory Essay, containing a brief exposition of leading principles, and their application to the present system of Land Revenue.* By NEIL B. E. BAILLIE. London. 1853.
5. *Return to an Order of the House of Commons for a Selection of Papers illustrative of the Character and Results of the Revenue Survey and Assessment which has been introduced into the North-West Provinces of the Bengal Presidency since the year 1833. And similar Return as to the Presidency of Bombay.* No. 999 of 1853.

EXACTLY 250 years ago an English vessel touched the coast of India for the first time; three years afterwards (January 11, 1612) an imperial firman, authorizing the English to build factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Gogo, was obtained from Delhi: since that eventful date, the few insignificant traders who petitioned for the patronage of the Great Mogul, became successively the victorious rivals of the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, and at length found themselves the supreme lords of India.

During the first hundred years after their appearance in India, they quietly persisted in their calling as submissive, peace-loving traders. Their chief in 1614, and, at the same time, envoy from King James to the court of the Great Mogul, warned the Company against building forts and acquiring territory. If the

Emperor were to offer him ten forts, he said, he would not accept of one. The English found, however, that in presence of their Portuguese and Dutch competitors, factories without forts were impossible, that to trade profitably they must be prepared to use the sword; and therefore though reluctant to bury their profits in brickwork, they dotted the Indian coasts with factories and forts together. After a hundred years' intercourse with various parts of the country, they were still intent only on commerce. From their first victory over the Portuguese at Swally, near Surat (1611), to their capitulation of Madras, which the French forced them to surrender in 1746, their ambition was limited to securing commercial ascendancy over their European rivals, and sufficient ground for the firm establishment of their various trading settlements. In 1712, the Governor of their settlements in Bengal, thus addressed the Emperor at Delhi:—

“The supplication of John Russell, who is as the minutest grain of sand, and whose forehead is the tip of his footstool, who is the absolute monarch and prop of the universe, whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon's, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus. . . . The Englishmen, having traded hitherto in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, custom free (except in Surat), are your Majesty's most obedient slaves, always intent upon your commands. We have readily observed your most sacred orders, and have found favour; we have, as becomes servants, a diligent regard to your part of the sea. . . . We crave to have your Majesty's permission in the above-mentioned places as before, and to follow our business without molestation. Calcutta, Sept. 15, 1712.”

English forts certainly kept increasing, but with no aggressive design: self-defence necessitated them. The first military reputation of the English in India grew out of their resolute and victorious defence of themselves in Surat (1664), when the Mahratta chief Sivajee, intent on plundering territory from the Mogul empire, made it his point of attack. On the sea their Portuguese and Dutch enemies were no sooner disposed of than the French proved troublesome, taking the English ships in the Bay of Bengal, in 1712, and the incursions of the Mahrattas in search of plunder, threatening equally the settlements in Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, compelled the English traders to protect themselves by digging the “Mahratta Ditch” round the group of villages occupying the present site of Calcutta, villages which had been assigned to them in acknowledgment of a present to Azim, a son of the Emperor Aurungzebe. Bent on making money, the Anglo-Indian traders would probably have confined themselves to that business to this day if they had been let alone. They were wholly innocent of any aspiration after an Indian empire, and did not even conceive of it. The idea was of French origin, and both it and

the means of realizing it were forced upon them by their rivals. The governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry—Dupleix, a man distinguished alike by his genius, his generosity, and his patriotism, first formed the design of subjecting India to European control. He also first discovered how to accomplish it: it was he who first trained the Sepoys to do the bidding of European officers. With a sprinkling of Frenchmen, added to the native troops in his pay, Dupleix, by the exhaustless resources of his diplomacy at the courts of the native princes, and the co-operation of the French Admiral Labourdonnais (to whom the English in Madras capitulated in 1746), rendered himself master of Southern India, and all-powerful at the Court of the Nizam; while his accomplished commander, De Bussy, advancing to within a few leagues of Poonah against the Mahrattas, the only power which seemed likely to dispute with him for the tottering throne of the Great Mogul, dictated to the Peishwa terms of peace, intended to extend and strengthen French influence towards the north-west, and to inspire respect at Delhi. The vast ascendancy which the French were thus obtaining throughout India was sure to restrict the sphere of English commerce, and threatened to extinguish the Anglo-Indian settlements altogether. The English were forced to choose one of three courses: to hold their factories on sufferance, to fight, or to leave India altogether. Determined as they were to keep both their forts and their factories, and to yield in no respect to their conquering rivals, they resolved to fight them with their own weapons. Dupleix taught them what a mighty force lay ready for their hands in the Sepoys, who needed but European discipline and European leaders to transform them into heroes; he demonstrated the value of alliances with native princes, and how to effect them; and, himself a master of diplomacy and versed in all those arts of diplomatic intrigue which are so highly prized and so skilfully practised by the natives, he proved by his own brilliant achievements how much might be effected by able representation at each native court. The English did but better the instruction.

In a few short years the splendid political edifice which Dupleix and De Bussy had erected out of the dissolving elements of the Mogul empire was snatched from them by the audacious genius of Clive and of Warren Hastings, and even the column which Dupleix had caused to be built in the midst of his "City of Victory," in order to signalize his greatness and to perpetuate his memory, was rudely thrown down. The French were again compelled to restrict themselves within the limits of Pondicherry, while the English, in the brief space of one hundred years which has since elapsed, have gradually extended their dominion over the vast regions stretching in length from Cape Comorin to the

Punjab, and in breadth from Scinde to Assam. They have thus become the virtual rulers of 180,000,000 people, raising and deposing their princes, subverting their ancient customs and institutions, introducing a strange faith, establishing new laws, administering justice after a new method, diffusing a knowledge of European literature, working miracles by their steam-boats, railways, and electric telegraphs, and, in short, confronting at all points the civilization of Asia with that of Europe.

The wondrous story of the English conquest of India loses, however, some of its marvellousness when we come to understand the condition of the country at the time the English power took its rise. India consists of twenty-one nations, each having a distinct language; it, therefore, wants that homogeneity which gives strength to resist invasion. Hence in the hands of the feeble successors of Aurungzebe the Mogul Empire, which had hitherto cohered by the power of the sword, rapidly resolved itself into its constituent elements. The capital was invaded in turn by the Persians, the Mahrattas, and the Affghans. The viceroys and inferior governors to whom the various parts of the empire were entrusted, while still acknowledging a nominal allegiance to the supreme power, became actually independent. Their frequent rebellion and mutual encroachments induced continuous wars and a political chaos throughout India, like to that which distinguished Europe after the death of Charlemagne. Contending chiefs and princes sought the alliance and bought the aid of any power likely to ensure the accomplishment of their several designs, and thus it was that the French, owing to their superior intelligence and discipline, combined with their eagerness to engage in military affairs, were called on as allies or arbiters, and were tempted by the general disorder to reconstruct an empire for themselves. The English, as we have said, felt that their very existence in India depended on their preventing the French from accomplishing their design; they therefore appropriated it to themselves, and worked it out in that blundering but ultimately effective way which generally distinguishes their doings. That, even at the time of their struggle with the French, they were conscious of fighting for an Indian Empire we do not believe. They did the work immediately before them, and as domination gravitates to the hands of the strong, they found an empire thrust upon them unawares. Throughout the history of the English East India Company, and of the French Company during the ascendancy of Dupleix, nothing is more remarkable than the general disobedience of the Company's commands by their own appointed servants. The Directors at home, with the true instinct of money-makers, have as a rule, opposed wars, annexations, and political interference

with Native States; their servants in India, from Governors-General to the "residents" of the smallest native courts, have been so continuously tempted to interfere and to extend the power and jurisdiction of their employers, that they have felt irresistibly constrained to disregard their instructions. The administrations of several of their most distinguished servants are characterized by costly wars, and reckless disregard of the rights and claims of Native princes; but believing or affecting to believe that had the Directors been in India at each important conjuncture of events, they would have been the first to wish their own orders revoked, their servants shaped their conduct to their own views of what was most expedient in each emergency. Thus the Directors, notwithstanding their vehement protests, were incessantly diverted from their chief object as merchants and money-makers, while their political, steadily encroached on their commercial responsibility, until the latter becoming extinguished, they were transformed into a company of princes disposing of the revenues and destinies of nearly a sixth part of the human race.

It has often been asserted of the islanders of Great Britain that they are as insular in their interests and sympathies as they are in geographical position. The assertion exaggerates a truth strikingly displayed in their relation to their Indian Empire. Nothing less than the terrific rebellion of 1857 seems to have been adequate to rouse them from their profound indifference. Prior to that event, the President of the Board of Control made his annual Parliamentary statement on Indian affairs to all but empty benches, and the astounding apathy evinced by the members of the House of Commons was equalled by that of all classes, except the small one, whose official or commercial interests connected it with India. And yet in how many ways does India appeal to us? The Anglo-Indian conquest must ever remain one of the most momentous events in our history, and one of the chief elements of our national greatness; and notwithstanding the cruelty and injustice often displayed by our Indian soldiers and administrators, the story of England's achievements in India will never be read by Englishmen without thrilling them with that patriotic pride and exultation, which recounting the deeds of heroes to whom we are akin always inspires. As a sphere of activity for our enterprising countrymen, India is, practically speaking, boundless: English soldiers, rulers, judges, engineers, indigo, cotton, and tea-planters, merchants, capitalists, missionaries, educators, surgeons, and physicians, are all wanted, and are offered constant and remunerative employment by 150,000,000 of semi-civilized people, on whom it is in our power to confer incalculable blessings.

But India appeals not only to the patriotism, the personal interests, and the philanthropy of Englishmen, it appeals to their love of justice and sense of duty. While the Mogul Empire was gradually crumbling to pieces, the fragments were speedily shaped into independent governments under hereditary princes who had hitherto reigned as tributaries to the Emperor, or were seized upon by political adventurers intent on constructing kingdoms for themselves out of the mighty ruin. Many of these princes showed themselves capable of ruling effectively and of securing the prosperity and devotion of their subjects. The discords and wars arising out of this revolutionary and transitional era were the opportunities by which England increased and consolidated her own Indian power, until she was strong enough to dictate treaties to each of the native princes. To isolate them, both geographically and politically, seemed to Lord Wellesley the most effective way of maintaining the English ascendancy and enforcing peace amongst them, and his rule is distinguished by the formal inauguration of this policy. Wherever practicable he secured such territories as enabled him to surround each of the native states with an English frontier so as to insulate them from each other and from the sea; and by his treaties with their several princes he bound each to hold no communication with foreign powers, to employ no foreigners in his service without English permission, to submit his quarrels with his neighbours to English arbitration, to support a contingent of soldiers subject to the discipline and command of English officers—its cost being defrayed out of the revenues of territory ceded for that purpose, and lastly, to receive an English resident at his court. This network of subsidiary alliances has been systematically extended by Lord Wellesley's successors, until every Indian sovereign, whether great or small, whose territory has not already been annexed, is really dependent on the will of the English Governor-General, and may be reminded of his degradation in the arrogant words of Lord Dalhousie, addressed to the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1851,—ours is “a great Government, by whose friendship alone he had so long been sustained, whose resentment it is dangerous to provoke,” “and whose power could crush” him “at its will.” At the time this system was resorted to by Lord Wellesley, it doubtless seemed to him an effectual guarantee both of English supremacy and of the blessings of peace throughout the native states. Unfortunately, it also exercises such a benumbing effect on the minds of the native princes as to induce a political stagnation in their provinces. Subject to the tutelage or influence of a British Resident, no longer responsible for the doings of soldiers whom he supports, but whom English officers command, the sovereign's interest in the good administration of his

state gradually lessens until at length, enervated and indifferent, he is degraded to the worst type of oriental despots, and seeks relief in sensuality from the inevitable *ennui* of his position. When a despot becomes so emasculated or so tyrannical as to render his reign no longer tolerable, the natural remedy is the formation of a hostile faction, or a popular insurrection, by which he is hurled from his throne, and replaced by a more promising rival, or it may be that the threatened invasion of a neighbouring sovereign rouses his energies in self-defence and kindles in him some faint sense of duty. But the native princes of India are not only "protected" from external attack, they are protected against their own subjects, who, were they to rise in insurrection when instigated by princely tyranny, would be promptly suppressed by the forces under the control of the British Resident, England thus becoming an instrument for riveting the shackles of political bondage. Or, in the words of Mr. Ludlow,—

"Perhaps the popular discontent might become or seem actually intolerable, and in spite of all treaties the territory would be annexed. But suppose, however, a native sovereign, who, stronger than his fellows, should rise above self-indulgence—should feel himself capable of ruling, should determine to rule for himself. Such a man would almost necessarily fret and chafe against his chains, until at last he sought to break them. And then what should we do but, with loud protestations against his faithlessness, punish the wrong, remove the wrong-doer? But would this be enough? Could we trust any of his line? Would he not have afforded a just ground for annexation? Thus, under the subsidiary system, both the impotence and the ability of native princes tend equally to provoke the absorption of their territories into the British Indian Empire."

Considering the political state of India when the English became a governing power at Calcutta, the policy pursued by Lord Wellesley and his successors may have been the wisest they could adopt. But as it has resulted in annexations on an enormous scale, as it has transformed the still nominally independent princes into real dependents on the British Government, as it has paralysed their energies for good and evil, as it has deprived their subjects of the power of insurrection for the punishment of tyranny, as, in short, we have stopped the independent development of the Hindoo races by taking the management of affairs into our own hands, and condemning their best men to insignificance and inaction,* we are bound to discharge the duties as well as enjoy the advantages attaching to the power we have assumed;

* See the admirable letters by Captain Evans Bell, named at the head of this article.

we are bound to introduce wiser laws, a higher jurisprudence, and a less selfish administration in place of those we have superseded. Justice and self-interest alike point out that if we would continue to hold India, we must govern it on those principles which distinguish our government at home. We must treat it, not as a conquered country, but as an integral part of the British Empire, trusting to our hold on the opinions and affections of the people, by virtue of our intellectual and moral superiority, for the stability and permanence of our dominion. With this conviction, and in this spirit, we invite the attention of our readers to one element of our Indian government, viz., Indian taxation, a subject which directly affects every native of India, which lies at the very foundation of our rule, and which, in consequence of the enormous deficit exhibited year by year in the Governor-General's statement of income and expenditure, is becoming the most perplexing problem of Indian statesmanship.

India has been aptly called the Italy of Asia. The vast area comprises 1,488,070 square miles, and, by the last census and estimates, 184,351,537 of people. It exceeds all the states of Europe, exclusive of Russia and the kingdoms north of the Baltic, by 152,934 square miles of territory, and by at least 10,000,000 of inhabitants. 858,906 square miles and 134,073,263 people of India are under the immediate government of England. 627,910 square miles and 49,761,125 people are under 192 native princes and chiefs, besides petty chiefs; France controls 188 square miles and 201,887 people; and the Portuguese 1066 square miles and 313,262 people. The seeming fertility of the country is, we believe, unsurpassed by any other part of the globe. The wondrous wealth and magnificence of its princes have excited the astonishment and admiration of Europe from the days of Alexander to our own time; while the aggregate revenue of the Anglo-Indian states alone nearly equals that of England, if we except the sum which is levied in payment of the interest of our national debt. Yet, strange to say, the Anglo-Indian government, which of late years has governed from higher motives than the desire of plunder, was unable to support itself, even before the late rebellion, without having frequent recourse to the money-lender! How comes it, if the native princes were so rich, that the English viceroy is so poor as to be compelled to borrow money to enable him to carry on his government? The truth is, that though the Indian princes were rolling in wealth, their subjects were sunk in destitution. A characteristic of native sovereigns, so usual as to be accounted normal, was exaction from their people of the utmost they were able to pay, and the expenditure of a large proportion of the proceeds on courtly pomp and personal gratifications. The

welfare of the millions was a secondary consideration. Their chief interest in the eyes of their rulers consisted in their power of paying tribute, and thus princely wealth and national poverty co-existed as supplementary of each other.

Notwithstanding the potential wealth of India, how poor her people actually are may be inferred from the fact that though the revenue of the British Indian Provinces is about 30,000,000*l.*, one hundred and thirty million inhabitants are taxed as heavily as they can bear in order to yield it; whereas more than double that amount is paid by the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, who in number are equal to only a fourth part of those of British India. The average paid by each individual in India, France, Prussia, and England, is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
India (in 1851)	0	3	8½
Prussia	0	19	3
France	1	12	0
England (in 1852)	1	19	4

The sources and amount of the Anglo-Indian revenue for the last three years will be seen from the following table, compiled from the data supplied by Lord Stanley in his speech, delivered on the 14th February last:—

INCOME.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.
Land Revenue	£19,080,000	16,271,000	18,392,000
Opium Monopoly . . .	4,696,709	6,443,706	5,195,191
Salt Duty and Customs	4,443,798	3,785,782	4,398,960
Miscellaneous Items .	3,000,000	3,071,380	2,966,091
	£31,220,507	29,571,868	30,952,242

Although his lordship stated that the amounts of the different items of revenue during the last three years were as above, he spoke of the total income of 1856-7 as 33,300,000*l.*; the difference between the two statements being 2,079,493*l.* This difference arises from the gross revenue of rupees 33,30,33,912, being stated by his lordship at 2*s.* the rupee, and the different items of income being stated at 1*s.* 10½*d.* the rupee, the rate used in the Parliamentary accounts. The difference between Lord Stanley's statement of the aggregate revenue at 2*s.* the rupee, 33,303,391*l.*, and that shown in the Parliamentary account, 29,702,854*l.* (being 3,600,537*l.*), was adverted to by his lordship in his speech of February 18th, and was due, he said, partly to

the omission from the Parliamentary accounts of "a considerable number of charges on the one hand, and receipts on the other," which caused a difference of 1,519,075*l.*, and partly to the fact that he converted the gross revenue from Indian into English currency at 2*s.* the rupee, whereas in the Parliamentary accounts the rupee was converted into sterling at 1*s.* 10½*d.*, making a further difference of 2,081,162*l.* With these explanatory remarks, we present, on the two following pages, the Parliamentary Account of the Total Income and Expenditure of the Government of India.

We give this account in order to exhibit the general character of Indian income and expenditure in ordinary years; but inasmuch as it shows a deficit of only 143,597*l.*, it presents the financial affairs of India in a more favourable aspect than that which they have generally assumed. It is true that at several periods the income and expenditure have balanced each other; but the Indian debt is by no means of recent origin. The wars and mal-administration of the East India Company during the seventeenth century constrained them to have repeated recourse to loans; so that as early as 1786 they owed 8,000,000*l.* For ten years the debt did not increase, but, owing chiefly to the wars with Tippoo and the Mahrattas during the administration of Lord Wellesley, the debt augmented so rapidly as to amount, in 1810, to 29,200,000*l.*; in 1820, it was 37,000,000*l.*; in 1830, 45,000,000*l.*; in 1840 it was reduced to 33,800,000*l.* by the application of the assets of the East India Company; in 1850, it rose again to 51,900,000*l.*; in 1856-7, to 55,900,000*l.*; in the beginning of this year it amounted to 74,500,000*l.*; 7,000,000*l.* have since been borrowed in England, and by the last accounts from India, 5,000,000*l.* more, at 6 per cent. interest, is being raised there, thus making 86,500,000*l.*, and exceeding the amount of the debt of 1856-7 by 30,600,000*l.* But, in addition to the debt just stated, there is the 7,000,000*l.* of deposits claimable by officers, and which the government may be called on to pay. If these figures be correct, as we believe they are, the total debt due by the government of India is 93,500,000*l.* To this we must add the East India stock, interest on which, to the amount of 630,000*l.* a-year, is guaranteed by Parliament out of the revenue of India, and which being regarded as equal to 12,000,000*l.*, raises the total liabilities of the Anglo-Indian Government to 105,500,000*l.* Omitting the 7,000,000*l.*, we may say in round numbers that it has to pay interest on 100,000,000*l.* The deficit of the year 1853-54 was 2,100,000*l.*; that of 1854-55 was 1,700,000*l.*; that of 1855-56 was 1,000,000*l.*; while during the year preceding the mutiny the revenue and expenditure were, as appears by the annexed account, nearly equal.

Parliamentary Account of the Total Income of the Revenue with an Account of the Public Expenditure, exclusive

HEADS OF REVENUE AND RECEIPTS (ORDINARY):—

Land Revenue, including Tributes and Subsidies from Native States, Excise Duties in Calcutta, Sayer and Abkarry Revenues, and Moturpha and small Farms and Liceuces at Madras	£18,658,888	
Customs	1,961,759	
Salt (exclusive of 850,764 <i>l.</i> Customs on Salt imported into Calcutta, included with the Customs' Receipts,	2,517,726	
Opium	4,689,750	
Post Office Collections	166,181	
Stamp Duties	583,280	
Mint Receipts.	246,009	
Marine and Pilotage Receipts	161,488	
Judicial Receipts (Fees, Fines, &c.)	191,834	
Revenues of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca	104,812	
Revenues and Receipts from the District of Coorg	19,013	
Sale of Presents	18,452	
Interest on Debt due by the Nizam, and on other Accounts	60,506	
Electric Telegraph, Collections on account, Telegraphic Messages, &c.	22,108	
Toll and Ferry Collections	62,225	
Miscellaneous Receipts in the Civil and Political Departments	72,862	
	<hr/>	£29,536,893

OTHER RECEIPTS.

Proceeds of Unclaimed Estates transferred to the credit of Government	4,475	
Gain by Exchange with reference to the fixed rates of 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> the Company's Rupee on remittance transactions between India and London	161,486	
		165,961
		<hr/>
		29,702,854
Excess of Expenditure over Income		143,597
		<hr/>
		£29,846,451

* The following are the particulars of the Charges in England:—

Dividends to Proprietors of East India Stock	£627,895
Interest on the Home Bond Debt	155,494
Cost of Coals, and various Expenses connected with Steam Communication	61,889
Payments under the new Postal Arrangement with the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury	49,887
Furlough and Retired Pay of Military Officers, including Officers' Reckonings	787,323
Furlough and Retired Pay of Marine Officers	32,540
Her Majesty's Paymaster-General, on account of Queen's Troops serving in India	250,000
Retiring Pay, Pensions, &c., of her Majesty's Troops serving or having served in India (three quarters)	45,000
Charges, General, comprising the several Establishments at Home, Civil, Military, and Maritime Pensions, Recruiting Charges, and Miscellaneous Expenses	483,778
Absentee Allowances to Civil Servants of the Indian Establishments	61,237
	<hr/>
Carried forward	£2,555,051

of India, in the year ended the 30th of April, 1857, together of the Sums applied to the Reduction of Debt.

EXPENDITURE.

Repayments: Allowances, Refunds, and Drawbacks		£89,281
Payments in realization of the Revenue:		
Charges of Collection	£3,708,733	
Other Payments	495,672	
Total Payments in the realization of the Revenue, including Cost of Salt and Opium		4,204,405
Allowances and Assignments payable out of the Revenues, in accordance with Treaties or other Engagements		1,044,843
Sinking Fund for the Redemption of the Bonds issued to the Creditors of the late Rajah of Tanjore, and Interest thereon, payable out of the Tanjore Revenues		25,360
Allowances to District and Village Officers and Enamdars, including Charitable Grants		1,068,873
Total of the Direct Claims and Demands upon the Revenues, including Charges of Collection and Cost of Salt and Opium		6,432,762
Charges in India, including Interest on Debt:		
Charges of the Civil and Political Establishments, including Contingent Charges	2,446,856	
Judicial and Police Charges	2,585,626	
Buildings, Roads, and other Public Works, exclusive of Repairs, and of Military Buildings	1,866,515	
Military Charges	£9,958,759	
Military Buildings	162,291	
	10,121,050	
Indian Navy and other Marine Charges	622,313	
Charges of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca (exclusive of Charges of Collection, and other Payments out of the Revenues)	62,351	
Mint Charges	78,751	
	£17,783,462	
Interest on Debt	2,100,554	19,884,016
Charges in England, including Invoice value of Stores consigned to India*		3,529,673
		£29,846,451
<hr/>		
Brought forward	£2,555,051	
Annuities of the Madras Civil Fund of 1818, borne by the Company	8,886	
Retired Pay and Pensions of Persons of the late St. Helena Establishment, not chargeable to the Crown	4,642	
Her Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia (portion payable by the Company)	12,000	
Expenses incurred on account of Convicts Transported from India to Van Diemen's Land: Repaid to her Majesty's Government	2,824	
Value of Arms taken to India by her Majesty's Regiments	2,725	
Meer Jaffer All Khan, the proportion paid in England of the sum of 20,000 <i>l.</i> which the Court consented to pay "in free gift" in consideration of the Expenses incurred by his residence in England, and with a view to assist in making a further Provision for his Daughters	5,000	
	2,591,128	
Invoice Value of Stores consigned to India	955,345	
Less Excess of Freight Charge in Invoices	16,800	
	938,545	
		£3,529,673

But, as we have just seen, the deficit since 1856-57 has amounted, within two years, to 30,600,000*l.* If we exclude these two years we find that, taking an average, the increase of the debt during the present century has been nearly a million every year. It appears to us, therefore, that in attempting an impartial estimate of future liabilities, we ought to bear in mind that hitherto, in the Anglo-Indian balance-sheets, deficits have formed the rule, surpluses the exception.

We have seen that during a year of peace (1856-57), when all circumstances concurred to place Indian financial affairs in a flourishing condition, the expenditure exceeded the income by a small amount, and considering the financial results during the last fifty years of our Government, we cannot fairly expect that, even when peace is entirely restored, the income will do more than balance the expenditure, so long as the military charges remain as high as they were in 1856-57. In that year they were 11,500,000*l.* But at that time there were only 45,000 British troops in India; whereas now there are upwards of 100,000, and the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian army recommend that 80,000 shall be *permanently* retained there. The native army is now larger than it was before the rebellion, being 243,000. The Commissioners recommend that the proportion of native to European soldiers should be 2 to 1 in Bengal, and 3 to 1 in Madras and Bombay. Assuming the number and distribution of the European troops in India recommended by the Commissioners to be established, and the native soldiers to be proportioned to them as above, the total number of native troops would be reduced to 190,000. But, on the other hand, a large number of "Military police corps have been formed, or are in course of formation throughout India." This "force, in its numerical strength and military organization, differs in no essential respect from the regular Sepoy army."* It is, therefore, probable that any economy effected by the reduction of the native army will be more than neutralized by the cost of the new Military Police. If so, we shall understate the future permanent increase in the cost of the military and police forces collectively, if we simply put down the amount of increase of military charges consequent on retaining 80,000 British troops in India. A regiment of the East India Company's European infantry on full batta in Bengal costs 76,957*l.* a year; and a regiment of her Majesty's Infantry of the Line, also on full batta in Bengal, costs 85,271*l.* a-year.† If, in round numbers, we average the cost of each additional regiment at 80,000*l.* a-year, the increased military charges will be as follows:

* Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Organization of the Indian Army. 1859.

† Ibid. Appendix, p. 44-5.

35 additional regiments, at 80,000*l.* per regiment . . . £2,800,000
 We have no means of estimating what the increase
 in the Home Charges may be, but say 500,000
 We have already shown that the mutiny will cause
 an increase of interest on the debt to the extent of 1,750,000

Thus the total deficit will probably amount to £5,050,000

It will be observed that this sum does not include any of the amount for which the Government is liable on account of the guaranteed interest due to the shareholders of the Indian Railways. Its liabilities extend to 2,000,000*l.* a year, and it is now paying 1,000,000*l.* on the capital already paid up. But as in its railway-transactions, the Government *may* ultimately sustain no loss, we will, for the present, regard its guarantee of interest to the shareholders as a safe investment.

The problem how to make the income and expenditure equal to each other is admitted by all Indian financiers to be a very difficult one. Various solutions have been offered; none in our opinion satisfactory. All agree, we believe, that the public works ought not to be suspended. Reduction of expenditure can, therefore, be prudently made only on the other items of Government outlay. A knowledge of the relative cost of each department of the Indian Government will help us to form an opinion as to the possibility of retrenchment, and, if possible, in what direction. The following is a statement by Colonel Sykes of the comparative cost of each department of Government, in India only, including the charge for interest on the Indian debt, during decennial periods from 1810 to 1850. Of course the amount of military charges and for interest on the debt is now relatively much greater than it was during the last decennial period here given.

	YEARS.				
	1809-10	1819-20	1829-30	1839-40	1849-50
Civil and Political Charges, including contingencies	7·221	8·900	9·575	12·296	8·902
Judicial Charges	7·525	6·880	7·107	9·565	7·150
Provincial Police ditto	1·991	2·093	1·535	2·062	2·662
Marine ditto	1·585	1·251	1·712	1·687	1·298
Military ditto	58·877	64·290	53·754	57·721	51·662
Buildings and Fortifications	1·639	1·758	2·810	1·428	1·661
Total Charges, exclusive of interest	80·551	86·561	80·018	84·874	73·335
Interest on Debt	18·010	12·805	12·124	9·756	10·512
Total Charges, including interest on Debt	98·561	99·366	92·142	94·630	84·083

Lord Stanley has given it as his opinion, that the salaries of the civil, political, and judicial employes cannot prudently be lowered. His lordship's opinion is we believe generally shared by those best conversant with Indian affairs. Even were any reduction in these departments expedient, the amount must be comparatively small, seeing that the cost of the three together is only about 16 per cent. of the entire expenditure; and as by effecting such reduction the Government would be liable to be served by inferior men, the experiment would be too hazardous to be justifiable. Even were any diminution of the salaries of the civil servants practicable and desirable, the sum saved by the process will be more than swallowed up by the cost of the additional establishments absolutely required. The police, as we have said, will be largely increased. The expenses under the heads of marine, buildings, and fortifications, are too small to admit of any retrenchment worthy of notice here; so that the cost of the army and the interest on the debt are the only items which afford scope for the exercise of any considerable economy. Taking the average of the last fifty years, the military charges have amounted to 57 per cent. of the whole Indian revenue, and of course it is on this item that all economists have fastened in order to effect their purpose. Opinions differ widely as to the extent to which the number of the British troops serving in India may be reduced: some think the present number of 100,000 ought to be continued; of the Commissioners who have just published their Report, some recommend 80,000, others believe 45,000 would suffice to ensure security. We heartily concur with those who assert that India cannot permanently be held by the sword; but, considering the formidable struggle we have just gone through, and the wide spread of disaffection, there can be no doubt that, though it may be possible to hold India for several years to come by the aid of only the same number of British troops as were maintained there before the late insurrection, such a proceeding would be more economical than safe—would keep the Anglo-Indian Government constantly on the brink of danger, and would deprive England of that sense of security which is essential to ensure the flow of English capital to India for the development of her enormous resources, and therefore for enriching and elevating her people. There seems, however, very good reason for believing that the native soldiery, both cavalry and infantry, might be so organized as to cost much less than at present, and that the proposed modifications would be hailed with satisfaction by each regiment, and would ensure a more loyal, zealous, and effective army than the present system is calculated to produce. We refer, of course, to the reforms which the late General Jacob so earnestly and convincingly insisted on for years previous to

the mutiny, and the wisdom of which he illustrated by the splendid irregular cavalry, or *Silidars* corps, which he formed, which we believe are notoriously the cheapest and most efficient in India, and which, during the rebellion, never evinced the smallest symptom of unfaithfulness. The leading ideas which guided him, and which he realized with extraordinary effect, were (1) that his soldiers should be regarded not as mere machines, but as men whose individuality must be respected and developed, (2) that native officers should be employed wherever Englishmen can be dispensed with, and (3) that only such English officers should be appointed over them as are capable, by their superior ability and character, of inspiring that respect and maintaining that prestige and influence on which alone our Indian Empire can be enduringly founded. "The Englishman," he said, "becomes too common to be held in proper and wholesome respect. He is seen holding no important position, but in the performance of trifling duties, which any native officer or non-commissioned officer could do equally well. He is often seen idling away his time in frivolous, or wasting his energies in vicious, pursuits. The prestige of the superior race is thus destroyed, when it too often happens that the European officer, having nothing important to occupy him, loses somewhat of his own self-respect." Captain Evans Bell, who quotes these words with hearty approval, and who advocates the re-organization of the Indian army, according to the method proposed and practised by General Jacob, thus expresses himself in his "*Letters on the English in India*" already mentioned:—

"The most striking example of the extravagant and unwieldy condition of the native army of India, as at present constituted, is to be seen in the native regular cavalry, in which the lust of patronage has forced a radically faulty organization to a pitch of absurdity, the simple statement of which is equivalent to a condemnation. There are still borne upon the army lists of the three Presidencies twenty-one regiments of Native Light Cavalry,* mustering each about 400 sabres. The Madras cavalry regiments at present have only 350 troopers. To each regiment there is a sinecure colonel, whose pay is about 1200*l.* per annum, drawn probably at Bath or Cheltenham. There is a lieutenant-colonel, who, if in command of the corps, receives, including the profits of the saddle contract, 2200*l.* a year. The major's pay is 1100*l.* a year. There are no less than seven captains; and the pay of a captain in command of a troop of 60 men, including the profits of the troop contract,† amounts to 840*l.* per annum. There are nine lieutenants, on 420*l.* a year, and five cornets, on 360*l.* a year.

* In Bengal, ten regiments (of which all but a few hundred men have either mutinied or been disarmed), eight in the Madras, and three in the Bombay army.

† For horse-clothing, ropes, watering bridles, &c.

"One of the subalterns holds the appointment of adjutant and another that of quartermaster, both with handsome allowances in addition to their pay. There is a surgeon with 1000*l.* a year, also an assistant-surgeon with 420*l.* a year, and a veterinary surgeon with 500*l.* a year. There is a riding-master, a warrant officer, whose pay is about 200*l.* a year. And there are a serjeant-major and a quartermaster-sergeant, whose duties are chiefly clerical, having reference to the regimental records, accounts, and stores. All this immensely expensive staff of English officers—who are all entitled to pensions on retirement—is kept up for the purpose of bringing into the field four hundred imitation dragoons of very indifferent quality, who in the quietest times are always grumbling about the severity of their riding-school and stable duties, and the insufficiency of their pay; who have no confidence in our saddles, our bits, or our swords; and who, even when not mutinous, have on active service always been unreliable.

"And besides the cumbrous regimental system, a stud and remount establishment is maintained on so regal a scale that every horse supplied to the cavalry is computed to cost between 60*l.* and 70*l.* The cost of the horses in fact is so great, and their keep and veterinary charge so expensive, that four British dragoons can be entertained at the same annual charge as five of these native troopers, who on the other hand have no special quality or aptitude which can render them at any time or under any circumstances more useful or more economical than British dragoons.

"But the Irregular Cavalry of India form a special and peculiar body of admirable light horsemen, whose place could not be supplied, and whose functions could not be performed by any number of the finest English dragoons. They will cheerfully undergo fatigue and exposure, and bad living, that would disorganize British troops in India. They know the country and the habits of their countrymen so well, and are so capable of shifting for themselves, that a regiment may, for particular purposes of police, or escort, or reconnoitring, send out for more or less lengthened periods, small detachments and parties, and even single men, a process which, if attempted with English dragoons, would be utterly destructive of discipline, and, at the same time, utterly inefficacious. They find everything themselves—horses, arms and clothing; they are not dependent on the stud, the Ordnance, or the commissariat. If fairly paid, as the Hyderabad Rissalahs are, they will move off at a day's notice anywhere, and require no marching money, or tents, or supplies of any sort. If fairly paid, and if their old custom of absolute family property in the "assanee" or "situation," and right to have a horse, be upheld, they ask for no pensions from Government. And although their horses are far inferior in appearance and in weight to those supplied by Government, the exploits of the Irregular Cavalry in the field have far surpassed those of the regulars.

"The Regular Light Cavalry regiments have, as I before stated, each a sinecure colonel on 1200*l.* a year, and are each commanded by a lieutenant-colonel on 2200*l.* a year, with twenty highly-paid English officers also borne on the rolls of the corps, some of whom are of course always absent on leave, some employed on the staff, and the

remainder present with the regiment, where they have very little authority, very little responsibility, and nothing to do except mere duties of parade and routine. The native officers, as in the entire regular native army, are entirely useless in every point of view.

"The irregular regiment is commanded by a selected officer, usually of the rank of captain; his pay is 1200*l.* a year, and altogether his position is highly honourable, independent, and responsible, and renders him in his own estimation and in that of his contemporary brother officers, one of the fortunate men of the service. He is assisted by two juniors—a second in command and an adjutant, the former receiving about 600*l.* and the latter 500*l.* a year, both of whom may be considered as in a course of training and probation to succeed to commands, if their abilities and conduct entitle them to so important a charge. The native officers—although there might be a great improvement in this respect, for no particular qualification is exacted from them—are efficient, and have some authority and responsibility.

"The infantry regiments, organized on the same principle, with only three selected English officers, may be compared with the regular native corps of the line, and will be found quite equal in steadiness on parade, in their conduct on active service, and in their discipline; while the expense of the regular infantry regiments, with twenty-six English officers, all entitled to pensions, is nearly double that of the irregular corps.

"The regular native cavalry should disappear entirely. Eligible men, from its ranks, might be allowed to purchase the Government horses at a moderate price, and enter the new regiments on the Hindostanee plan as silladars. The number of regiments of this description should be very largely increased. They are by far the most effective troops for keeping the peace, suppressing minor disturbances, and for affording aid in general to the civil power."

If the Native Cavalry and Infantry were all organized as General Jacob and Captain Bell propose, "the services of at least 1500 English officers who add nothing to the strength or to the influence of the Government, or to the efficiency of the service, whose pay amounts to at least 450,000*l.* a year, and whose pensions form an ever-increasing prospective burden on the revenues of India, would be dispensed with." In the present state of the Indian treasury the possibility of saving such a sum by adopting a different method of organizing the Indian Army deserves earnest consideration; but the important influence of the change on the minds of the Native soldiery, and the greater military effectiveness which it is proved to insure, commend it to the Government even more strongly than does the economy which would accompany it. We rejoice to find that her Majesty's Commissioners "are of opinion that the irregular system is the best adapted for Native Cavalry in India, and recommend that it be adopted." They "recommend that the Native Infantry be mainly regular, but that such number of regiments be main-

tained and organized on the irregular system as the Governor-General and the Governors of the Presidencies may respectively recommend for the sanction of her Majesty's Government."

The only other item of Indian expenditure which claims the attention of the economist is the interest payable on the Indian debt. The determination of Parliament to refuse its security for the repayment of loans contracted on Indian account has compelled the Indian Government to pay a much higher interest on them than it would do if they had the Imperial guarantee. "Since the commencement of the late mutiny," says Major Wingate, "the Indian Government has raised about 10,000,000*l.* in India at an interest of 6 per cent., while the money could have been raised by the same Government in this country at 4 per cent., and by the British nation at 3½ per cent." Subscriptions for 5,000,000*l.* on the same costly terms have been subsequently invited at Calcutta. Lord Stanley adverted to this thriftless process as follows:—

"Let me now call attention to a topic which ought to be considered in connexion with this subject—the position of the English Exchequer in regard to the Indian debt. I am aware the uniform policy of the Parliament and the Government of this country has been to decline all responsibility in regard to the debt of India, which has been held to be a charge only on the Indian exchequer. Dealing with the present state of affairs, I may say at once that I am not going to recommend any change in that policy. I know well the alarm, which any such proposition would create, and I know the refusal which it would inevitably receive. But this is a question which will recur again and again, and which will have to be considered in the future as well as in the present. Observing, then, that I do not speak with reference to practical action at present, I would ask the House seriously to consider how far, looking at the fact, that more than 50,000,000*l.* has been contributed by English capitalists, it would be morally possible for this country altogether to repudiate the Indian debt without shaking its own credit? I would likewise ask the House to bear in mind, that if ever the time should come when the established policy in this respect should undergo a change, and when a national guarantee should be given for these liabilities, that guarantee would operate to reduce the interest paid on the Indian debt by no less than 750,000*l.* or even 1,000,000*l.*, which, formed into a sinking fund, would go far to pay off the whole."

We shall have to recur to this subject hereafter; we are at this moment concerned only to show what amount of economy is possible. It appears that in order to make the Indian revenue and expenditure balance each other, the one must be increased, or the other lessened to an amount exceeding 5,000,000*l.* When the proposed reduction of the European and Native forces is effected, it seems impossible to lessen the military charge still

further, unless the Native Army be wholly organized on the irregular plan. Then, if Parliament would open its eyes to the folly of constraining the Indian exchequer to pay 1,000,000*l.* a year more than it need do by way of interest on money, a total saving from these two sources of about 1,450,000*l.* could be effected. It is of the first importance for the welfare of India that instead of reducing the expenditure, the amount of the deficit be provided; and now comes the question how this may be most easily and most safely done.

It is estimated that the new Indian tariff will produce 1,000,000*l.*, and it may be that the succession duty and the tax on tobacco intended to be imposed may yield a like sum. If the Indian Council also decides on a marriage licence fee, which it has under consideration, but which, it is believed, would be a dangerous imposition, it may, from these different sources, increase the revenue by 2,500,000*l.* Assuming our estimate of the deficit to be near the truth, that the savings as indicated above are effected, and that the new taxes yield the amounts counted on, the financial position of the Indian Government in 1860-1 would be somewhat as follows:

To amount of estimated deficit, say—	£5,050,000
By amount saved through changing the Native Army from the regular to the irregular system.	£450,000
By Reduction of Interest payable on India Debt through according Im- perial Guarantee	1,000,000
By proceeds of new Custom Duties .	1,000,000
By proceeds of Succession Tax . .	500,000
By proceeds of Tobacco Tax . . .	500,000
By proceeds of Marriage Licence Fees	500,000
	<hr/>
	3,950,000
	<hr/>
Probable Deficit in 1860-1	£1,100,000

But in fact the transformation of the Native soldiery from regular to irregular corps is likely to be limited to the Bengal Cavalry; and we have no hope that Parliament will soon see the wisdom of guaranteeing the payment of the Indian debt. So that the greater part of the imaginary savings just adverted to are likely to remain imaginary. If so the deficit of 1860-1 will probably amount to 2,250,000*l.*, unless the ingenuity of the Government enables it to invent some new tax, in addition to those just mentioned, which may be imposed without peril, and which will yield the sum required.

Three-fifths of the Indian Revenue is derived from land, and

owing to the principles on which it is assessed it is unlikely that the revenue from this source can be rapidly increased. About another fifth is derived from the opium monopoly. During the present century the amount derived from this source has increased enormously. But it is liable to immense fluctuations: in 1857-8 it yielded 6,443,706*l.*, whereas in 1858-9 it yielded only 5,195,191*l.* The remaining fifth consists of the salt duty and customs, which in 1858-9 yielded 4,398,968*l.*, together with miscellaneous items which in 1857-8 amounted to 2,966,091*l.* The opium revenue not only varies with the season and the demand for the article, but is liable to be affected by the culture of opium in China itself, seeing that as the Chinese Government has now legalized the opium-trade, it is probable that it will at least permit, if it does not encourage, its home growth. We have already counted on an increase in the Customs by the imposition of a new tax, the remaining sources of revenue—the miscellaneous items—are, taken together, too small in amount to afford a hope that they will present any considerable increase during the next few years. In fact, Indian statesmen are exceedingly embarrassed by the necessity of either reducing the expenditure beneath what is compatible with efficiency and safety, or of increasing the taxation to an extent which might prove provocative of a new insurrection. Under these circumstances we believe that however loud may be the exclamations at the proposal to reopen the question of Indian land tenures, as a prelude to a modification of the systems according to which the Indian Revenue from land is collected, this is the only right course open to the statesman who, not satisfied with meeting the exigencies of the hour, is intent on providing for the future. We shall so far anticipate the conclusions to which we hope to lead our readers, as to express an opinion that a wise and just administration of the land department of the Indian Government would raise its revenue to an equality with its expenditure, would enable it at no distant time to repay its debts, and would so extend and improve all kinds of Indian agriculture as to insure a great and rapid increase of wealth throughout the provinces under British dominion. Impressed with this conviction, we shall now proceed to expound the principle according to which, we believe, the Indian Land Revenue ought to be collected, and shall then indicate in what respects the acceptance of that principle would modify the policy and practice of the Anglo-Indian Government with reference to the Land Tax, the expenditure on roads, canals, and works of irrigation, and also with reference to the *quæstio vexata*,—Ought England to guarantee the payment of the Indian debt?

In no respect, perhaps, do the political institutions of the

different countries of the globe differ from each other more remarkably than in the laws by virtue of which land is held in each. Moreover, they differ in each country at different periods of its history. But notwithstanding these differences, it will be found that when nations in corresponding stages of development are compared with each other their land tenures are substantially alike, the likeness growing out of a common belief that land cannot rightly belong to private individuals, but only to the chief, the king, or the state. The soil of ancient Egypt belonged to the king, though large tracts seem to have been held by the priestly and military castes. The priests told Herodotus that Sesostrius (Ramases II.) "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all, and obtaining his chief revenue from the rent which the holders were required to pay him every year. If the river carried away any portion of a man's lot, he appeared before the king, and related what had happened, upon which the king sent persons to examine and determine by measurement the exact extent of the loss, and thenceforth only such a *rent* was demanded of him as was proportionate to the reduced size of his land."* Under the Hebrew theocracy, inalienable property in land was forbidden to individuals, unless they were priests. According to the Book of Leviticus, God gave to Moses a command that the children of Israel should observe a sabbath of years at the end of every seven times seven years, and that at the recurrence of this semi-centennial jubilee the individual tenures of land should "go out" or lapse. It is not very clearly stated to whom the land was to revert, but that it was not to be alienated permanently to individuals these words sufficiently prove:—"The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. . . . The field of the suburbs of their cities [those of the Levites] may not be sold; for it is their perpetual possession."† In ancient Persia, the king was regarded as sole proprietor of the land, and even now the Persian revenue is derived almost exclusively from the extensive crown lands. Indeed, it may be safely affirmed that in Asia the land most generally belongs to the king or supreme head of the state.

"In the Teutonic nations," says Professor Newman, "we can trace the history of tillage as high as the state of barbarism, when no such thing as private property in land was thought of. . . . The rights of land rested entirely in the tribe or nation, not in the individual; in fact the magistrates redistributed the land to the use of the tenants, year by year, no land remaining in cultivation two years together.

* Herodotus, book ii., chapter 109. Rawlinson's translation.

† Leviticus, chapter xxv. ver. 23, 34.

. . . . When German invasion deluged the rest of Europe, and feudal monarchies arose, the basis of the social system was in the tenure of land. In many parts, but eminently in Italy, the towns remained like independent powers with their own territory. Of the rest of the country a division was made almost identical with that of ancient Egypt or ancient India, into three sorts of land, belonging to the crown, the priests, or the military order, that is, the nobles. The actual cultivators generally paid rent in some form to one or other of these three possessors; but the principle was on the whole clearly upheld, that the land belonged to *the state*, and to no private person. Small freeholders, who cultivated their own land, may seem to have been an exception. At any rate, the larger holders, or landlords, who received rent, were, by the very fact, constituted into public functionaries, who had service to perform for the payment. Town lands, as the very name shows, belonged to the public. Nor were the crown lands the private property of the sovereign, nor could he alienate them. The Church lands equally were public, and the clergy owed public religious duties for them. Besides this, bishops and mitred abbots, equally with barons, were bound to maintain soldiers on their estates for the king's need. The barons' domains descended to their sons or representatives, and might not be sold for the advantage of the immediate holder, who had only a life interest in them. All these great functionaries had to do solemn homage to the king for their land, in token that it was public property; besides which they were liable to other burdens. In fact, the barons generally had courts of their own, and in many countries were like little sovereigns, whose political duties were requited by honour and by rent, which was not a commercial, but a political payment. Of all this, perhaps, the only remnant in modern England is seen in unpaid justices of the peace and in the compulsory serving as high sheriff; and, trifling as this may appear, it serves to indicate that the law has never given up the principle that landed possessions are a TRUST bestowed by the state, and that the person accepting the trust becomes in some sense a public functionary pledged to definite duties. . . . The illegal alienation of the crown estates, partly by sale and partly by gift, is a scandalous chapter in English history. Against it the Parliaments again and again protested, and often effected a resumption of the estates; nay, Richard I., after selling some of them, and using the purchase-money, took back the lands himself, alleging that the sale had been essentially beyond his power. However, after the abbey lands had been distributed among the aristocracy by Henry VIII., Parliament was dumb, so many having eaten the sop; and the alienation of crown lands went on, until at last the whole taxation of the country, which ought now, as originally, to have been defrayed by rent of land, was shifted off on to trade and industry. The landholders passed laws to exempt themselves from feudal service, so as to hold their rents for nothing, and presented the king with a ~~tax~~ on beer instead!" •

By the old laws of England, a nobleman could not sell his estate. It was held to be a fraud on his successors to take in

ready money the value of the land for ever. But from the time of the Crusades downwards, many have desired to turn their lands into money; while, on the other hand, the more opulent of the commercial classes eagerly coveted landed estates, and therefore conspired with the feudal owners to annul those obligations to the Crown under which they held, in order to assimilate land to other forms of property, and to facilitate its transfer as an absolute possession, subject in all respects to the owner's will. The unlimited control thus obtained is exemplified in the assumption and exercise of the power of ejectment. But immediately that the principle of individual and absolute property in land is pushed to its logical extreme its impolicy and immorality appear, and we see that, morally speaking, the owner of a county has no more right to drive away its inhabitants than the owner of slaves has to kill them. We believe that no one in this country will concede to the slave-owner the right to kill his slave; but to deny him this right is to deny the possibility of absolute property in slaves. Modern usage in England and Scotland has accustomed men's minds to the notion that land may become an article of commerce, and may be held as unconditionally as any other article; hence, notwithstanding strong misgivings when the principle was applied, consistency compelled acquiescence in the right of ejectment, which within this century great landholders have dared to exercise. But their unscrupulous audacity has riveted the attention of political economists, and has led them to investigate the rights of property in land, and to question the validity of those titles by which landlords have alleged themselves authorized to treat the land as their own. As soon as this principle is actually embodied, its injustice revolts and staggers the moral sense of thousands, who, however, not seeing how to dispute it so long as they recognise the principle of private property, are constrained to be silent; but others of clearer vision and stronger thought record their protest or battle against it.

"As far as I am aware," says Professor Newman, "to eject the population in mass is a very modern enormity. We think of it as peculiarly Irish; yet nowhere, perhaps, was it done more boldly, more causelessly, and more heartlessly, than from the Sutherland estates of Northern Scotland, early in this century. Between the years 1811 and 1820, 15,000 persons were driven off the lands of the Marchioness of Stafford alone; all their villages were pulled down or burnt, and their fields turned into pasturage. A like process was carried on about the same time by seven or eight neighbouring lords. The human inhabitants were thus ejected, in order that sheep might take their place; because some one had persuaded these great landholders that sheep *would pay better* than human beings! This is truly monstrous. . . . The public sits by, and mourns to think that people deal so unkindly with *that which is their own!* Here is the fundamental error, the

crude and monstrous assumption, that the land, which God has given to our nation, is or can be the private property of any one. It is a usurpation exactly similar to that of slavery."

In his very able work, "*Social Statics*," Mr. Herbert Spencer enforces the same doctrine. At the conclusion of his chapter on "*The Right to the Use of the Earth*," he says,—“We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land; . . . that the theory of the co-heirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done.” The very highest authority in matters of political economy (Mr. John Stuart Mill) while evincing a due regard to vested interests, is no less emphatic than Professor Newman and Mr. Spencer in denying the right of private property in land. “When,” he observes, “the ‘sacredness of property’ is talked of, it should always be remembered that this sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. . . . The claim of the landowners to the land is altogether subordinate to the general policy of the state.” Whether it be politic under any circumstances for the state to alienate land permanently to individuals we are not now concerned to inquire, but we may observe in passing that Mr. Mill would justify property in land only so long as the proprietor is its improver. He says,—“Whenever, in any country, the proprietor, generally speaking, ceases to be the improver, political economy has nothing to say in defence of landed property as there established. In no sound theory of private property was it ever contemplated that the proprietor of land should be merely a sinecurist quartered on it.”

We have not space in this article for a recapitulation of the various arguments by which the authors just quoted justify their denial of a right of property in land; there is, however, one consideration which, being intimately connected with the question of taxation, may be stated here. Suppose a military chieftain to take possession of an island previously uninhabited, to appor amongst his most distinguished followers, they agreeing to give him military service in return when called upon. These subordinate chiefs would in turn assign the use of their lands to their soldiers and dependents, to be paid for either in military aid or in rent, probably in the shape of a certain proportion of the yearly produce. The lands would then have a certain ascertainable value. Now suppose that in the course of a hundred years the population were to double, and were to go on increasing century after century, the demands for land would increase in proportion; but in consequence of the limited extent of the island these

demands could only be partially complied with; the inhabitants would therefore outbid each other for the possession of the soil, and its value would thus steadily and enormously increase. It is true that this increase would be due, in some measure, to the improvements effected by the holders, or by the owners; but by far the largest proportion would result solely from the growth of the population, a cause quite independent of the capital, labour, or will of the landlords. The question, therefore, arises,—seeing that the added population is the source of the increased value of the land, is it right that the landlords should appropriate it exclusively to themselves? If we were to concede to them a prescriptive claim by virtue of their original possession, equity would dictate, as it seems to us, that they should in some way share their increased revenues with those whose presence had occasioned their increase. At the time they obtained the land, the functions of government were almost wholly confined to the assurance of that military protection which they were bound to give; the increase of the population, and the successive steps which it has made in civilization, have necessitated governmental machinery of constantly growing magnitude and complexity; as the revenues of the landlords have increased in even greater proportion, it seems to us that in the eyes of justice they are as much bound to provide the increasingly costly administration of government in all its departments out of their increasing land revenues as they were to provide mere military aid when good soldiership comprised the chief merits of good government. We are glad to be able again to quote Mr. Mill in confirmation of our opinion:—

“Suppose,” says he, “that there is a kind of income which constantly tends to increase, without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of the owners: those owners constituting a class in the community, whom the natural course of things progressively enriches, consistently with complete passiveness on their part. In such a case it would be no violation of the principles on which private property is grounded, if the State should appropriate this increase of wealth, or part of it, as it arises. This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would merely be applying an accession of wealth, created by circumstances, to the benefit of society instead of allowing it to become an unearned appendage to the riches of a particular class. Now this is actually the case with rent. . . . They [the landlords] grow richer as it were in their sleep, without working, risking, or economizing. What claim have they, on the general principles of social justice, to this accession of riches? In what would they have been wronged if society had, from the beginning, reserved a right of taxing the spontaneous increase of rent to the highest amount required by financial exigencies? . . . In most countries of Europe, the right to take by taxation, as exigency might require, an indefinite portion of the rent of land has never been allowed to slumber. In several parts of the Continent the land-tax

forms a large proportion of the public revenues, and has always been confessedly liable to be raised or lowered without reference to other taxes. . . . Whatever may be thought of the legitimacy of making the State a sharer in all future increase of rent from natural causes, the existing land-tax (which in this country unfortunately is very small) ought not to be regarded as a tax, but as a rent-charge in favour of the public."

Reviewing the foregoing considerations, it seems to us that whether we regard the ownership or use of the land, the same principle is indisputably established: the land belongs to the people as a whole, and can only be held rightly by the State in trust for them to whom alone the rent for its use is justly due. In Europe an adumbration of this principle is visible in numerous political arrangements: not only have landlords held their lands in consideration of yielding military service or paying a land-tax, but rights of way through "private property" have been constantly insisted on, and the right of Parliament, expressed in its numerous railway bills, to resume the land against the will of its owners (tendering at the same time a money compensation) is held by all classes of the community to be paramount and unquestionable. Bearing in mind how extensively modern English life reposes on the assumption of the right of individuals and their heirs to hold land in perpetuity, notwithstanding the public affirmation of a principle directly subversive of it, we freely recognise the great practical difficulty in England of realizing the idea that the land and the rents of it belong to the State. But if the idea be an essentially true one, it will assuredly embody itself. The time may be afar off, and the change so gradual, as to be marked by no political convulsion, but institutions unfounded in justice exist by expediency and on sufferance; condemned by the intellect, they are liable to destruction, and the deeper such institutions permeate the life of a people, the more they are to be deplored, and the more difficult and perilous the task of rectification. We conclude, therefore, that it is a great good fortune for a country to be able, without serious dislocation of existing arrangements, or the infliction of grave suffering on any class of the community, to reform or establish its tenure of lands in accordance with the only equitable principle by which they can be lastingly held, and that it behoves statesmen of all countries, when effecting land-settlements, to approximate to that principle as nearly as possible. In India, from the time of Warren Hastings to the present day, the tenures of land have been the *quæstio vexata* of Anglo-Indian statesmen. Happily for the millions constituting the Anglo-Indian empire, the greater proportion of their lands are so held as to permit of the ownership being vested for ever in the Government on their behalf, without occasioning any political or social disturbance, and

without causing any great individual suffering. In the present state of Indian land tenures, the importance and beneficence of giving a practical recognition of the principle that the land belongs exclusively to the State is incalculable, and her Majesty's Minister for India who shall resolve, that when dealing with the Indian lands, he will be guided by that principle, and will apply it in all practicable cases, will secure for himself the perpetual gratitude of an assemblage of nations.

There has been a long-continued discussion among the most distinguished servants of the East India Company as to who were the proprietors of the land in India, when under Hindu or Mahomedan rule. To us it seems indubitable that the proprietorship practically vested in the reigning princes. As Mr. Thomason observes, "undoubtedly traces are often to be found of the existence and exercise of a proprietary right in the land on the part of individuals; but so long as the sovereign was entitled to a portion of the produce of all land, and as there was no fixed limit to that portion, practically the sovereign was so far owner of the land as to be able to exclude all other persons from enjoying any portion of the net produce."* The most ancient accounts we possess of Indian land tenures go to prove that the land was held from the sovereign by numerous village communities, completely independent of each other, and containing within themselves nearly all the necessary means of existence and self-government. Geographically considered, each village or township comprised a tract of country consisting sometimes of hundreds, sometimes of thousands of arable and waste land; politically it was a little republic, holding its property more or less in common. The principal officers were the *Patell*, or headman, who had the general superintendence of the village affairs, settled disputes, collected the village revenues and paid them to the king's deputy; the *Patell's* assistant, the *Chongula*; and the *Koolkurnee*, or accountant. Besides these, there were twenty-four persons of various trades and professions, necessary as artizans and public servants, or desirable on account of religious observances or common amusements. But very few villages were complete. The cultivators were entitled to one-half of the paddy produce (that is, grain in the husk), depending on the periodical rains. Of the crops from the dry grain lands watered by artificial means they were allowed about two-thirds. Before the harvest began, the amount of the crops was ascertained by skilful surveyors in presence of the village inhabitants, and the quantity belonging to the Government being thus determined, was either paid for in money or contributed in kind. Of garden produce

* Report 999 of 1853. Revenue Survey (India), p. 5.

a much smaller proportion was exacted.* In course of time the interests of the *Patell*, or headman, become identified with those of the village community, of which, in its relations to the sovereign or his agents, he became the representative. But originally, as appears from the *Manu Code*, he was the king's servant—lord of a single town, and receiving for his services “the food, drink, wood, and other articles,” to which the king was entitled from that town.† This circumstance is to us an additional proof, that in the most ancient times the land was considered as belonging to the king.

“Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived,” says Mr. Mill, “from time immemorial. . . . They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves.” These communities have been characterized as “the indestructible atoms from which empires are formed.” Sir Charles Metcalfe says of them—“they seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down. Hindoo, Patan, Mongol, Mahratta, Sikh, ~~English~~, are all masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same.” In Malwa and in the greater part of the Presidency of Madras, the village communities no longer exist; but there is good reason to believe that in former times they prevailed there; in all other parts of India, even in Bombay, where the present system of land assessment is greatly assimilated to that of Madras, they maintain their integrity more or less complete. They were respected by the Mahomedan conquerors, to whom in fact such institutions were by no means new: there are not only traces of them in ancient Persia, but in the time of Huncefa and his two leading disciples (that is, in the eighth century of our era), they were flourishing in the countries about the Oxus. As supplementary to Mr. Mill's statement of the amount of produce exacted from the village communities on behalf of the king, we may observe, that in the *Ayeen Akbary* it is said that the Hindu monarchs exacted a sixth part of the produce, and that, according to the *Institutes of Manu*, they were entitled to take a sixth in extreme cases. But, practically, the spirit of *Manu's* ordinances was rarely complied with by Hindu princes: the most usual method of assessment seems to have been, after collecting together the produce, and deducting certain allowances due to each of the village officials, to divide the rest between the king and the cultivators, the share of the king being from a third to a half.

* “History of British India.” By James Mill. Vol. i. p. 217.

† History of the Mahrattas. By J. G. Duff. I. 31.

‡ “Life in Ancient India.” By Mrs. Spiers. P. 148.

According to the Mahommedan law, "every country which was forcibly subdued, and bestowed on its inhabitants without their embracing the faith of Islam, is *Khirajee*, and every country which was peacefully subdued by submitting to the *Jizyut*, is also *Khiraj* land." *Khiraj* literally means an outgoing, or tribute from the earth; *Jizyut* is the Mahommedan poll-tax. The *Khiraj* was reckoned as a sixth, or a fifth, or even a fourth of the earth's produce; but this was computed on an assumed equality of all soils, and when applied to poor soils, was no less oppressive than the Hindu exaction of one half of the actual crop, which was left after satisfying the customary claims of the village officials.

The essential principle on which true Mahommedans assessed the land, was a religious one. The lands of the faithful were only subject to *Ooshr*, or tithe, while the infidels, by way of penalty for their unbelief, were obliged to pay the *Khiraj*, which, when computed as a fifth of the produce, was of course double the amount of the *Ooshr*. The *Jizyut*, and other vexatious taxes being levied on the Hindu unbelievers in addition to the *Khiraj*, we can easily imagine that the people were burthened more heavily than they could bear. At all events, the Emperor Akbar, who was tainted with latitudinarianism in religion, and who was therefore tolerant towards his Hindu subjects, abolished the *Jizyut* and other imposts, and fixed the land revenue at one-third of the produce of each article in land of average quality, payment of that proportion being made obligatory alike on believers and infidels. The rate thus fixed was commuted into money at the average prices of nineteen years, and option was given to the cultivator to pay either in money or in kind. The settlement was made for ten years, and may have continued longer, but after Akbar's death the *Jizyut* was re-established.

The Emperor Aurungzebe was strictly orthodox, and accordingly, as appears from a firman which he addressed to the Dewans of his different provinces concerning the collection of tribute, he reverted to the strict application of the Mahommedan law. The many modifications of land-tenure, or of tribute due on account of them which that law recognises, need not be described here. We are only concerned to state that neither in the firman of Akbar, nor in that of Aurungzebe, is there anything to show who were held liable for the sums due on account of the land, or who were regarded as the proprietors. It may be fairly observed that though the emperors became the proprietors by right of conquest, they abandoned their proprietorship so soon as they bestowed the lands on their subjects and exacted the *Khiraj*. It may be so, but still by a process determined by the Mahommedan law, a vast extent of territory reverted to the State.

Nearly all waters, whether running streams or artificially brought to the lands conquered by the Mahomedans, were regarded at *Ghuneemat*, or plunder, and *primâ facie* the right of the soldiers. "When the Iman restores the land and water to the inhabitants, he does not defeat the right of the soldiers entirely, on the contrary, he reserves to them the right of *Khiraaj*." Now even those lands, which being divided among the Mooslim soldiery, are *primâ facie* subject only to *Ooshr*, may, if irrigated or moistened by *Khiraaj* water, themselves become *Khirajee*, for upon such land either *Ooshr* or *Khiraaj* may be imposed at the option of the Iman. As a matter of fact, it appears that in all, or nearly all, cases the *Khiraaj* was imposed on even *Ooshr* lands when within reach of irrigation, or running water. Moreover, if *Ooshr* land be transferred from a Mooslim to an infidel, it changes its character with its proprietor and becomes *Khirajee*; but, with strange inconsistency, it continues *Khirajee* even if re-conveyed to a Mooslim. In India the *Ooshr* character of land seems to be entirely lost. Waste land, when brought into cultivation by infidels, is in all cases subject to *Khiraaj*.

Now the *Khiraaj* tax is of two kinds, the one is called *Mookassimah*, and, being due out of actual produce only, has that characteristic of the *Ooshr* which adapts it peculiarly to Mooslim; the other is called *Wuzeefa*, and being due, whether there be any produce or not, has that characteristic of *Khiraaj*, or tribute, which adapts it peculiarly to infidels. Of course, therefore, all lands held by the Hindus, when conquered by the Mooslims and allowed to be retained by the cultivators, became subject to *Wuzeefa*, but, owing to the scarcity of water in the East, when land is beyond the influence of great rivers the assessment of a fixed tribute, irrespective of the capability of the soil, is impracticable. In such cases, therefore, law was often set aside by necessity, and a *Mookassimah khiraj* was largely imposed, except on lands capable of being easily irrigated. The rate of this tax may be any part of the produce which the land will bear, not exceeding the half; so that either this or the *Wuzeefa*, the fixed amount of which was payable irrespective of the nature of the soil, was extremely onerous; and, as a consequence, lands were so often abandoned by their cultivators as to necessitate an enactment on the subject. In fact, after waiting a sufficient time to allow of the proprietor's return, the land was then to be cultivated from the public treasury for the benefit of the Mooslim population, or to be let, according to the contract of *Moozâraut*, by virtue of which the Government share of the produce might be anything which the land would yield beyond a bare subsistence to the cultivator. Seeing the tendency of *Ooshree* land to become *Khirajee*, and that each kind of the latter being oppressively taxed, was

frequently abandoned, we can now understand how, from the migrations of cultivators, land in large quantities would be continually lapsing to the State.* “Of this land,” as Mr. Baillie observes in his learned essay, the title of which is prefixed to this article, “the sovereign, as representative of the great body of the faithful, may fairly be said to be the proprietor.” Extant deeds, by which Hindu and Mooslim princes have frequently alienated large estates to their favourites, prove how absolute they considered their ownership to be.†

Such was the theory and practice of Indian land tenures under the Hindu and Mahommedan rule. Of course whatever proprietary rights may have been possessed by the native princes of territories acquired by the East India Company or the English Government, would be inherited by their successors. We hold, therefore, that excepting so far as such rights have since been alienated, the lordship of, and property in, the land of British India belong to the State. We know that a precisely opposite opinion is strenuously maintained, and whether ours is wholly justifiable theoretically and historically we shall not inquire further, but shall content ourselves with showing that with the exception just adverted to, the Anglo-Indian Government is virtually the landlord of the territories subject to its sway. It is useless to quibble about terms: whether the Government assessment be called land-tax, rent, or land revenue, so long as it amounts to such a share of the produce as, taking an average, tenants are willing to pay by way of rent, or private landlords are accustomed to exact, the Government is practically the landlord, and by establishing public works for improving the value of the land recognises its obligations as such.

In 1807, Sir Thomas Munro told a Parliamentary committee that, when the rate of taxation exceeds one-third of the produce, land, generally speaking, is of little or no value, and is often abandoned; and General Briggs states that his own experience, both in India and in Europe, leads him “to believe that land cannot be cultivated for any length of time by a fixed money assessment of rent, representing one-third of the farm, excepting under two circumstances: the one is, when the produce is very cheap at the time of fixing the rent or assessment; the other is, when the cultivator has other lands from which he can derive profit, without paying rent or tax.”‡

* Even under British rule similar abandonments of land, in consequence of over-assessment, have frequently occurred, as we shall hereafter see.

† See Mill’s “History of India,” 5th edition, vol. i. p. 213, and the Appendix to Baillie’s “Land Tax.”

‡ “India and Europe compared.” By General Briggs. London. 1857.

We have shown that the native governments of India commonly exacted nearly the half of the produce, and that even statesmen like Akbar took a third; and now let us see what the English Government does. In accordance with the "perpetual settlement" of Lord Cornwallis, the produce of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, was first subject to a deduction to pay for the expense of collection, and was then divided, one-half or two-fifths was left to the Ryots, and of the other half or three-fifths, constituting the rent, the Government took ten-elevenths, and the Zemindar, or nominal proprietor, the remaining one-eleventh. What with the greatness of this exaction, the summary process by which it was extorted, and the tedious process by which alone the Zemindars could obtain their dues from the Ryots, the artificially created landowners or aristocracy of Lord Cornwallis—the original Zemindars—have been swept away. In consequence of the additional land which has since come into cultivation, the present landowners are a comparatively wealthy class; but abundant evidence is forthcoming to prove that the condition of the Bengal Ryot verifies what might be predicted by any one having a knowledge of the proportion of produce which he has to yield up in the shape of rent. Under the system denominated Ryotwarry, which obtains in Madras and Bombay, the conditions of the land assessment are settled with each farmer separately. This system is contrasted unfavourably with that of the North-West Provinces, according to which the assessment is made on the village as a corporation, the members being jointly and severally responsible for payment of the sum agreed upon. It is alleged that the Ryotwarry system has proved a failure in Madras. But has the failure resulted from the inherent badness of the *method* by which the revenue is collected, or from the largeness of the exaction? General Briggs asserts that "heavy assessments have reduced the whole (Ryot population) to the condition of pauper tenants," and that "it is admitted that the assessments take one-third of the value of the crops on dry land, and 45 per cent. on irrigated land." In a statistical report of the East India Company for 1853, quoted by General Briggs, it is stated, that annual settlements with the Madras Ryots are indispensable; and here is the reason given by the Honourable East India Company, through the voice of its reporter:—"In the south of India the seasons are unusually precarious, and the cultivators poor and improvident; under such circumstances it has been thought there were no means of securing to the Government a *fair* share of the surplus produce, or net rent, but by taking more than the average in favourable seasons, and making corresponding reductions in those which prove unfavourable. But such a system must necessarily operate as a bar to agricultural improvement; it is obvious, but

for the remissions, the land is over-assessed." Under such a system as this what proprietary rights are left to the cultivators? Mr. Norton, in his "*Topics for Indian Statesmen*," while advocating the Ryotwarry tenure of Madras, says that, as it has been worked by the revenue officers, it has impoverished the people, and that a great portion of the land of that Presidency "is lying waste, because the assessment is more than the rent." In South Arcot, under the Presidency of Madras, the assessment has been 50 per cent. of the gross produce. What proprietary rights this assessment left to the natives let the following facts tell: "out of 176,167 cawnies* of irrigated land, there were 95,655 lying waste; out of 1,064,880 of dry land, 815,993; and out of 4,731 of garden land, 3,226; or 54 per cent. waste of irrigated, 77 per cent. of dry, and 74 of garden. Of the best, or garden soil, 500 cawnies have been used for building sites; the district does not grow grain enough for its own consumption; the best lands now lie waste, whilst numbers of its inhabitants seek subsistence in foreign emigration."† Even the Board of Revenue ascribes "the extensive emigration which has been yearly going on to the excessive character of the land assessment, which does not admit of the population earning a living from the cultivation of their own native fields." We are happy to say that in 1854 the Government sanctioned a reduction of this extortionate rent.

In the Presidency of Madras the ryot is allowed, for the reason already given, to throw up his land at the end of each year; in that of Bombay the settlement for the rent is, as in Madras, made direct with each separate farmer or cultivator, but the land is now let on lease for a term of thirty years, the assessment or rent being, we believe, about a third of the crop. But the ryot is only called upon to pay rent on the land he actually cultivates each year, so that he is assured that during his term of thirty years his rent cannot be raised, and is still enabled to enlarge or contract his area of cultivation at pleasure. This system is a recently introduced reform, and seems to be working tolerably well. Of course if the ryots find that under it they can accumulate profits from their cultivation, their tenures will come to be regarded as beneficial leases—a first step in the direction of acquiring a proprietary right in the soil. But that until the recent change the cultivators in the Deccan were virtually without any proprietary rights whatever is abundantly evident. In a valuable paper, embodying the results of long and elaborate research concerning the land tenures of the Deccan, by Colonel Sykes, it is stated that before 1824 a large amount of land had gone out of cultivation in

* A cawny is about one-third larger than an acre.

† Mr. Malthby's Report (1853), quoted by Mr. Norton, p. 209.

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consequence of over-assessment. The most extensive holders of land when it came under our rule were what are called *Mirasdars* (from *Miras*, heritage, patrimony). They "claim a right to the personal occupancy of their land so long as they pay the Government assessments on it; and in case of failure in the payment of the Government dues, and the consequent failure of the right of occupancy, they claim the right to resume it whenever they can pay the arrears, and also to mortgage or sell it at pleasure." Formerly these lands "had an intrinsic value, and were desirable possessions," as attested by their saleableness, but in 1825 Colonel Sykes described them as worthless.

"I have seen," says he, "many *mirás patras* (letters of inheritance) granted by *mirásdárs*, or by the *Patails* and *Kulkurnis*, or by village authorities in different parts of the country, dated between twenty-five and fifty years back; but, for the last twenty-five years land has not had a saleable value in the tracts traversed by me, unless probably in some rare instances, for the sites of houses in large towns. Consumption falls short of production; the value of agricultural produce is depreciated; the money assessments continue the same or nearly so; and the grain, forage, and other cesses have been converted into money rates; the *mirásdár* of the present day, therefore, is unquestionably in a worse situation than the *apari* or mere renter. *Mirás* land has lost its value, although the abstract right to it may have been confirmed under us; and it will be found that the *mirásdárs* will silently get rid of their highly assessed lands, and rent *ukti* lands, unless the assessments be equalized in both tenures. Of so little value are *mirás* lands now, that in every village, it is not to be denied, very many *mirásdárs* have abandoned them, and are absentees, and such absentees are called *Parágandah*."

A document signed by E. H. Goldsmid of the Civil Service, and G. Wingate, Superintendent of Survey and Assessment in the Deccan, contains the following statements:—"Owing to the racking system prevalent in the latter years of the *Peishwa's* Government, and over-assessment throughout our administration, sales of land have become as little known in the Deccan as in Madras. . . . And we further ascribe to the fact of a portion of the rent having been seldom, if ever, left to the proprietor or cultivator in India, the characteristic wretchedness of its agricultural population."* Major Wingate also says of "the *Talooka* of *Ralworée*, which, with respect to farming capital and capabilities, is perhaps on the whole not an unfavourable specimen of a Deccan district," that from his own knowledge of the general poverty of the cultivators, he should think it no exaggeration to assume that four-fifths of this class are involved in debt.† In an ingeniously constructed diagram he shows in

* Revenue Survey (India). Report 999 of 1853. Pp. 364, 365.

† Ibid., p. 353.

various ways the effects of British assessment during twenty-five years ending with 1845-6. "During the first nine years of our administration the assessment was high, and the revenue declining; for the next five it was low with a tendency to improve; and for the last twelve, high, with a diminishing revenue. . . . Cultivation is now more limited than at any former period of our rule. The Government arable land of the villages exceeds 122,000 acres, and cultivation has now fallen to 52,000; and this in despite of the advantages enjoyed by the cultivators of late years in the abolition of transit duties and taxes, and the facilities these have afforded for the export of cotton to Bombay."* In presence of these deplorable and damnatory facts, the assertion of the existence of the proprietary rights of the Indian landholders, at least in the districts and at the dates referred to, is a mere fiction, the belief in which is pleasant perhaps to the philanthropist, but worse than delusive to the statesman.

Throughout the sub-Presidency of Agra, or the North-West Provinces, the ancient system of revenue settlement with each village as a corporation has been adopted, not however without important modifications. The chief of these are fourfold: such a rate of assessment as will leave to the cultivators a third of the average net profits; the assessment payable only in money; tenures for fixed terms, generally thirty years; and the beneficial interest acquired by the holder to be heritable, or transmissible, so as to constitute a proprietary right, resumable only by the Government in default of payment of the rent. "This system," says Mr. Thomason, "has been called the Mouzawar System, but, perhaps, Mehalwar would be a more correct term." Notwithstanding the likeness to each other in outward form and in their relations to the revenue collectors which these villages present, the land tenures of the several inhabitants of each village may and often do change, and are frequently both various and complex. We have not space for a detailed description of all the varieties of tenure within these little *imperia in imperio*, but will mention the principal forms. Sometimes the coparceny system is carried out entirely: "the rents paid by the cultivators, whether those cultivators be the proprietors themselves or not, are thrown into a common stock, with all other profits from the estate, and after deduction of expenses the balance is divided amongst the proprietors according to a fixed law." This, though different from the system prevailing in the Bengal Presidency, is nevertheless distinguished in the North-West Provinces by the term *Zemin-dree*. Sometimes "the lands are divided, and held in severalty by the different proprietors, each person managing his own lands,

* Revenue Survey (India). Report 999 of 1853. P. 389.

and paying his fixed share of the Government revenue, the whole being jointly responsible, in the event of one sharer being unable to fulfil his engagements." Such tenures are called Putteedaree. There are also what are called imperfect Putteedaree tenures, being "those in which part of the land is held in common and part in severalty, the profits from the land held in common being first appropriated to payment of the Government revenue and the village expenses, and the overplus being distributed, or the deficiency made up, according to a rate on the several holdings. These distinctions are not in their nature permanent. A mehal (the village lands) may pass by the agreement of the sharers from one class to another, the joint responsibility remaining inviolate." It is interesting to observe in these changes the tendency to individualize or differentiate: "it is very rarely that a putteedaree mehal becomes zemindaree, but it is a most common occurrence for a zemindaree, or an imperfect putteedaree to become a putteedaree mehal. In such cases a partition of the common land takes place, but no division of the mehal."

It will be seen that under this system proprietary rights to at least a third of the net produce of the soil are being gradually established. Indeed it frequently happens that certain members of the villages, either jointly or severally, claim the proprietary right as theirs by conquest, by reclamation from a state of waste, or by long possession. The revenue officers freely recognise and confirm such rights; in fact so anxious are they to alienate the proprietorship from the State, that if no one can substantiate a plausible claim to it, they "put it up to competition at public auction, when it is sold to the highest bidder." Whatever may be the validity of the asserted rights they certainly cannot in most cases have been of long duration, for the non-recognition of that right by the native governments which preceded the British in the North-West Provinces is repeatedly asserted in the official Report from which we have just quoted, and it is said to be "*not unfrequently* the case, that there is no party entitled to claim the proprietary right."*

Throughout the Punjab, when under the Sikh Government, the land was assessed at a great variety of rates, *cæteris paribus*, those lands being most remote from the central authority paying least, those being the nearest the most. But the most usual maximum rate was a half, the most usual minimum a fourth of the gross produce; even 54 per cent. was occasionally collected; generally, however, the demand varied from a third to two-fifths of the actual produce; the payment being made either in cash or in kind. "The officials sometimes disposed of the grain them-

selves, but more commonly obliged the agriculturists to pay for it in cash, at prices rather higher than those quoted in the ordinary markets." Towards the close of Runjeet Sing's reign, the revenue of a portion of the kingdom was assessed in money. From what has been already said, it is obvious that in those districts where the assessment amounted to a half of the crop, any proprietary rights, excepting those of the Crown or of jagheerdars (holders of estates free from Government assessment), must have been very small. As soon as the country came under British rule, a rapid provisional settlement of the land-tax was effected, when a very general reduction of the proportion of the crop demanded was made, and the system of collecting the revenue was assimilated to that prevailing in the North-West Provinces. Of course, as usual, the assessments were all fixed in money, the British Government never consenting to receive rent in kind. But though the claim on behalf of Government was lowered to a seemingly fair sum, reductions having been made, taking the whole of the Punjab, to the extent of 25 per cent., the cry of over-assessment was too loud and general to be safely disregarded, and the discontent is admitted to have had an adequate cause. Within the country, consumption did not equal production, and without there was little or no call for the excess, so that exportation was all but impossible. There was, consequently, a very general demand for a return to grain payment, and to a division or appraisement of the crops every season. This was refused, but diminution, or even suspension, of the revenue claim was often found necessary.* In the Report published this year we are told,—"It often happens that no sooner has an assessment been elaborately calculated than it has to be altered; no sooner have engagements been entered into with the people for a term of years, than they have to be broken." In 1851-2, "large bodies of landholders in some districts tumultuously crowded round the revenue authorities, and violently declared that the markets were overstocked with grain, and that money could not be got in return for produce." The wisdom displayed in giving practical heed to those declarations contributed to save our Indian empire in the day of trial. "The policy of reduction having been consistently followed for five years," when the crisis came, "the agricultural classes were comfortable and quiet; none were pinched in circumstances. . . . No one, among the agriculturists at least, had reason to hope for benefit by a change of rulers." They paid the instalment of revenue then demanded from them with willingness and punctuality; "there existed no feeling against us; there was

* General Report on the Administration of the Punjab from the years 1849-50 and 1850-51. Section VII.

a kind of passive sentiment in our favour among the masses." We may rest assured that in this "policy of reduction" of the land-tax lay the secret of that marvellous power by which Sir John Lawrence exhausted his province of soldiers to ensure the British triumph at Delhi. Even in 1857-8, a further reduction was deemed expedient; owing, however, to fresh lands coming under assessment, the total land revenue collected was about equal to that of the previous year. But the necessity of these continuous reductions proves that the proprietary right of the cultivators must still be of next to no value. In fact, what Englishmen understand by proprietary right, in so far as it confers power of ejectment and the sale of land in satisfaction of debt, is scarcely understood by the Punjabees, and is certainly held by them in utter abhorrence. Elsewhere in India the same feeling is intense. "From the events in Hindostan, it is evident that such sales foster hatred between classes who will tear each other to pieces directly the bonds of civil order are loosened."* In the Report already referred to, respecting the North-West Provinces, it is observed,—“Abstractedly considered, this [power of sale and compulsory alienation of landed property] is the just and necessary result of the definite property in land which is created by the system [applied by the English revenue officers], but it is a process unknown to the native governments from the very absence of all recognition of fixed rights.” (p. 9.) In fact, what the people want is, not an absolute proprietary right in the land, but a moderate revenue assessment, assurance that they may remain on the land so long as they pay it, and aid from Government in its capacity of landlord in the shape of loans, to enable them to effect improvements and render their farms more fertile. In the Punjab, as in other parts of India, the Government has found it both politic and profitable to advance such loans, and thus, despite its theoretical relinquishment of landlordship, continues to fulfil the functions attaching to that office.

In the settlement of the land-revenue of Scinde, the wisdom of Sir Charles Napier is signally conspicuous. Under the numerous changes of dynasty and rule to which that rich but unhappy country has been subject, the tenure of land has been exceedingly precarious, a stable system of land-revenue impossible, and rapacious oppression of the cultivators general and extreme. All the land in Scinde belonged to the State. “Under the Kalloras, the ryots had hereditary tenures, which gave them an interest in the soil; the amcers, seeking only personal profit, broke all the

* Report on Administration of the Punjab, 1856-8. No. 212 of 1859. The Government of the Punjab has now “exempted all ancestral land, or land acquired by inheritance, from process for debt.”—*Times* Correspondent, June 10, 1859.

ancient tenures, rendered the husbandman a mere slave, and turned nearly a fourth of the finest land into hunting wildernesses." They gave still greater tracts of equal fertility to Beeloochee chiefs, scarcely a tithe of which they cultivated, to be held by them on condition of bringing so many swords and shields into the field when the prince called for them. These estates, called jagheers, "could always be resumed, and the smaller jagheerdars were liable to constant capricious removals from one estate to another, the ameers invariably seeking profit by the change." They raised the bulk of their revenue from the land. Nominally, their exaction "was but half, yet various minor oppressions made the land-tax upon the ryots amount to two-thirds or more of the gross produce." Sometimes the levy was in money, but most generally in kind. The grain exacted was converted into cash, often by forced sales above the market price. "Thus, in 1842-3, Musscer Khan compelled his umbardars (corn-factors) to purchase rice in the husk at twenty-six rupees, though they could only obtain from eighteen to twenty rupees for it when cleaned." When the levy was exacted in cash from the cultivators, "the kardar (head man of the village) assembled the richest people of his district, compelling each to take a portion of the grain, and pay instantly the ameer's price, perhaps more for their own profit. If any refused, he was hanged by the thumbs to a beam and a hot ramrod was placed between his thighs. The money being thus collected—God help the kardar if it was not—each zemindar, or farmer, took his forced purchase away and divided it, in like manner and with *like persuasion*, amongst his ryots or labourers, who, being poorer, had a larger allowance of hot ramrods and other tortures."

In 1813, the British conqueror of Scinde told the jagheerdars that their lands were forfeited by the conquest, that England neither wanted nor would have warriors on the feudal system, and that hence no service of sword and shield could repurchase their jagheers, but that "he would restore them with this condition—that when any public work was in progress through their jagheers, each jagheerdar was to provide labourers with mattock and spade in the same proportion as he had before been bound to provide warriors with matchlock and sword; and it was his design to commence such works as would enhance the value of their possessions." This assertion that their lands belonged to the State, and that they were to be rehired by the jagheerdars only on the terms just mentioned, was assented to. Some of the jagheers thus restored were sixty square miles in extent. In 1844 Sir Charles Napier "restored to the sons of all jagheerdars, who had fallen in battle against him, their fathers' lands; and to them and all others he gave the choice of paying rent instead of holding their land on the service tenure. This rent was not based on the

value of the jagheer. . . . It was calculated on the expense of the military service which had been attached to it; and if a jagheerदार said he was unable to pay the rent, he was offered the land for a life-purchase, and even longer, on condition that so much of the jagheer as would, if let to ryots, pay the rent demanded, should be withheld by the Government." The system of farming the revenue prevailed generally in Scinde; Sir C. Napier abolished it; but the middlemen—zemindars—still exist. They hire large tracts of land from Government or from jagheer-dars, and sublet them to the ryots in small portions. Sir Charles, finding that these zemindars, while cheating their landlords, starved and oppressed the ryots, granted to the latter small farms, giving them only so much land as they can cultivate without subletting, and, like a good landlord, helping them with small loans, repayment of which is rigidly exacted in instalments. He hoped thus to deliver them from their oppressors. He effected a general reduction of the land-revenue assessment, in consequence of which the revenue steadily increased. Throughout his administration he seemed to have acted on the assumption that the land belongs to the State. When restoring the extensive jagheers to their former holders, he did not alienate the proprietary right, and in his final settlement with them he induced them to yield up three-fourths of their estates, by presenting them with the fee-simple of the remainder.*

The tenure of land in Oude is known as the Talookdaree system; but the convulsions, from which the country is only just recovering, have necessitated extensive readjustments, involving the confiscation, restoration, and re-apportionment of estates; and any attempt to describe the new land settlement would still be premature. Meanwhile, however, we will give Professor Wilson's description of a Taluk:—

"It is defined an estate, the profits of which are divided between different proprietors, or classes of proprietors, the one superior, the other inferior; the former being usually an individual who, either by a grant from the sovereign, by favour of local functionaries, or by voluntary acts of the people, has become the intermediate agent for the revenue, collecting it from the people, and paying it to the Government, after making such deductions to cover his risks and assure his profits as he may be entitled to by the stipulations of the grant, or by local custom."

In fact, a talukdar is a sort of zemindar, but, though often of great importance, usually of inferior rank.

* "History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde and Campaign in the Cutchee Hills." By Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Napier, K.C.B. 1851. Pp. 36, 37, 46, 110, 111, 307.

We believe our readers are now in possession of ample data for forming a distinct conception of the general principle and practice which have distinguished the various Governments of India as proprietors, lords paramount, or assessors of the land. We have seen that, in accordance with Asiatic ideas and immemorial custom, the Indian theory of the tenure of land vests the absolute ownership in the Sovereign; that whether this theory be recognised or not, Hindu and Mohammedan princes have exercised all the rights of unconditional proprietorship; that as a general rule they have exacted from the cultivators so large a proportion of the produce as to leave them a bare subsistence; that in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay the British Government has followed so faithfully in the footsteps of its predecessors as not only by its rapacity to bar the cultivators from proprietary rights, but to drive them from their native lands, which, by tens of thousands of acres, have consequently gone out of cultivation; that in these two Presidencies the proprietary right is not even theoretically abandoned: that in the Bengal Presidency a proprietary right to the extent only of one eleventh part of the assumed net profits of the soil was assigned by Lord Cornwallis to the zemindars;* that in the north-west provinces, the Punjab and Scinde, where the interests of the cultivators are alleged to be especially considered, the Government avowedly takes two-thirds of the net profit or rent, and often much more, as shown by the frequent necessity of lowering the assessments after they have been fixed; and that in every part of British India where beneficial leases are now granted, the Government reserves to itself the right of continuing to claim the same *proportion* of the produce which it now exacts, or, in other words, raising the rent when the present leases shall expire. In view of the evidence we have adduced, few will deny, we presume, that the British Government is both *de jure* and *de facto* the all but absolute landlord of British India, and therefore in the position so to manage the vast estate, so to administer its trust on behalf of the people as to realize the wise and righteous doctrine, dimly understood, but practically insisted on for ages throughout a large part of Asia, and emphatically taught by the English politico-economical authorities of Europe—viz., that the land of each nation belongs to the people as a whole, that the Government as their representative is the supreme landlord, and that it cannot rightly alienate in perpetuity any part of its trust to individuals.

Seeing what is the actual relation of the Anglo-Indian Govern-

* Owing to improvements, the value of their proprietary right has increased two, three, and even fourfold.

ment to the soil of India, and assured of the truth and wisdom of the doctrine just referred to, we believe it to be the imperative duty of that Government to proclaim itself, both theoretically and practically, the supreme landlord on behalf of the people, and to assume all the obligations attaching to that high office. Were it to do so, it would be bound to ascertain forthwith the exact nature of its agreements with all its tenants, to confirm for definite periods those which are equitable, to annul as soon as practicable those which are not, and, by good government, good roads, and extensive works of irrigation, so to increase the value of its estate as to enable it to yield a revenue equal to the national expenditure, and ultimately capable of paying off the 100,000,000*l.* of debt with which it is now burthened. Anticipating the fulfilment of these urgent duties, let us endeavour, by a rapid survey, to form a rough estimate of the resources at the disposal of the State Trustee.

The following table exhibits the gross amount of land revenue derived from the several presidencies or provinces of British India in 1856-57, together with the area in square miles to which each presidency or province extends :—*

	Area, in Square Miles.	Land Revenue, in Pounds Sterling.
Presidency of Bengal	221,799	3,295,378
Prince of Wales' Island	160	25,986
Singapore	275	49,968
Malacca	1,000	15,905
Coorg	2,116	10,251
Tenasserim Provinces	29,168	170,511
Pegu and Martaban	45,330	207,312
Nagpore	76,432	286,016
Oude	21,738	800,640
North-West Provinces, including the Cis and Trans-Sutlej States and the Sangor and Nerbudda territory	114,251	4,648,361
Punjab	73,535	883,034
Presidency of Madras, excluding Coorg	130,697	3,592,766
Presidency of Bombay	64,806	2,165,027
Scinde	63,599	319,168
Sattara	11,000	236,069
	858,906	16,706,392

* The items of the land revenue are extracted from the Parliamentary return, No. 486 of 1858. The area of each province is given on the authority of a corrected copy of "Statistical Papers relating to India, printed for the East India Company," for which we have to thank Col. Sykes, M.P.

Assuming the total area to be 800,000 square miles, we find that the Government receives for the use of the soil an average yearly rent of 20*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per square mile, or nearly 8*d.* per acre. But we have shown that those lands which are assessed pay a rent equal to a third of their produce; it is obvious, therefore, that, though farm produce is extremely cheap throughout India, a vast proportion of the land yields no rent at all, and must be either uncultivated or held rent free. In the north-west provinces, which are probably more considerately and equitably assessed than any other part of India, the average rent of cultivated land is a little over a rupee and three quarters per acre. Now, if the average rate of assessment throughout India were two rupees an acre, 83,531,960 acres, or about 130,520 square miles of land rented from the Government at that rate, would yield 16,706,392*l.*, the total amount of the land revenue in 1856-7. In other words, less than one-sixth of the whole territories of India either is yielding or ought to yield the entire land-revenue now collected. Many tracts of land are let at a much higher rate than two rupees an acre,* so that if the average rate is less than that sum the depreciation is due to the alienation of land-revenue from the State in the Presidency of Bengal by the perpetual settlement of Lord Cornwallis. But we have other evidence to prove how vast is the quantity of land which at present yields no rent. The total area of cultivated and uncultivated land in the presidency of Madras is 87,598,080 acres. Of this amount only 14,807,088 acres are rented under annual settlement, producing 2,89,51,869 rupees. What is the amount under permanent settlement we cannot say, but we know that it produces 69,93,763 rupees, we may therefore fairly estimate it as equal to a fourth of that under annual settlement. So that the total amount of land in Madras yielding rent to the Government is about 18,500,000 acres, or considerably less than a fourth of the whole.†

In Bengal, the proportion of cultivated land is greater, we believe, than in any other part of India; but even there 30,000,000 of acres are said to be lying waste.‡ We have no evidence of the proportion of uncultivated Government lands in Bombay, but, as a ground of conjecture, we may refer to the district already mentioned, in which, out of 122,000 acres of arable land, 69,500 acres lay waste in 1846. The total area of certain "reported districts" of the North-West Provinces comprises 45,553 square miles. Of these, which, if we include the Sutlej-States, are not the half of the extent of this sub-presidency, only

* In Tanjore, during 1849-50, the average rent of irrigated land was six rupees per cawny.

† Return ordered by Parliament, No. 224 of 1854.

‡ "Topics for Indian Statesmen," p. 214.

23,685 square miles were yielding rent to Government at the date of the report (1842). Besides the barren lands, there were at that time within the reported districts 11,130 square miles of cultivable lands belonging to the Government still unlet. These authentic facts illustrative of the potential, but as yet unrealized, resources of the Indian Exchequer existing in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the North-West Provinces, will suffice to indicate the exhaustless national wealth of the collective provinces of British India which the Anglo-Indian Government is called upon to husband and administer.

We have seen that 130,500 square miles of territory let at 2 rupees an acre (little more than the rent in the North-West Provinces) would yield a sum equal to the entire land revenue of 1856-57. If throughout India 50,000 more square miles were let at the same rate, the land revenue would be increased to the extent of 6,400,000*l.*, a sum amply sufficient to enable the Government to meet the increased claims upon it without levying a single additional tax; and were 250,000 out of the 850,000 square miles of British territory let at the same rate, they would alone yield an income equal to the present Indian revenue from every source, and would still leave 600,000 square miles unappropriated or unlet by Government! That the glowing anticipations implied in these statements are not mere dreams we can adduce convincing evidence: it is estimated by Colebrooke, that when Lord Cornwallis effected his "permanent settlement" with the zemindars of Bengal, 30,000,000 of acres were under tillage in that Presidency; during the sixty-six years which have since elapsed, 40,000,000 of acres, or 62,500 square miles more, are said to have been brought into cultivation.* This enormous increase of cultivation, if we still reckon the land worth a rent of two rupees an acre, would of itself have added 8,000,000*l.* a year to the national income, but for the unfortunate settlement of Lord Cornwallis, which has excluded the Government from its rightful claim. The year after the settlement was effected (1794-95), the land revenue of Bengal was 3,235,259*l.*† In 1856-57, it was but 3,295,378*l.*, with more than double the quantity of land in cultivation. During the first seven years (ending 1854) after the new survey of the Deccan, 1,500,000 of acres, or 2343 square miles have been rented from the Government, in addition to those already in cultivation. We have said that South Arcot in Madras was so oppressively assessed as to constrain the inhabitants to abandon their lands; but in 1854, under the

* "Topics for Indian Statesmen," p. 214.

† Parliamentary Report, No. 336 of 1855.

wise management of Mr. Maltby, the total rent of the lands then in cultivation was reduced to the extent of 10,29,947 rupees. Now mark the result: from 1846 to 1855 the average annual land revenue was 22,56,996 rupees, and yet the very next year (1855-56), after *five-elevenths* of this sum had been remitted to the cultivators, the land revenue rose to 24,04,464, and the following year to 25,56,902 rupees. In the Punjab, notwithstanding the repeated lowerings of the assessment since the country was annexed, the land revenue has also increased: prior to annexation it was 1,331,808*l.* according to the native Chancellor of the Lahore Exchequer; in 1857-58 it was 1,451,603*l.* In fact, so far as we can learn, the experience gathered in all the collectorates of India proves that so soon as the land is fairly assessed, a steadily increasing demand for it sets in.

But while the Government can safely count on a gradually increasing revenue from letting fresh portions of the lands now in its possession at an equitable rate, it may increase its income, not only greatly but rapidly, by the resumption of estates, which are at present claimed as freeholds, and which are held rent free without any valid title to such exemption. Lord Stanley, in his comprehensive and masterly exposition of the financial resources of India, from which we have already quoted, gives an account of these freeholds, and of the difficulty there is in dealing with them. Many such estates are called "enams" (the word means bounty or free gift); others are known as "Jagheers;" and a third term, in use in the North-West Provinces, denoting rent-free land, is *Lakhiraj*. The revenues of these lands were alienated from the State by native princes in order to confer them on their favourites, or they were seized upon, in periods of tumult or on other occasions, by men who believed possession to be nine-tenths of the law. In the latter cases titles have of course been invented: "there have been many forgeries of grants," says Lord Stanley, who adds—"I have heard of a paper being brought to a resumption officer, by a person who represented that it was a title to land which had been given by the King of Delhi 200 years ago; but on examining the paper it was found that it bore the mark of that very year, and was, in fact, not six months old!" Of the total amount of land thus held rent-free we have no means of learning, but on the authority of the Revenue Survey Commissioner of Bombay, Major Wingate, we know that a third of the entire Presidency of Bombay—or about 19,250 square miles—have been alienated and yield no revenue whatever;* and that in the North-West Provinces upwards of 2700 square miles of

* Report on the Colonization of India, No. 461 of 1858.

land are *Lakhiraj*, or rent-free.* The titles by which many Enamdars and Jagheerdars claim the lands they hold may deserve respect, but as many others are forgeries, or are undeserving confirmation, we hold it to be the urgent duty of the Government to prevent the Enam Commissions already established in Madras and Bombay from being paralyzed by the opposition offered to them, and to insist that they shall continue with the utmost assiduity to prosecute their inquiries until they have pronounced judgment concerning the validity or worthlessness of the titles by which all the lands of Madras and Bombay now alienated from the State are held. Similar inquiries ought to be instituted in every other province of British India; the fee-simple of all estates, the claims to which cannot be supported by adequate titles, ought to be resumed, the remission of rent only being continued, so long as the commissioners shall, in view of the peculiar circumstances of each case, determine to be just and expedient. And of those freehold estates, the titles of which are recognised as valid, an exact account ought to be taken, in order that the Government may know precisely what proportion of its territories is rented, what is held rent-free, and what is still lying waste.

Lord Stanley states, that when he appointed Sir Charles Trevelyan to the Governorship of Madras, he gave him the option of suspending or ending altogether the "Enam" Commission of that Presidency. "No man in India, I believe," says his Lordship, "understands better than Sir Charles Trevelyan this complex subject of land tenures," and he "without hesitation and without delay, gave his opinion that the inquiry ought to go on." This opinion encourages us to hope that of the 69,000,000 of acres within the Presidency of Sir Charles, which now yield no rent to the Government, a considerable proportion may be made to contribute sooner or later its fair share of the Government expenditure. The simplest solution no doubt of the complicated difficulties besetting the settlement of these questionable tenures would be to confirm them all without further inquiry; but we maintain that it is a monstrous injustice to draw all the land revenue of Bombay from two-thirds of the holders, while the remaining third, enjoying all the advantages which a good Government confers, entirely escape assessment. Of course the same remark applies to all other parts of India.

Affirming as we do the doctrine that the land belongs exclusively to the State, that no Government has the power to alienate it in perpetuity, and that that portion of its increasing value which is due to causes independent of the tenant—such for instance as the general increase of the population—also belongs

* "Gazetteer of India."

to the State, we further affirm as a logical sequence of this doctrine that it is the duty of the State not only to abstain at once from all further transfers of proprietary right either by sale or by permitting what is called the "redemption of the land tax," but to repurchase as speedily as possible those which it at present recognises at their current market price. For obviously the longer such repurchases are delayed, the greater will be the sums which will have to be paid in order to effect them; whereas if they are purchased now, payment being made in Government Stock, and the holders of the land being left in possession, subject to the ordinary revenue assessment, all their subsequent increase in value, except that due to improvements effected by the tenants, would belong to the State. How greatly and rapidly the State would increase its revenue from this source only, may be inferred from the estimate we have already given, that 8,000,000*l.* a year of the legitimate income of the State, arising from the increased value of the land within sixty-six years, is alienated to the zemindars of Bengal by the perpetual settlement of Lord Cornwallis. We rejoice to observe that in an elaborate and able review of the revenue settlement of the North-West Provinces, the Court of Directors of the East India Company distinctly recognised the principle that the increased value of the land due to causes independent of the holder belongs to the State. Of the leases granted for terms of thirty years in those provinces, many will, we believe, fall in within the next ten years. With reference to the question how far the claim of the agriculturist to the additional value which his capital and industry, *aided by other circumstances*, have added to the land shall be allowed for in the next settlement, the Directors say—"We are of opinion that the only satisfactory principle on which all future renewals of settlements can be made will be, that *reference must be had to the value of the land at the time*; a liberal consideration being given for the improvements attributable only to the efforts of the tenant himself."*

Another means, incalculably great, of increasing the land-revenue consists in supplying facilities for copious irrigation and for the cheap transit of agricultural produce to the best markets. Practically the landlord of India, but under the influence of the European and antagonistic idea that it would be better were the actual holders absolute proprietors of the land, the English Government in its management of or relation to the public works, has exhibited all the dubiousness and faltering inevitably resulting from a policy prompted by two irreconcilable principles. In an economical point of view it is clearly

* Revenue Survey, No. 999 of 1853, p. 288.

the duty of a landlord to do all in his power so to improve the value of his estate as to make it yield him the highest possible rent. In a country, the fertility of which mainly depends on efficient irrigation, this duty is peculiarly imperative, because many estates being supplied with water from one and the same source, their several owners are individually powerless to help themselves, and unless they co-operate for the satisfaction of their common need they must be assisted either by large and enterprising capitalists, or by the Government itself. Nearly the same remarks are applicable to canals and roads. The native princes undertook such works themselves. The Anglo-Indian Government has encouraged their accomplishment by private enterprise, and has been so loth to recognise its duties as national landlord, that though compelled to perform them more or less in spite of itself, it abstained from organizing a department of public works until the present decade, and confided such as it did undertake to military boards. In 1854, during the reign of Lord Dalhousie, a systematic organization of the Public Works Department was inaugurated, and for some years past from 2,000,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.* have been expended yearly on public works, a considerable proportion being for roads, bridges, and works of irrigation. But how greatly the Government would fain still lean on private enterprise is evident from the fact that it has presented to the several Indian railway companies the land on which the lines are being constructed, and has incurred the risk of guaranteeing to the shareholders a minimum profit of 5 per cent. on 40,000,000*l.*, stipulating only for a share of any profits which may accrue beyond 5 per cent. even if the undertakings should prove successful enough to make repayment possible. Such private enterprise as this is, however, much more seeming than real. It is a mere mask under which the national landlord is in fact improving his estate himself, and at his own expense. We are glad of it, but our gladness is not unmingled with regret that the Government, after finding the land and according its guarantee, will have no share in the property which it has virtually created; and we look on these anomalous partnerships between the Government, and private companies, in which all the risks are on one side and all the profits on the other, as characteristic of a transitional state. So soon as the doctrine that the land belongs to the people as a whole shall obtain complete recognition, road and canal making, and irrigation on that gigantic scale which is essential in eastern countries, will be found to be among the few important functions of government when restricted to the proper sphere of its activity.

The indirect profit derivable by a nation from the construction of roads and canals, is far greater than the direct profit derivable

from the sums paid for their use after deducting the cost of making and working them; witness the enormous impetus which has been given to agricultural and commercial activity, and the wonderfully rapid progress in civilization which has been made throughout Europe and North America, by the extensive system of railroads now established. But the prime movers of this great and beneficent revolution—the railway capitalists—instead of finding their great works yield a remunerative interest on the capital invested, have to deplore the irrecoverable loss of hundreds of millions, while many of them have been reduced from affluence to beggary. Competition, usually so healthful and beneficent, is baneful here: if two lines run between the same points and through the same intervening country, their directors will, in the first instance, so cut down each others prices as to ruin the shareholders, and then they will either amalgamate or enter into a treaty, the result in either case being that the public will be compelled to pay double the fares they ought to do on each line, in order to yield a profit on the double outlay of constructing two where one would more than suffice for the whole public traffic.

The more attention is given to the question—Who ought to construct the public works?—the more distinct we believe will be the answer that the duty rests with Government. Assuming that political economists and statesmen will ultimately concur in this judgment, they will probably be also of opinion that whenever such works would undoubtedly yield a large indirect profit to the State, by developing and enriching it as a whole, they ought to be constructed even though they should fail to yield a direct profit on their cost and management.

The following facts justify this opinion:—During the years from 1836 to 1849 the aggregate increase of the revenue of Madras, due to the extension of works of irrigation, was 415,529*l.* after paying all cost of construction and repair.* Owing to the Godavery Works, the aggregate increase of revenue from 1816-7 to 1853-4, was 360,000*l.* against an expense of 188,000*l.*, and the exports of the district steadily increased from 116,000*l.* in 1817-8 to 650,000*l.* in 1853-4. It is estimated by the Madras Public Works Commission that the landholders of the same district will be enriched by the Godavery Works to the extent of 3,000,000*l.* a year.† The Doab and Eastern Canal, which has cost altogether about 640,000*l.*, irrigates an area of 1,300,000 acres, yielding produce to the annual value of not less than 2½ millions sterling. The increase of land revenue due to the Ganges Canal is estimated at upwards of 240,000*l.* a year. Pages

* Report No. 407, 1 of 1853, p. 371.

† Brigg's "India and Europe Compared."

might be filled with similar facts. But if the Government incurs the expense and risk of such works, it has no right to alienate its claim to whatever direct profits may sooner or later arise from them. It seems to us that instead of guaranteeing 5 per cent. per annum on 40,000,000*l.* now being expended on Indian railways, the Government would have acted more prudently had it borrowed the money at its market value, constructed the lines itself, and retained them as its property, to be leased to private companies on such terms as should seem mutually equitable. A knowledge of the large direct profits now yielded by certain Indian public works will perhaps be held to justify this conviction. The net profit of the Ganges Canal is expected to be 7 per cent. The Domb and Eastern Canal yields a net profit of 24 per cent., and the Delhi and Western Jumna Canals yield an interest of 36 per cent. on the capital invested, after deducting the expenses of the canal and civil department.*

From our rapid survey of the liabilities and resources of the Anglo-Indian Government, our conclusions may be summed up as follows:—That having annexed India to the British Empire, and destroyed the governing power of its native princes, we are responsible to 184,000,000 of people for their political well-being. That until a recent date our taxation in various parts of India has been so oppressive as to keep the majority of the people in poverty and debt. That in the yearly account of income and expenditure, notwithstanding our exactions, deficits form the rule, surpluses the exceptions. That after exercising the utmost economy, and having recourse to fresh taxation within the limits of safety, the expenditure will still continue to exceed the income. That the alarming prospect of a continually increasing debt justifies, indeed renders imperative, a revision of the principles and settlements according to which the land-revenue is collected. That in strict equity the land of each nation belongs to the people as a whole, and cannot be alienated in perpetuity to individuals. That as this principle has been recognised and practised in India from immemorial antiquity until the present day, and is essentially just, the Anglo-Indian Government ought to act upon it. That it ought to cease forthwith from all further alienation of the absolute proprietary right in the soil, whether by redemption of the land-tax or by actual sale; and that wherever such absolute proprietary right has been already alienated, it ought immediately to be resumed, a payment for it, according to its market value and the validity of the holder's title to it, being made in Government stock. That were the Government to act as su-

* Colonel Sykes's "Notes of Public Works in India."

preme landlord, the national estate might be so managed as to yield at no distant time a land-revenue more than equal to the whole national expenditure. That of the holders of the vast territories throughout India, distinguished as enams, jagheers, or lakhiraj, and which are rent free, a large proportion have no sufficient claim to be exempted from assessment. That if these usurped freeholds were resumed, and their tenants constrained to contribute their fair share to the revenue, the prospective deficit in the national balance-sheet would become insignificant. That therefore the Enam commissioners ought to continue their labours, and that the area of their investigations ought to extend over the whole of British India. That as more than three-fourths of the Presidency of Madras, or about 100,000 square miles, yield no rent to Government, as a third of Bengal, and a third of the culturable lands of the North-West Provinces are lying waste, as the proportion of waste land in the other provinces is probably equally great, and as by reducing the assessment in various parts of India the demand for land and the total land-revenue have been increased, the potential resources of the Government in these waste lands alone are virtually inexhaustible. That by a systematic extension and ramification of common roads, railroads, and canals throughout India, and in consequence of the increase of the population, the land will steadily rise in value, and that the demand for it and the rent derived from it will proportionately increase. That the land-revenue may also be immensely augmented by means of works of irrigation. That whereas the construction of public works by private companies who depend solely on the direct profits derived from them frequently result in loss; the State, which enjoys the large indirect profit derived from them, can construct them without risk. That when their existence would greatly augment the revenue, it is the duty of Government to construct them, even though there is no prospect that they will yield a direct profit. That considering the enormous amount of land still unlet, or resumable from holders having no title to it, the increasing demand for it, the certainty that it will rise in value from natural causes, and still more from the extensive construction of roads and works of irrigation, and that such works themselves often yield a large direct profit, the potential wealth of the Anglo-Indian Government is inexpressibly great. That it holds first-rate security for the re-payment of the utmost amount it can judiciously spend in the improvement of its estate. And finally, that in order to ensure the welfare and prosperity of the millions of human beings in India over which it presides, to rescue the Indian Government from insolvency, and to extend the sphere of English manufacturing and commercial enterprise, on which a large proportion of

our home population depends, the Imperial Parliament, by the offer of its guarantee, ought to enable the Government of India to borrow on the most advantageous terms whatever money may be requisite to enable it to develop the vast resources, and thus rapidly to increase the revenues of our Indian Empire.



ART. VI.—RECOLLECTIONS OF ALEXANDER VON STERNBERG.

Erinnerungen von Alexander von Sternberg. 10 vols.
Berlin. 1856.

THE name of the author of these volumes is little known in England. Even in Germany, despite the popularity which the last of his works—the “*Recollections*”—has attained, his celebrity is gradually passing away. Yet it is not long since he was regarded as a star of the first magnitude in modern German literature, and the “*Zerrissenen*,” the “*Diana*,” the “*Endymion*,” eclipsed for awhile the “*Novellen*” of Tieck and the tales of Hoffmann.

In order to understand a celebrity which the works themselves will scarcely justify, we must revert to that epoch when the “*Salon*” reigned supreme and exercised on the world of letters an influence of which at present we can form but little conception. The true home of the “*salon*” was France, the true period of its glory the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. In no other country, in no other age, could it have acted so importantly, and in some respects, it must be owned, so fatally, on the general tone of literature. But despite all its sins, its vices, its frivolity, it cannot be denied that the society of those days was more brilliant, more agreeable, than that of the present era. The men were more amiable, for their principal business in life was to please; the women more delightful, for they found themselves the central point of attraction, and all their charms of mind and manners were called forth to preserve that ascendancy. In Germany the salon, in the sense in which it was understood in France, was scarcely known. Literary circles, indeed, there were, at least in certain elevated regions, such as that of the Queen Sophia Charlotte, wife to the first King of Prussia. Somewhat later Frederic the Great had his

Recollections of Alexander von Sternberg.

devoted to literary labours. He completed his "*Familie Schrockenstein*," a drama, violent, unequal, and utterly unfit for the stage, but which could have been written only by a poet. "*Der Zerbrochene Krug*," a comedy far from devoid of merit, many of the scenes of which recall the "*Avocat Pflin*," and his tale of "*Michel Kohlhaus*," perhaps the best of his productions, and really a masterpiece in its way, at once simple and dramatic. Then came the "*Käthchen von Heilbronn*," in which he sought to embody *his* idea of a true woman; all submission, obedience, devotion, and abnegation. But these attributes are carried so completely beyond the limits of womanly dignity and modesty as to be positively disgusting, while the latter scenes are involved in such inextricable confusion as almost to defy the comprehension of the reader. The "*Prince of Homburg*" is of far superior stamp; there is much that is beautiful, touching, and heroic; but here, too, the mental malady of the poet is but too visible in those strange scenes of somnambulism, which mar the work.

These intellectual efforts had banished for a time the dark phantom that hovered over him; but it was but for a moment. The success of his dramas was by no means as brilliant as he had anticipated. His health was faded; his fortune was ruined; he had no longer strength to struggle with his destiny. The unfortunate influence of a young and beautiful woman, with whom he had contracted a tender friendship, and who, afflicted with an incurable malady, implored him to put an end to her existence, recalled the unhappy poet to his former ideas of suicide.

The 20th of November, 1811, a young man and woman descended from a carriage at the door of a little inn, about a mile from the town of Potsdam, on the banks of a lake formed by the river Havel. They supped merrily, passed the night in writing letters, and next morning, after a slight repast, set off for a walk, desiring that coffee should be brought them in the most picturesque part of the valley. They had been absent for a short time when two pistol-shots were heard. The servant who went to seek them found them corpses. Henriette was lying full length at a trunk of an old blasted tree, her hands clasped upon her bosom; Kleist was kneeling before her, he had shot himself through the brain.

A greater contrast to Kleist than Fouqué can scarcely be imagined. The one sombre, passionate, melancholy; the other graceful, lighthearted, animated, recalling in his own person the chivalry of olden times. His "*Undine*," that exquisite tale in which human interest is so marvellously blended with the vague and mystic, had made him the delight of Germany, while his private virtues rendered him no less the darling of all who came within his personal influence. Schleiermacher was a man of a very different stamp from either. Born in 1769, of re-

noble birth, the German language was as familiar to him as his own, and Goethe, Schiller, but above all, Tieck, formed the delight of his solitary hours. His father, indeed, who had little to leave him save an ancient name, and who was naturally desirous that he should adopt some profession which would secure him an honourable independence, strenuously opposed these literary tendencies, but he died when his son was not above fifteen, and the youth was placed under the guardianship of an uncle, who, more indulgent or perhaps less anxious concerning his nephew's future prospects, suffered him to follow his will and pleasure unchecked and unmolested. Thus he led a desultory, though far from idle life, till he attained his twenty-third year, when he was at last persuaded to repair to St. Petersburg, for the purpose of soliciting an appointment in the civil service. But he was not prepared for all that awaited him. The venality which reigned in every department of the administration disgusted his moral sense, the obsequiousness of the officials offended his pride, the very atmosphere he breathed oppressed him, and at length, through the mediation of the empress, a princess of the House of Hohenzollern, he obtained permission to quit Russia for awhile, and spend a few years in that land he had long so fervently desired to visit. He arrived in Germany the beginning of the year 1830. His first halt was Dresden, where Tieck was then giving his lectures on dramatic literature amid crowds of admiring hearers. Tieck, as we have already seen, had been one of Sternberg's favourite authors, and, indeed, has exercised no inconsiderable influence over his own style; but this admiration was confined exclusively to such of his productions as dealt with the supernatural world; to his dramatic works he denies all merit, declaring that he was one of the greatest enemies of the German stage; that it was through him that so many useless theatrical experiments were made which ended in hopeless mediocrity or intolerable affectation. As to Tieck's comedies, he insists that they are one and all failures, and it is amusing enough to contrast his scorn of "Puss in Boots," which he calls a "worthless puppet-play," with the warm appreciation of a more genial critic, M. Marc Girardin. As usual, the truth probably lies between the two. In everything relating to the world of fancy, Tieck is without a rival. He seems indeed as though he had penetrated deeper than other men into the secrets of nature. While following him we feel ourselves transported into an enchanted region. But it cannot be denied that he frequently failed in his attempts both to reproduce real life and to burlesque it. No one can draw a good caricature who is not thoroughly acquainted with the original. Tieck lived in a world of his own—and this very isolation, which rendered him so mighty a master of all belonging to

the realm of imagination, rendered him powerless as soon as he attempted to enter the sphere of actuality. "He had always," says Sternberg, "a camera obscura, in which he placed painted figures which he took for living forms." Of Chamisso, whom he also met, the writer's judgment is far more flattering. "That excellent and gifted man, worn by years and sorrows, was fast sinking into the tomb; but the love and admiration of all who knew him or his works, consoled him in his decline. Seldom indeed do we find a minstrel who has so well and gracefully fulfilled the poet's truest mission, that of elevating and purifying the human heart by holding up before it images of virtue, nobility and generous feeling." But Sternberg is not always equally benevolent in his appreciations. His strictures are often severe, even to injustice, and William Schlegel seems the favourite object of his animosity. In his reprobation of Schlegel's judgment of the French Theatre, which he truly says "is written with the very spirit of hatred," all who have studied the subject will fully agree; but when, not content with seeking to disparage the great and varied gifts of that illustrious author, he strives to render him ridiculous by exposing every little fault and frailty, he transgresses the bounds of legitimate criticism, and induces us to suspect that he had some private motive of pique he does not think fit to avow. One story, however, whether true or false, is too characteristic to be omitted.

"The last time I saw Schlegel, he says, was at Bonn; 'I was crossing the market-place when a man passed me, tall, elegantly dressed. I knew it was Schlegel, and that he had come from his lectures. I gave him my name and presented him with a letter of introduction. He instantly took me to his house, and loaded me with attentions. In every chamber of the elegant but disorderly abode, a picture of Madame de Staël adorned the wall, one more *decollé* than the other. In the corridor she had sleeves, but they grew shorter and shorter as we advanced. In the reception-room there was nothing on her arms save bracelets of gold and pearls. In the study, neck and bosom were shaded by a transparent gauze only; and in the sanctuary, *whither, however, our profane steps were not admitted*—there was one, 'I fancy, in 'beauty unadorned.' It was at once comic and touching to see the look of mingled reverence and delight with which Schlegel stood by while the spectator contemplated the divinity of the temple.'"

Schlegel was a man of unsullied reputation, and probably saw nothing unbecoming in what might have struck more inflammable minds as such—and as to his affectionate reverence for her memory, what is there comic in his grateful devotion to the woman who had loaded him with benefits, who had been for years his best and most intimate friend, and whose heart, despite certain little feminine weaknesses and vanities, was as great as her genius.

At Count M.'s Sternberg met the well-known Hitzig, the friend and biographer of Werner and Müllner. •

“He spoke much of the latter, for whom he seemed to cherish sincere affection. He told us of his sufferings, his errors, his marriages. ‘Yes,’ he sighed, ‘if only gifted men could pass through life without frailties or without the *world’s knowing them*.’ Ay, thought I, but then they must have *no friends of their youth* to write their biographies.”

After lingering some little time at Dresden, Sternberg proceeded to the capital of Prussia, where he was introduced to Varnhagen von Ense and his wife, the celebrated Rahel. Rahel’s salon, so long the central point of the society of Berlin, was but the shadow of its former self, for its mistress had fallen into a languishing state of health, and could receive none save her more intimate friends; but enough remained to recal the days of its splendour, when it was the constant resort of all the most distinguished men in Prussia, and indeed in all Germany. Rahel herself was one of those extraordinary and fortunate beings who, without producing anything remarkable in literature, art, or science; still contrive not only to exercise a marvellous ascendancy over their contemporaries, but to leave behind them a reputation denied to many far more gifted. Neither Rahel’s letters nor her literary remains justify this celebrity. In both indeed we find sparks of genius, and occasionally a deep and original thought; but the sparks never light into a flame—the thoughts are broken, unconnected, indistinct—the style is halting, affected, deficient alike in force, ease, and lucidity. It strikes the reader—it always strikes us, at least—as though, instead of writing from the fulness of her heart or to impress on others some deep-felt conviction and warmly-cherished opinion, her only aim were to excite admiration and attention. Yet, on the other hand, how shall we account for the spell she threw over all who approached her. It cannot be explained by rank, wealth, or beauty, for she was destitute of all three. She was wedded to a man fifteen years younger than herself, a man who, if not endowed with genius of the highest order, occupies no mean rank among the writers of his country, and this man she inspired to the last moment of her existence with a veneration and devotion rarely paralleled in the history of wedded life. Goethe, of whom, it is true, she was an idolater, returned her homage with respect and esteem. Jean Paul declared “she was unique in her way, and her letters from Paris worth a dozen volumes of travels.” Perhaps the very deficiency in the gift of *form* which pervades her writings may—strange as it must appear—account in some measure for their success. The Germans love the *vague* and *mystic*, and they are apt to confound the unintelligible with the sublime, and to give

mere intentions the credit of execution. "Thoughts we do not understand," says one of their best modern critics, Julian Schmidt, "astonish us like inspiration, and the less we comprehend the more we admire them." But the real source of attraction lay in her marvellous power of sympathy. She possessed the rare and invaluable gift of thoroughly identifying herself with those around her, of reading the most secret depths of their hearts, of living in their life, of grieving with their griefs, and rejoicing with their joys. Slight, frail, and delicate, with an extraordinary nervous sensibility, and an imagination vivid almost to morbidness, she was utterly unable to live without love, or without a friendship which had almost the warmth of love. We have no space here to enter into the romance of her life. Enough that her youth had been twice darkened by blighted hopes and affections. The first love had been compelled to yield to family considerations. The second, still more fervent, perished from its own excess, for in such natures the most intense happiness is often withered up by its own burning ardour. It was in 1802, on recovering from the long illness, the result of this bitter delusion, that Rahel, abjuring love as she believed for ever, formed the project of assembling a chosen circle, by means of which she might act beneficially on the minds of her countrymen. Her success was greater than she could have anticipated. All the celebrities of the day gathered round her—statesmen, poets, men of the world—seeking, perhaps, to drown in literary and philosophic discussion the recollection of their countries' political degradation. Here might be seen individuals of the most opposite stamp, the most conflicting opinions; here was the Prince de Ligne, who contrived to belong both to the ancient and the modern regime, who had been the darling of Versailles, the favourite of Catherine the Great, the friend of Frederic of Prussia. A citizen of the world in every sense, he had selected France as the home of his intellectual productions, and Austria as that of his ambition: the former had bestowed on him his literary honours; the latter his rank as field marshal. Diplomatist, soldier, philosopher, and author, always young in heart, overflowing with wit and merriment, this type of all the best virtues and most pardonable weaknesses of the "talon rouge" of the old regime was one of the most intimate of Rahel's friends. Still more assiduous was Prince Louis Ferdinand, the darling of the fair of Berlin, one of those ardent, passionate, poetical natures which carry all before them, and are loved, admired, and regretted, despite a thousand faults and follies, while his heroic death at Saalfeld in 1806 covered a multitude of sins. Brave, generous, and brilliant, full of martial ardour and noble aspirations, but vain, extravagant, and dissipated, a finished seducer, bringing shame, ruin, and dis-

grace to many a happy home, he was the type of the Prussian aristocracy of that period. "Such a mixture," writes a contemporary author, "of virtue and vice, nobility of soul and utter depravity of morals, can scarcely be conceived unless it had been witnessed." His constant companion was the well-known Gentz, to whose evil example many of his excesses may be fairly attributed; for Gentz had already obtained the unenviable honour of presenting the most complete illustration of vice and profligacy; he did not even seek to conceal it. The very sense of morality seems to have disappeared in this strange yet energetic nature. Dice, wine, and women divided his existence with study, politics, and literature. It may appear singular that Rahel, whose virtue was never doubted, should have admitted such a man not only to her circle, but to her intimate friendship. But the fact is, a deep and general demoralization pervaded the whole of German society, at least of the higher order. Its princes, great and small, had done their best to ape the profligacy of Louis XV.: all its courts had become the homes of vice and licentiousness, and nowhere were these so rampant as at Berlin. To deny the talents of Gentz, or his services in the cause of his country's independence, would be unjust. But the purity of his motives may fairly be questioned when we find him more than once declaring, that unless he were better paid he must abandon his efforts to destroy the domination of Napoleon, and even hinting that he was inclined to go over to the other side (see *Leben von Gentz*). In short, as his best friends have been compelled to confess, he was ready to enter *any* service in which he was sure to be well paid; and even if we admit the *sincerity* of his patriotism, we may be allowed to question whether it would have been quite as active or enduring if the golden showers of England had not fallen in plenty to feed the stream. He himself calculates that he received on an average between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* from 1805-15, which did not prevent his always being head over ears in debt.

But amid these accomplished profligates were men of a very different stamp; the high-minded, though unfortunate Henry von Kleist, the philosopher Schleiermacher, the graceful poet Fönné, and last not least, Varnhagen von Ense, himself destined some years later to become the husband of Rahel. The first of these, little known or noticed during his lifetime, presents nevertheless one of the most striking physiognomies in German literature. Possessing an imagination at once powerful and distorted, the terrible denouement of his existence, murder and suicide, were but the natural results of the fearful malady which had so often attacked him. By turns soldier, jurist-consul, public functionary, dramatic poet, and philosopher, disappearing all at once for months together, seeking solitude and oblivion in the cabin of

the peasant or the workman, then suddenly emerging, no one knew whence or why, Henry von Kleist is an enigma to the biographer, and a study of deep interest to the psychologist. Few lives, indeed, have been more replete with warning. Yet Kleist seemed endowed by nature with every element of happiness. Of noble birth, if not very richly gifted by fortune, beloved in early youth by all around him, he seemed on his entrance into life to have before him a long career of prosperity. But the moral malady which was to darken his whole existence soon betrayed itself. He threw up his commission in the army in resentment of some fancied insult. He broke off an engagement of years with a young and charming girl, who loved him from her whole heart, and was ready to make all imaginable sacrifices for him, because she would not fly in secret from the paternal roof to follow him into the wilderness, instead of wedding him in the open light of day with the consent, long since given, of her family. Then sad and desolate, he fancied himself called to the duty of a philosophic missionary to preach the Stoic morality of Emmanuel Kant, the very doctrine which had most disenchanted him of existence. But he soon discovered the futility of his dream. A visit to Weimar, where he was introduced to Goethe and Wieland, produced a more beneficial result. On the former, indeed, he made no favourable impression. In a letter to Schiller Goethe declares, "he could not look at him without shuddering;" he described him as a "being endowed with nature's rarest gifts, but suffering under an incurable malady." Such a nature as Kleist's, indeed, was absolutely antipathetic to Goethe's robust and healthy genius. Wieland was more benevolent, or less clear-sighted. His paternal heart was touched by the evident suffering of the youth, and he sought to restore him to cheerfulness and tranquillity by urging him as regular duties and intellectual labour. Struck by his strange absence of mind, he inquired the cause, and at length discovered that Kleist was secretly working at a drama, the hero of which was Robert Guiscard. With infinite difficulty the author was persuaded to read some fragments to his host, who, though not much given to enthusiasm, was so struck with what he heard, that he declared if the spirit of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Shakespeare* had united to compose a tragedy, it would resemble Kleist's, at least if the conclusion corresponded with the commencement. Goethe and Wieland were both right in their appreciations, different as they were. In Kleist, the poet and the madman were strangely mingled; his poetry bears the stamp of insanity, while his most eccentric actions are tinged with hues of a bright though wandering imagination. For a while the counsel of Wieland and other friends prevailed. Kleist applied for and obtained a post in the administration, and his leisure hours, which were many, were

devoted to literary labours. He completed his "*Familie Schrockenstein*," a drama, violent, unequal, and utterly unfit for the stage, but which could have been written only by a poet. "*Der Zerbrochene Krug*," a comedy far from devoid of merit, many of the scenes of which recal the "*Avocat Pflin*," and his tale of "*Michel Kohlhaus*," perhaps the best of his productions, and really a masterpiece in its way, at once simple and dramatic. Then came the "*Käthchen von Heilbronn*," in which he sought to embody *his idea* of a true woman; all submission, obedience, devotion, and abnegation. But these attributes are carried so completely beyond the limits of womanly dignity and modesty as to be positively disgusting, while the latter scenes are involved in such inextricable confusion as almost to defy the comprehension of the reader. The "*Prince of Homburg*" is of far superior stamp; there is much that is beautiful, touching, and heroic; but here, too, the mental malady of the poet is but too visible in those strange scenes of somnambulism, which mar the work.

These intellectual efforts had banished for a time the dark phantom that hovered over him; but it was but for a moment. The success of his dramas was by no means as brilliant as he had anticipated. His health was failed; his fortune was ruined; he had no longer strength to struggle with his destiny. The unfortunate influence of a young and beautiful woman, with whom he had contracted a tender friendship, and who, afflicted with an incurable malady, implored him to put an end to her existence, recalled the unhappy poet to his former ideas of suicide.

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spectable but by no means wealthy parents, he was educated for the church, and entered the ministry in 1790. His religious opinions, indeed, were far from being either orthodox or consistent. Never was man more sincere, but the multiplied nature of his faculties, the very extent of his sympathies, rendered it difficult for him to adjust and reconcile them, so as to form one harmonious whole. Unconsciously, he temporarily adopted the tone of thought and feeling of those around him. He was passionately susceptible both to love and friendship, and his friendships had almost the ardour, the jealousy, the tenderness of love. Thus his attachment to Frederic Schlegel assumed a character which is almost laughable to men of every-day commonplace sense. He tells us "a real marriage tie has been formed between them." They "complete each other," and all would be well if Frederic were less violent and impatient. That was the rock on which split this well-assorted union; but we must be thankful it lasted so long, for it was Schlegel who decided Schleiermacher to write, and who triumphed over an almost invincible modesty. To *his* suggestions we owe the magnificent translation of Plato, and the Discourse on Religion. In the society of Berlin, Schleiermacher occupied a distinguished place; in the salon of Rahel he was almost idolized. Among the many charming women who gathered around her as their queen, was Henrietta Herz, wife to a celebrated physician, to whom all contemporary writers assign the palm of talent and beauty. Between her and Schleiermacher an intimacy was speedily formed of the closest, but at the same time, the purest description; for it was wholly intellectual. He taught her Greek and natural philosophy: she cheered him with her gay sallies, and strengthened him with her calm and courageous trust in a Higher Power. But a sentiment of a warmer nature soon engrossed his whole heart. He loved, and, unfortunately, the object of his attachment already belonged to another. Elenore von Grunow shared his passion, but though unhappy in her marriage, she appears to have remained true to her vows, a rare instance of fidelity at that period, when to profane the sanctity of wedded life was scarcely regarded as a sin. A purer and nobler affection succeeded, and in 1809 Schleiermacher became the husband of Henrietta Willich, one of those gentle, pious, devoted beings who appear made to form the happiness of their own firesides; and never was marriage more happy. "I am the most fortunate of men," he writes to Rahel, in 1815, "and yet never shall I forget the delightful hours I spent in your society in other days. I earnestly hope we may sooner or later be able to renew them."

It was in 1803 that Varnhagen von Ense and Rahel met for the first time. Varnhagen was then a mere youth, and Rahel had

already attained her thirty-third year ; yet the very first impression seems to have been as deep as it was lasting. "I could think and speak of nothing else," he says in the preface to her literary remains. It was not till 1808 that they met again, but from that period their intimacy increased daily, and their friendship soon ripened into mutual love. A variety of circumstances delayed their union, nor was it till the close of 1813 that they were wedded. Varnhagen was a man of no ordinary ability. His works, if they do not display powers of the highest order, are remarkable for varied and accurate knowledge of things and men. His style is easy and graceful ; he never suffers the attention of his readers to flag ; he is instructive without pedantry, and amusing without triviality. Occasionally, indeed, we discover that exaggerated respect for outward convenience, that narrowness of mental horizon almost inseparable from the diplomatist, especially of the school to which he belonged. His portraitures, both of facts and individuals, are not unfrequently obscured by prejudice, national or personal, but *intentionally* he never perverts the truth, and he possessed the inestimable advantage of writing in the midst of the events he describes. But it was not only as a man of letters that Varnhagen shone conspicuous. Seldom has a writer contrived to unite in so high a degree the suffrages of the world of literature and the salon. His wit was brilliant, but without bitterness. He always said the right thing at the right time, and is certainly one of the most graceful representatives of a society now rapidly disappearing.

To be in Germany and not to visit Weimar was out of the question. That favoured little spot was no longer, indeed, the centre of attraction. Of all those who had once illumined it with the rays of their genius scarcely one remained. Wieland, Herder, Schiller, had long since departed to a better world ; and the year before Sternberg's visit (1832), Goethe was carried to his last home. His daughter-in-law still resided in that dwelling which his name had consecrated, and to her Sternberg was introduced. "Frau von Goethe," he observes, "had no very happy existence between her famous father-in-law and her by no means famous husband." Goethe—in his old age at least—did not like clever women ; the simple housewife pleased him better. Madame Goethe née Vulpius was still living when she came to reside with the poet. The cook and the sylph did not agree. The younger, fair, full of talent and aristocratic whims, could not endure a woman who, despite her good points, was nothing but a first-rate housekeeper, and whose charms consisted in preparing savoury dinners for the great man, and refreshing him, when weary, with good soup and somewhat coarse merriment. Doubtless, a sincere affection glowed in her bosom, but an agreeable companion for a

lively, clever, high-born young woman she could not be, especially when we remember the deplorable habit into which she fell in her latter years. How Goethe could be fond of her at all was the question.

Sternberg forgets that the submissive, admiring devotion with which Christina looked up to her husband is more valuable in the eyes of many men than a far nobler and loftier affection. Besides, Goethe was bound to her by those ties of habit and personal comfort which, to men of his nature, are of all others most difficult to break. Be it as it may, that he really *did* love her is proved by the fact that he, usually so cold, so composed, was completely overcome as he stood beside her dying bed; that he knelt down, took her hand, and exclaimed with passionate grief, "You will not leave me—no, no, you must not leave me." He was then himself an old man—most of those who had belonged to his own generation had passed away, and, despite the homage and the flattery with which he was surrounded, he felt that when that faithful heart should have ceased to beat, he should be alone. With this homage the despised Vulpins may rest contented.

When Sternberg visited Weimar, Goethe had not yet become a mere tradition of the past. His intimate friends, Riemar, Eckermann, Falk, were yet among the living, and delighted in giving those faithful portraits of the last days of the poet by which he has become familiar to posterity. "It was in Goethe's own house," says Sternberg, "that he was least spoken of. His daughter-in-law, engrossed with the present, cared more for one living crowned head than for all the fame of those who had departed. In other circles, too, it was not considered '*bon genre*' to speak of Goethe. They had had him so long! They were thoroughly tired of him. At last he was gone; the pressure he had exercised over society and literature was removed; the eternal reference to him was past; and, to tell the truth, everybody seemed heartily glad of it."

Sternberg had made the acquaintance of all the notabilities of Berlin, Dresden, and Weimar; he was now desirous to see and know a set of men widely differing in all respects from those he had hitherto frequented—the "Swabian poets," as they are called—Uhland, Lenau, and Kerner. So off he set to Stuttgart. The first he saw was Lenau. Between the ardent and impassioned yet sad and visionary young Hungarian and the graceful, elegant *habitué* of the salon there could be but little sympathy. "Lenau," says Sternberg, "was a dreamer and mystic. His knowledge of men and things was so small that he could be cheated like a child. He then lived in the house of the Councillor Reinbeck, where he was surfeited with good things and flattery. Had he been placed in a different position, less spoiled, less courted, he might have been a very different and far happier man. His view

of real poetry was, that it must be the momentary infusion of inspiration, that study was neither possible nor desirable. Thus he sat for hours smoking his pipe half asleep, and, after all, what did he bring forth?—a little verselet. He lay till twelve o'clock in bed, drinking strong coffee, because, he said, it promoted the flow of thought; but often it produced nothing save headache and delirium. At dinner, he ate very heartily and all sorts of unwholesome food. He took little or no exercise, but resumed his pipe in the evening or played the guitar." In the outline, this portrait is but too correct. Lennau was one of the many victims to the flattery and pleasures of the world. Endowed with the rarest gifts, with the most vivid imagination, with a soul at once pure and lofty, he wanted only two things to render him at once a great poet and a happy man—a firm faith and a resolute will; in these he was utterly deficient. Swayed to and fro by every breath of passion, like a ship without a helm or a helmsman, always dissatisfied, always fancying that the blessings which Providence had refused were better than those which it had granted him; haunted by the vain longing for something yet unattained and unattainable, by regrets for the past, fears for the future, he wandered through life without fixed aim or end, and at last sank a prey to that fearful malady which so often seizes on minds like his, which have never been subjected to the guiding sway of reason or anchored on the rock of faith.

Kerner pleased our author better, for Kerner, despite his strange mixture of superstition and credulity, his full belief in ghosts and goblins, was a gay, jovial, merry fellow, who did not allow the unearthly beings with whom he lived in such close companionship to sadden or oppress him. He knew he was their master, and treated them with supreme indifference. Indeed, he spoke of disembodied spirits as other men speak of their acquaintances in Vienna or Hamburg. "One day," says Sternberg, "in my presence, a countryman related the tale of a spectre who haunted the cellar in the shape of a grey-hooded monk. 'Why,' exclaimed Kerner, in his Swabian dialect, 'I know that fellow; he has come more than once in my way, and I forbid his wandering, but he cannot help it; he lived 100 years ago, and was the father-guardian in the cloister; he stole the treasure-chest and concealed it in the cellar.' While telling those stories, Kerner had a roguish but true-hearted tone which was irresistible. The coldest felt a breath as though from a mysterious land float over him when the 'magus,' as he calls himself, was near him. As for me, I was very nearly inclined to believe him; but there was so much that was low and worthless, even according to his accounts, in these spirits, that I felt as if in very bad company. 'Why,' said Kerner, laughing, 'you must not expect that a stupid devil

should become a clever fellow as soon as he dies; he carries on in the other world the follies and vulgarities of this." Without knowing it, Kerner, it seems, was of Lavater's opinion, that whatever course of thought or feeling we follow in *this* world we shall continue in the next; that those only who bear a heaven within themselves *here* will be capable of enjoying heaven *hereafter*; that no divine mercy, however great, can at once transform the mind, or render the drunkard, spendthrift, or debauchee an inmate of a spot where virtue alone can find a congenial home. What Kerner preached, extraordinary as it may appear, he fully believed and believes to this day. "One day," says Sternberg, "I drove with him in a little open carriage from Wimsberg, where he resided, to Heilbronn. It was late—twilight lay deep over the scene—when Kerner, who for some time had been wrapped in silence, called my attention to the sound of horses' hoofs in the distance. 'It is a traveller coming this way,' I said. 'Yes,' he replied, 'but what a traveller! Notice him when he passes us: he rides with fearful rapidity; the horse has but three legs; and the cavalier!—look at him attentively—he wears a coat, such as no one wears now-a-days, and that is all right, for he is not of this day. A hundred years ago he lived as farmer on a nobleman's estate in the neighbourhood; there he committed some terrible crimes, and now he is compelled to do penance by wandering over the earth. I do not know that fellow exactly yet, but I'll soon make closer acquaintance with him. I have often met him on this road.' As he uttered these words, a rider rushed past us. I could not see whether his horse had three legs or not; but at that moment, excited as I was by Kerner's singular story, I could have sworn that it was a spectre. The face that was turned towards us seemed to me pale as death; the hat of strange form. A shudder ran through every vein. In the neighbourhood of Kerner's house, in an old and ruined castle, he had placed a number of *Æolian* harps, and the conversations which the spirits of the wind and storm held with each other in dark, gloomy evenings, sounded much more like the wail of troubled souls than all that Kerner could relate about them. I was glad when I left W., for nothing is more painful than to live in an atmosphere of perpetual terror." That a man of otherwise sane mind and vigorous intellect, who never exhibited any trace of mental hallucination, save in this particular instance, and has preserved his faculties to a very advanced age, almost undiminished, could be subject to such delusions would be inexplicable did we not see every day that individuals of considerable intellectual powers fully believe in spirit-rapping, table-turning, and angelic visions, of ghosts which return to comfort those they have left behind, and even draw pictures and write letters with their own hands. The

limits between that which we do not and never can discover lie so closely on the limits of that which we know or fancy we know, that an absolute disbelief in the existence of spirits is probably as impossible as a completely empty space in the physical world. There are few of us who have not some uneasy misgivings that there may be "more in heaven and earth than is dreamed of in our philosophy;" and in Germany the belief in ghosts and spirits is so universal, that, even in the present day, it is rare to find any one who does not entertain it more or less. Swabia in particular, with its narrow valleys and old castles, is a very goblin's nest. Kerner has distinguished himself as a graceful, imaginative, and humorous poet, and some of his smaller poems possess an exquisite charm from their mixture of vivid imagination and human tenderness.

Of Uhland, who may be regarded as the crown of modern German minstrels, Sternberg saw little; always very reserved, Uhland is not fond of strangers. He has, perhaps, carried the German language to the highest perfection of which hitherto it has been deemed capable; grace, flexibility, force, and beauty, all are here. The style of Goethe is perfect in its way; but if as pure as marble it is likewise as cold. Schiller has the contrary defect, he is often too rhetorical, too wordy; both Schiller and Goethe are poets of a far vaster genius than Uhland; but in his own particular style, Uhland is greater than Schiller and Goethe.

In 1840, Sternberg, whose finances despite his literary success seem to have been in no very flourishing condition, set off for Russia. But he had been too long accustomed to the literary society of Germany to find himself happy in a country where every free intellectual movement was crushed with jealous care, lest liberty of thought should lead to a desire for liberty of action, and after a brief space he obtained permission to return to the land of his adoption, and again directed his steps to the capital of Prussia. Berlin was still resounding with rejoicings on the accession of Frederic William IV. During the latter years of his predecessor, a general, though silent discontent with the existing order of things had been spreading among the people. All their hopes had been disappointed. The promises by which the Government had roused them to that enthusiastic movement which had broken a foreign yoke, had been systematically disregarded. They had submitted, because they felt a personal affection for the monarch with whom they had shared so many happy and so many bitter days, but they grew more and more impatient of the harsh laws and narrow restrictions to which they were subjected. With the new sovereign a brighter era seemed approaching. His cultivated understanding, his enlightened patronage of men of letters, his generous nature,

all excited the brightest anticipations. He was to unite in his own person the genius of Frederic the Great, and the domestic virtues of Frederic William III. He was to give Prussia constitutional liberty, and at the same time to exalt it to the first rank among European nations. He was to humble the pride of Austria, and yet to promote the unity of Germany. He was to combine the most incompatible qualities and perform the most impossible achievements. Gracious, affable, condescending, the new king won all hearts—the aristocracy, like the people, hailed with delight the rising sun. Never was the society of Berlin more brilliant. Among its celebrities was the Countess Hahn-Hahn, so well known as the authoress of “Faustina,” “Die zwei Frauen,” and many other works, which however wanting in truth of character, or disfigured by morbid affectation or puerile sentimentality, are often remarkable for intense earnestness, vivid description, and poetic beauty. The faults of her writings arose from the faults of her nature. She might have been a great author, had she been a wiser and less egotistical woman, for many of her creations have a warmth, a vigour, a colouring, which render them absolutely enchanting, and blind the reader to all their defects. Then, too, it must be remembered that the grand theme of most of her romances is woman’s vocation, woman’s wrongs, and this was sure to thrill a chord which vibrated in many a heart. But Madame Hahn-Hahn possessed none of the qualities necessary for even the *apparent solution* of this knotty question. While advocating woman’s rights, she too often forgets her duties, and her “Femmes libres” are such lamentable compounds of absurdity, extravagance, and immorality, that they afford little encouragement to her theory.

Countess Hahn-Hahn had no salon; she was too whimsical, too lazy. In the day she read, wrote, or drove, and her evenings she spent with a couple of intimate friends. Into large circles she never went; she never appeared at court. In her aristocratic caprices, she cared little for kings and princes. She wrote with great negligence; never looking over her works, never altering anything; all was good as she wrote it, or at any rate good enough for the public for whom she had or affected to have profound contempt. She declared she wrote for herself only, “to fill up the void in her mind and heart.” All this, however, as Sternberg allows, was mere affectation. A writer, who should give himself the trouble to publish a dozen volumes, if utterly indifferent to the reception they are to meet with, is an anomaly in literature. The fact is, no one prized celebrity more than Madame Hahn-Hahn; only her vanity was still greater than her love of fame, and made her believe that she had only to put her pen to paper to be admired. “She was,” says Sternberg, “an idol to herself.

God only can teach such a heart humility." Since the above was written, the Countess Hahn-Hahn has adopted the Catholic faith, and entered a convent—where we are assured she performs the lowliest duties with unfeigned devotion.

Among Sternberg's friends at Berlin, we must not forget Count Pückler-Muskau, so well known in England by his "*Briefe eines Verstorbenen*." Prince Pückler's works are nearly forgotten; but he himself is remembered, and as a great signor is quite in his place in Sternberg's memoirs. "*Mon metier et mon art est de vivre*," says Montaigne. Prince Pückler-Muskau interpreted this passage in his own fashion, and to act up to the interpretation, he committed all sorts of absurdities, simply to prove that he was above the laws to which ordinary mortals are subject. Without any peculiar love of dissipation or any ardent passions, he had a dozen mistresses, only because it was the fashion. He lost thousands on the turf, though at heart he despised racing; he indulged in every description of folly, for no other motive than to pass the time. Weary of himself and of all about him, without any faith in virtue, truth, or honour, scoffing at everybody and everything, affecting a sublime disdain for all the great interests of life, for all the nobler passions of humanity—now coquetting with liberal ideas and feigning sympathy with the people, now declaring, that as modern civilization reposes on the element of barbarism, a wise despotism, nay slavery itself, are the only means of governing a nation and of rendering it active and terrible. Having closed England against him by his unsparing epigrams, he set off for the Nile with a cook, a whole battery of kitchen utensils, and a shop of perfumery. Here he was admitted to the intimacy of Mehemet Ali, whom he calls the African Napoleon. On his return he wandered from city to city, and at last settled, at least as much as he *could* settle anywhere, at Berlin. At court he never appeared; but at the Princess's of Prussia he was a constant visitor. Among many talents, superficial but varied, he possessed one really remarkable, that of drawing and arranging gardens; and he contrived to produce the most enchanting effects without any settled system, as will be acknowledged by any one who visits the magnificent gardens of the Princess of Prussia at Babelsberg.

While Sternberg's claims as an author served as a passport to literary society, his birth as Prussian nobleman gave him access to the Court. It was one of the brightest moments of Frederic William's reign. Surrounded by savants, poets, and artists, the monarch lived as it were in a world of his own. Passionately fond of the study of the Middle Ages, he had assembled round him all those who yet survived among the leaders of the romantic school. The venerable Tieck he had appointed as his reader

and director of the theatre, and the old man while declaiming "Zerbino" to his royal patron, or presiding at the representation of "Puss in Boots," might have almost fancied himself transported back to the days of his youth. All was mirth and gaiety, outwardly, at least; and Sternberg describes with much animation one of the royal fêtes in which he was first presented to Frederic William:—

"Poets, painters, musicians, and diplomatists, all crowded round their royal patron. Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn stood side by side, with Alexander von Humboldt, Tieck, Rauch, and Cornelius: the noblest and the fairest of Berlin were there, in every imaginable costume, one more superb than the other. Suddenly in the midst of this motley group a man advanced in a black domino; the only individual in sombre colours, saluting all around him. It was the king. He approached me and spoke of my last works in terms really amiable, with little in common with those formal compliments, which princes consider themselves bound to utter. His appearance was not particularly striking; but there was something irresistibly attractive in the sweetness, serenity, and benevolence of his expression."

After this introduction, Sternberg was frequently honoured with invitations to the royal castle *en petit comité*. It was on these occasions that Frederic William was seen to the greatest advantage; it was here that he displayed all those charms of conversation which exercised such irresistible fascination over his intimate friends. After dinner he would make the round of the assembly, addressing each on the subject which he knew was most familiar to him, and contriving, without any appearance of affectation, to say something kind and agreeable to each. Grouped around the monarch might be seen the various members of the royal family; the Prince Augustus, the friend of Madame de Staël, brother of that romantic Louis Ferdinand of whom we have already spoken, and who, although no longer young, was still one of the most agreeable men of his time, Prince and Princess William, with their son, Prince Waldemar. Pale, reserved, and gloomy, the young Prince was a perpetual mystery to all around. Contrary to the traditions of his family, he detested military service. Parade, manœuvres, dress and discipline, all displeased him. A secret melancholy seemed to oppress him, but he kept his sentiments, whatever they were, a secret. He had no confidant, no intimate friend. Often might he be seen wandering sad and silent in the solitary alleys of the Thiergarten, his eyes bent to the ground, immersed in sad reflections. Strangely contrasted was his brother Adalbert, one of those joyous spirits who float lightly on the waves of life, and his sister, the present Queen of Bavaria, then unmarried, and the star of the Prussian capital. But among all these figures

two stood out pre-eminent—the Prince and Princess of Prussia. The latter it is true was rarely seen at Court. It was whispered that the relations between her and her royal sister-in-law were not of the most friendly nature; that her beauty, her talents, her strength of character, her secret ambition, gave her too great an influence over the monarch and his councils; that the queen regarded her as a rival. Such a supposition would be an injustice; Elizabeth's own nature was too pure, too elevated, to admit of a mean feeling of jealousy, especially towards one so near and dear to her. But Providence had deprived her of the blessing of a family, and it is difficult even for the best and noblest of women to repress a feeling of regret, perhaps of bitterness, at the thought, that her inheritance must descend not to her own blood, but to the offspring of another, more especially when that inheritance is a throne. This the Princess of Prussia probably felt, and in consequence resided, generally speaking, at Coblenz or in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where she rendered herself extremely popular. The Prince was more frequently to be seen at Court, for, though by no means agreeing with the policy of his brother, the tender affection which united them formed a link which bade defiance to every difference of opinion. Evil days were approaching. While the king dreamed of nothing save literature, architecture, and philosophy, the people's minds were occupied with very different matters. A spirit of discontent was abroad. Indeed, within a very short period after the commencement of Frederic William's reign, the bright visions which had been entertained by his subjects began to fade away.* Frederic William was a high-minded and generous man; he really loved his people, and wished to make them happy, but in his own way. He regarded them in the light of children for whom it was his duty to care, so far as their material or even moral interests were concerned, but whom he was entitled to rule with absolute sway. His dream was to reign like a prince of the Middle Ages, showering down benefits from the height of his throne, giving much, but never conceding anything. His government commenced with an undertaking which, however laudable in itself, was little suited to the spirit of the times, that of the completion of the cathedral of Cologne. The nation saw with displeasure the enormous outlay required to raise these walls to the stupendous heights they were destined to attain; besides, it was regarded as a triumph of the Pietist party, and therefore as a retrograde movement. Nay, the amusements we have above described, innocent and honourable as they were in themselves, provoked disdain and aversion. The king was secretly accused of isolating himself from the nation even in his pleasures. The approach to a representative government, made February 3, 1847, was of little avail. None of the king's pro-

mises were fulfilled; the press was under harsher restrictions than ever; the severity of the laws regulating the chase had increased instead of diminished. The intimacy between the Courts of Prussia and Russia became daily closer. Thus the year 1847 came to an end, when an incident, slight in itself, showed the temper of the people. At the exhibition of Berlin was one picture which seemed to engross the attention of all. There was nothing remarkable in its execution, but it struck a chord which vibrated in every heart. It represented what was then an event of almost daily occurrence; a poacher who, discovered and pursued, had taken refuge, bleeding and dying, in a neighbouring cottage. The laws of the chase were one of the great causes of mutual hatred—one of those sources of hourly irritation which alienate the heart of a people more than abuses of a far graver nature. So matters stood when the revolution of 1848 came to astonish the world; like an electric spark it thrilled through every part of Germany. The long-slumbering elements of disaffection burst into a flame. The effect was magical, more especially in Prussia. In an instant Berlin was full of agitators; the people streamed to hear the speakers, who now for the first time dared to utter words the very idea of which would have struck every listener with horror a few months ago. An address to the king was determined on, stating all their demands and all their grievances; but the president of the police interfered, declaring that no address so presented would be received; that if the agitators persisted, the military would be called out against them; that the address, if address there *must* be, was to be sent by the post. This very prosaic proposal only increased the general commotion. Meanwhile the revolution had spread like wildfire over Germany, as it would again to-morrow, were it to break out in France; for, despite the present aspect of things, the political atmosphere now, as then, is charged with electric fluid in opposite conditions, and may at any moment result in a storm. Still the king would listen to no proposals of reform, and lent but too willing an ear to the reactionary party, who urged measures of suppression, for which the violent demands of the democrats, here as elsewhere the most dangerous enemies of the cause they advocated, served as a pretext. The reading cabinets were closed; all journals forbidden; all theatres and gardens of public resort placed under the surveillance of the police. The military were bid to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's notice, and were privately excited, by promises of reward and promotion, against the populace, while the crowd on its side, urged almost to madness by its leaders, and encouraged by the triumph of democracy elsewhere, grew every day more violent. On the 16th of March came the crisis. That day arrived the tidings of the revolution of Vienna, the flight of

the detested Metternich, the triumph of the party of liberty. The impression created may be conceived. The king was alarmed. He began to feel that if he delayed much longer it would be too late. Always in extremes, he was now as precipitate as he had formerly been procrastinating. One rash step followed another; he never seemed to think he could concede enough. But, vacillating as weak, scarcely had he given ere he rescinded what he gave. Sternberg thus describes the scene:—

“ I had spent the evening at a concert on the outskirts of the town, and was listening with delight to one of Güngl's delicious waltzes, when a noise and confusion in the concert-room excited my attention. ‘What is the matter?’ I exclaimed. ‘A dead body has just been brought in,’ was the reply. ‘There has been a sharp fight on the Leipziger market-place; the military has fired on the people.’ Scarcely were these words concluded, when a wild shout arose from the street without. The music paused; some wounded were brought in and laid upon the tables. Strange, dark-looking faces entered—the concert was over. I was in the habit of visiting a friend, who resided at some distance, to reach whose house I was compelled to traverse the long alley of limes. I had to proceed slowly to force my way through dense masses of people; but I received no insult. When I entered the salon, a young man rushed into the room with the intelligence that the workmen were advancing in a dense crowd to aid the Burghers in the combat which had recommenced. ‘The Burghers!’ exclaimed one of the company—‘the Burghers want no combat; only read the proclamation from the magistrate, who yesterday had an audience of the king. Nothing but thanks for his Majesty's gracious promises and assurances that the tranquillity of the city would not be disturbed.’ True enough, this deputation had received an audience of the king, that he had promised compliance with their just demands; that they in their turn had assured him of their devotion. But the promises which had been sufficient to tranquillize the Burghers, were not regarded as satisfactory by the people, among whom very different elements were at work. A numerous and tumultuous crowd collected under the windows of the palace, and refused to disperse, till it was thought necessary to resort to more stringent measures, and the dragoons and some companies of the infantry were ordered to clear the ground, with strict directions, however, to avoid firing, so at least the Government declared. Meanwhile the people became more and more insolent. It was at that moment that the unfortunate shot was fired—whether by orders of the captain or not, has never been discovered. What followed is well known; barricades arose as if by magic. Stones, wheels, droschkies—everything that would serve the purpose was turned to use. Yet the soldiers were victors; but their very victory terrified the king; he shuddered at the idea of calling down on his head the curses of a whole nation; perhaps he dreaded the reaction. Be it as it may, he addressed a proclamation to his ‘good Germans;’ he ordered the military to leave the town. The people were triumphant, and the long-prohibited colours, black, red, and gold, floated before the windows of the palace.”

Sternberg was no friend to revolutions, however noble their object; he was wearied with the noise and confusion. He longed to resume his usual course of existence; but the great events which followed each other in such rapid succession, sadly interrupted both his social amusements and his literary pursuits; so, at the close of 1849, he set off for St. Petersburg. Circumstances he does not mention, induced him to alter his plans, and to sojourn for a while at Vienna. He found it still *en état de siège*, which indeed seems the permanent condition of the greater part of the dominions subject to Austrian sway. Twice had the city been besieged, and at last had only been reduced by an overwhelming force, and a terrible bombardment. Military rule had been established in all its rigour. Many were shot, hundreds sent to linger out their existence in an Austrian dungeon, thousands were forced to enlist in the army, especially the students who had taken a prominent part in the rebellion; but no one dared to utter a word on the subject, and had it not been for the breaches still unrepaired in the walls, the cannons still planted in the street, the gloom and sadness on almost every countenance, none would ever have dreamed that, like the rest of the empire, Vienna had been convulsed to its very centre. Hungary, too, had been crushed by a Russian army, which the Emperor had called to his aid, and the noble effort of Italy to throw off the barbarous yoke of her tyrants had been quenched in blood. The imperial oppressor had found a mighty arm to aid him; but for the *oppressed* no voice had been raised, no hand was lifted to help. Sternberg, who had not much more sympathy for national than for popular rights, but whose heart, naturally kind, could not be quite insensible to the sufferings of millions, did not feel at his ease in Vienna:—

“All,” he says, “was fair on the surface; there were balls, parties, and assemblies, as usual, but not a word was said about politics, not an allusion made to any of the past events. The *crème de la crème* danced away as merrily as usual; but I could not help fancying that even *they* must have sometimes felt that they were dancing on a volcano. Haynau, Radetzky, and Jellachich, mingled with the throng, and I own that wherever they went, especially the first, everything to me seemed tinged with blood.”

With this visit to Vienna, Count Sternberg closes his recollections. Since then what various and important changes have already taken place. That brilliant circle he so amusingly depicts has disappeared. Many of its chief ornaments have left for ever the scene of their triumphs. The venerable Tieck, full of years and honours, has been long since borne to his last home. Prince William sleeps in the tomb of his ancestors. His son—that pale, sad, silent Waldemar, who stood there like a stranger and a

pilgrim—perished in the bloom of youth on a scientific expedition to the far East, leaving behind a memory full of marvel and mystery. Varnhagen von Ense, the friend of Goethe and Schiller, has rejoined his illustrious contemporaries, and a few weeks ago the good and great Humboldt was carried to the grave amid the regrets not only of Germans but of the whole civilized world, and more especially of that land where his most brilliant triumphs were achieved, and where a statue is now being erected to his honour—France. The monarch who formed the centre of that illustrious group is indeed still living, but borne down by one of the heaviest of human calamities. The Prince, whose noble and imposing figure so deeply impressed Sternberg, now holds the reins of Government. He has fallen on difficult times; may he be guided by a spirit of wisdom and justice! may his people remember that, while ready heart and hand to defend their country against all attacks, the independence *they* so dearly cherish is no less the right of other nations than it is theirs; that the spirit of nationality *they* invoked against a foreign yoke is no less holy when invoked by others against oppressions *ten times heavier than they have ever known*; that vengeance, sooner or later, will not fail to overtake that nation which, *itself* free and happy, shall aid in riveting the chains of a suffering, a noble people, more especially when to that people all Europe, and above all Germany itself, owes her civilization, her progress, her literature, and her arts. Let them remember the words of one of the greatest of their own writers, Boerne: “Is the egoism of a country less a vice than that of a man? Does justice cease to be a virtue when exercised to a nation which is *not* our own?”



ART. VII.—THE ROMAN QUESTION.

1. *La Question Romaine*. Par M. About. Bruxelles. 1859.
2. *Daily News*, March 26th and 27th, 1859 (*M. de Rayneval's Report to Count Walewski on the Affairs of Rome and Italy*, 14th May, 1856).
3. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 5th March, 1859. Art. *La Questione Italiana*.

IN the three months elapsed since last we took a survey of Italian affairs, what then was but a lowering prospect has become a terrible reality. No longer do the noxious vapours of war hang before the inquiring gaze of the politician in floating

streaks, which knowledge gives him reason to believe that the ascendancy of a genial influence might easily absorb into a wholesome atmosphere. Slowly and gloomily they have been allowed to gather their disastrous elements until they are now bursting with the virulence of a storm that may convulse the European fabric to its base. The features of the results that will ensue must, of course, be mainly subject to chances the most exposed to the influence of individual faculties beyond the reckoning of foresight. One thing alone is certain:—considerations which three months ago, by common consent, weighed predominantly with all, have now lost their importance. Then the world still resided peaceably under the covenant of 1815; every government in Europe was bound by it, and the question of Italian reform lay necessarily restricted within limits which should not transgress the stipulations of what was then the regulating code for international law. War has put an end to these limitations. Whatever compromise it will be found expedient to accept short of the results which at this moment may float before the ambitious fancy of those who have promoted the war, will rest upon a necessity of its own, not upon that regard for pre-existing engagements professed during the late discussions. The next congress will be freed from all obligations dating back to an earlier origin, and will be hampered by no other restrictions than those which may be suggested by simple expediency. But if thus exempt from legal restrictions, the practical possibility of transformation in political matters is, nevertheless, always limited; and the historical conformation of Italy has been productive of a combination in the Pope's temporal authority which is pregnant with perplexing embarrassment in the way of effective reforms. In our last number, we slightly indicated what, in our opinion, are the leading defects of the Pope's Government. Under the circumstances of a war that threatens to make the continuance of his temporal sovereignty depend upon goodwill, we propose to examine its conditions more fully, being convinced that there can be no satisfactory settlement of Italy without a radical change in the constitution of the Roman States. That the Papal Government is an anomaly crying for reform is universally acknowledged. English statesmen of all parties have, indeed, so prominently dwelt upon the defective condition of the States of the Church, that they would fain ascribe to it the discontent prevailing in Italy; and Austria herself has not withheld her assent in the abstract. But in what reform is to consist, and how it is to be carried out, has been matter of as great controversy as the fact of its being required has been of general agreement. A main cause for this difference of opinion resides in the Protean ambiguity that clings to the outward conformation of Papal institutions perplexing

observation and confounding the strictures of inexperienced critics by a show of deceptive sophistry. The case against the Papal Government must not rest upon abuses, but upon its principle, which is irreconcilable with the ordinary principle of government. The threads of common elements shot through its texture are merely the admixture cunningly introduced into all spurious ware to pass it off upon the unwary spectator. In essence, the Papal Government reposes upon maxims incompatible with civil rights, and any representation to the contrary, however imposing may be its array of evidence, will be but a specious perversion of this cardinal truth. At the head of this article will be found the most pungent attack and the two best defences ever made in behalf of the Papal Administration. The circulation of M. About's book makes it unnecessary for us to say much about it. It is the able production of a powerful writer, practised in all the tactics of French journalism—witty, caustic, and indefatigably expert in happily hitting weak points with telling effect. The facts in his book are quite accurate; indeed, they are rather below the truth than above it, for the author being not a man of serious purpose, had not the industry to investigate a dry subject beyond what was necessary for the materials of a popular pamphlet. Of the defences, one is a state paper by M. de Rayneval, when French Ambassador in Rome. We can incur no charge of unfairness in referring to it as a text, for its statements have been triumphantly quoted by the apologists of the Court of Rome, while a most significant fact confirms the official source of its information. In the “*Annuaire de la Revue des Deux Mondes*” of the year 1854–5 (the one previous to the composition of the despatch), there will be found in the review of the Roman States, not merely the same data as in M. de Rayneval's note, but even the same arguments, for the most part, word for word. This remarkable coincidence, to an extent precluding accident, suggests its own explanation. The matter for the French Ambassador's report, and for the French Review, were supplied by the same hand—that of the Cardinal Secretary of State—a fact which the French Foreign Office may not like to acknowledge, but which we are glad to notice in evidence of the good faith in which the statistics of this document were compiled. The second paper is not less authoritative. It was published in the March number of the “*Civiltà Cattolica*,” a periodical issued from the press of the Jesuit College in Rome. It has since been reprinted in the form of a pamphlet, and the tone of its language all through is intended to convey the impression that its statements are derived from the highest authority.

In the eyes of the Pope, the country of which he is sovereign consists not of Roman States, but of States of the Church, the pa-

trimony of St. Peter. This denomination at once defines the interval between the Papal Government and every other in the world. It does not make the slightest profession of popular origin, national growth, or human affinity. Its subjects are its own by virtue of an immutable dispensation, in comparison to which all human provisions are ridiculous conceits. Its temporal authority comes to it through the fact of a divine dogma converted into an institution; therefore its administration is confided to those initiated into the same, and therefore all secular matters are to be regulated by a code emanating from the same sublime origin—consequently above the control and even the inquiry of man. To this fruitful source—the inveterate ambition of ecclesiastical authority to assert absolute authority over man—is to be referred all the ills affecting the Papal States. The advocates of the Pope's Government deny roundly the correctness of its being exclusively confided to Churchmen. M. de Rayneval gives an elaborate calculation to prove that only ninety-eight ecclesiastics hold lay employments, while the “*Civiltà Cattolica*” puts the number at one hundred and twenty-four. That the bulk of inferior officials—the mere drudges of the State's machine—are laymen, is a fact; but it is an equal fact that *all* offices of importance are wholly reserved for persons in orders. Hence the deduction to be drawn from these statistics is, that this handful of ecclesiastics has in its exclusive possession the whole patronage and the whole dignity of the State. Instead of refuting the charge brought against the Papal institutions, the statement of these numbers only corroborates the grievance with the aggravation of its being a monopoly, not even of a whole class, but of a few picked members out of it. M. de Rayneval, also, with a singular want of candour, drops no hint of pluralities, and would lead his reader to infer that ninety-six distinct appointments comprise the whole lay power enjoyed by ecclesiastics. The good faith of this statement will be rendered most apparent by a list of dignities exclusively held by Churchmen.—

All the ministries, even the one of war, being at present presided over by Cardinal Antonelli.

All the legates and delegates of the provinces.

All diplomatic appointments, which, moreover, are reserved for persons in *priest's* orders, because by virtue of their office they are also representatives of the Pope in his capacity as primate of the Roman Catholic Church, and as such have under their care the spiritual concerns of the country to which they are accredited.

The chief dignities in the Papal Court (Maggior domo, Maestro di Camera, &c. &c.)

All the judgeships in the tribunals of the Sacra Consulta

Ruota, Segnatura di Giustizià, Laurotano, and *in part* those of the Rev. Camera Apostolica and Criminale.

The Secretaryship of Briefs.

The Secretaryship of Memorials.

The Auditoriato Santissimo.

The Sacred Congregation of Studies.

The Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Council of State.

The Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Council of Finance.

The Supreme Direction of Police.

The Direction of the Board of Health and of the Prisons.

The Direction of the Record Office.

The Management of the Exchequer (Procurazione del Fisco).

The Presidency and Secretaryship of the Board of Assessment.

The Presidency and Commission of Agriculture.

In addition to these lay appointments there exists an infinity of ecclesiastical tribunals, which, by virtue of canon law, are for ever usurping the jurisdiction of the lay tribunals, as will be explained hereafter; and there are sixty-eight bishops, with their vicars, who, by the same title, are in possession of an authority which, ranging from the withholding of passports to indefinite imprisonment, can at any moment override all the guarantees of law, and makes them so many permanent and irresponsible dictators. But here we are met with a startling reply. We are told that the very basis of our assertion is a falsehood. These offices are not reserved for ecclesiastics; they are open to all laymen willing to enter the service of the State, and without any conditions that exclude them from pursuing, whenever they may like, another avocation, or entering into wedlock. All that is required of them is to conform, during their tenure of office, to ecclesiastical appearances, by wearing its garb, and adopting the title of "*prelate*." On this condition even the Sacred College is open to all persons; and thus it is affirmed that the Papal Government, so far from jealously banishing laymen from office, expressly secures their right to the highest dignities. It is perfectly true that not only the Sacred College, but even the Papacy, is within the reach of men who have not taken *priest's* orders, but neither these supreme dignities, nor any that we have mentioned, are bestowed on a person who has not entered upon the first degrees of the ecclesiastical career. He may not yet have taken irrevocable vows, but he holds office by virtue of certain professions renouncing liberties enjoyed by the bulk of mankind in virtue of natural powers, and he loses the privileges which have been accorded him if he ventures to revert to these liberties. When the Papal apologists rebuke the ignorance of our animadversions as to the ecclesiastical character of the Government, by the triumphant assertion that not one in ten

clerical dignitaries but could any day doff his cassock and take a wife, we retort the unanswerable objection that in doing so, he at once is obliged to retire from his post. A case in point has lately occurred. Cardinal Ciacchi, well known from his spirited conduct in protesting, as governor of Ferrara, against the entry of the Austrians in 1847, and afterwards for a short while Secretary of State, has lately married. Is he still a member of the Sacred College or not? Has he not, by this act, been forthwith deprived of all his titles and privileges? And yet, a few months ago, he would have been pointed out as the instance of a layman admitted to the full honours of the Papal dignities. Of all the institutions of the Papal States the one of the Prelacy is probably the most corrupt and most fraught with evil. In former times, when the soil was almost exclusively in the hands of the nobility and the Church, the conditions of birth attached to the Prelacy made it an aristocratic body intimately bound up with the country. Each noble family had an entail in favour of its eldest member and a *prelacy* in favour of the younger. The body was therefore recruited amongst the aristocracy, which thus ruled the country through its cadets. But the French Revolution introduced great changes in the system of landed tenure, and territorial prelacies have disappeared, especially in the Adriatic provinces. This has altered the constitution of the body. That native element which formerly identified it with the country over which it ruled has yielded to a cosmopolitan enlistment. The Prelacy, as a profession, counts now hardly any members from influential native families. It is almost exclusively composed of men of low origin, and from all countries, who have avowedly entered it for the mere sake of official employment. Hence it has sunk into the depreciation which must attach to a body of placemen, in this instance rendered more intense by their foreign extraction and general misconduct. Formerly the Prelacy might affect to be the ecclesiastical expression of that national connexion which ought to unite together a sovereign with his people; now it has settled down into the hateful nature of a mercenary body enlisted in behalf of a Government imposed upon the country. The only qualification demanded for admission into what purports to be the nursery of governors is an income of fifteen hundred Roman dollars, generally fictitious when not actually dispensed with by a Papal brief, and the mere pretence of an examination, mainly in theology and canonical science—studies in some sense, perhaps, of great importance, but not likely to furnish practical administrators. But the worst consequence of the system is the lax spirit it entails. While the prelates occupy the invidious position of men who have invaded public property and appropriated its emoluments, their conduct seems regulated by no higher motives

than personal interest or mutual connivance, in which they are abetted by a helpless Government that knows not how to do without them, and fears to bring authority in contempt by public castigation of delinquent servants. A transfer from one post to another is therefore the usual manner of dealing with those whose faults necessitate notice, and, what is most scandalous, these transfers are seldom degradations. A prelate removed for immorality from the Deaf and Dumb Institute has afterwards been put in charge of public institutions, and one was named Vice-President of the Council of Finance, whom, when governor of a province, the Austrian authorities had convicted of peculation aggravated by injustice.

But irrespective of these exceptional abuses, the system of the Prelacy in its ordinary working gives rise to permanent complaint. As a body the prelates are grossly ignorant. Nurtured in notions of favouritism and with the maxim that salaried office is the right of their profession, their incompetence obliges them in all business of importance to have recourse to the assistance of a clerk. Thus by the side of these sleek prelates there exists also a set of famished scribes, entirely dependent for their scanty livelihood on the goodwill of their immediate superiors, excluded from the prospect of ever rising higher in the social scale, and therefore driven on the one hand to propitiate by abject humility their patron's favour, and on the other corruptly to eke out by jobbery the miserable pittance with which the toil of their lives is remunerated. Again, if a prelate really does devote himself to learn the duties of an office, there is nothing to protect him against arbitrary transfer on the part of a Government which seems to ridicule the notion of special qualifications. It is a matter of continual occurrence—in fact, it is the ordinary course of advancement, that a governor becomes, by a stroke of the pen, transformed into a judge, or a bishop, or a diplomatist, or perhaps a minister of finance. A still grosser abuse is the fact that certain posts *ensure* the dignity of the Cardinalate; so that a prelate who has been lucky enough to acquire one of these, has merely to behave with signal incompetence, and he is at once forcibly elevated to the highest dignity short of the papal chair. The Prelacy is an institution that can never be too much deprecated. It partakes of the ecclesiastical and of the secular character, but merely to adopt their respective vices; of the ecclesiastical it only assumes the outward garb, and thus exhibits a glaring hypocrisy that excites disdain; of the secular it contracts the grovelling disposition proper to an avowed love for office, accompanied with its revolting consequences, venality and jobbery of the worst kind. The evil of this institution has been deplored by the best friends of the Papal

Government. Cardinal Lambruschini, the only one of the Secretaries of State since 1815 who was in orders on elevation to this dignity, and sincerely devoted to the cause of the Church and religion, strove, during his ministry, to eliminate as much as possible the corrupt nature of this hybrid element from the prelacy. But under the laxer influence of Cardinal Antonelli, this tendency has been abandoned; and it is not too much to say that foremost amongst the causes which have sapped the position, which after the collapse of the Mazzinian Republic the Papal Government might have secured, is to be put the injudicious, often disgraceful conduct, of the prelates to whom have been consigned the direction of the provinces.

But the advocates of Papal Government affirm that the secular element is not restricted to these men in minor orders; that by the *motu proprio* given by Pius IX., at Portici, on the 12th September, 1849, and the constitution which regulates his States, there are decreed a Council of State—a Council of Finance and municipal bodies not only open to laymen, in the absolute sense of the word, but that the composition of the two latter corporations are dependent on the *votes of electoral bodies*. It is true that such are the enactments of this *motu proprio*. Let us examine the provisions of its clauses, and the practical effect that has been given to them.

The Council of State consists, if not exclusively, certainly in a large proportion, of laymen; its functions purporting to be, according to the terms of the *motu proprio*, “to give its opinion on proposed laws prior to their being submitted to the Sovereign for his sanction,” but by the same clause, the fact of its being consulted is a matter of goodwill. “It is to examine those questions on which it may be called to give an opinion by us or our ministers.” Not only must its sittings when they do occur be secret; not only are its opinions never published; not only is the minister, when submitting a project to the Sovereign, dispensed in his report from even stating whether or not he may have taken the opinion of the council; but it is a notorious fact that it is never convened for business, and that not one of those arbitrary decrees which have characterized Cardinal Antonelli’s administration, have ever been submitted to it. The Council of State has exercised no more authority than the Chapter in any of our diocesan exercises, when it goes through the dumb show consequent on a *Congé d’élire* from the Crown; indeed, it has hardly ever been even favoured with the amusement of a convocation.

The Council of Finance is more important; it has been called into existence, and on all occasions when the Papal Government is taxed with arbitrary mismanagement of the finances, it points to the fact of its acting in accordance with the counsels of a body

proceeding from popular election. The *motu proprio* extends its powers to the full examination of the budget; "it is to give its opinion on new taxes, and the reduction of those existing, on the best mode of assessment . . . and on everything which concerns the interests of the public exchequer." Its composition is of twenty-five members, five being directly appointed by the Sovereign; the remainder are intended to represent the provinces, twenty in number; and they are selected by the Pope from lists of four names submitted to his choice for each seat by the councils of the respective provinces. The president a Cardinal, and the vice-president a Prelate, are not taken from the body, and are named by the Sovereign. When the short session of the council is at an end, any business which it may seem desirable to refer to it is transacted by a permanent committee, not instituted by the vote of its members, but at the arbitrary choice of the Cardinal Secretary of State. Now this much-vaunted Council of Finance, though decreed in 1849, was in the first place never established till the year 1853, and since its creation it has been treated by the executive with every mark of contempt. The "*Civiltà Cattolica*," in the article alluded to above, has published a table of the yearly estimates submitted by the ministers to its inspection, with accompanying tables of the sums which it proposed in their stead and of those which the Sovereign sanctioned as proper for the year's expenditure. The agreement between the last two is boldly given as evidence of the respect paid to the opinion of this body. What is one to think of the good faith of an apologist, who entirely omits to state the fact that the sanction thus accorded by the Sovereign to the year's prospective budget, as proposed by the council, was, in every instance, so much waste profession, and that the original expenditure proposed was only departed from in favour of an additional increase, a fact testified beyond denial by the accounts published at the end of each year in the official journal? M. de Rayneval dares to assert that "the accounts of the State have been regularly published, and therefore submitted to the control of the nation itself." Nothing has been published except a gross statement of the revenue. A few copies of very imperfect accounts have indeed been printed and distributed to some select persons, but their insufficiency can be gathered from the fact that the council has in vain requested to have the separate accounts of the ministers, in order to inspect the expense incurred in each branch of the administration. This demand has never been honoured with an answer; in fact, its authority is a mockery, and after the regular session the committee named by Government has actually sanctioned measures that had been rejected by the council. In spite of a direct vote to the contrary, new taxes on landed property—new charges

on the *communes*, and new duties on registration, have been decreed, while the last loans, the emission of new stock, and the sale of Crown lands, were all consummated without ever consulting it. The institution is now reduced to the lowest discredit; honourable men have withdrawn from it, and the municipality of Benevento declared itself unwilling any longer to furnish the stipend for a representative who proved but a burden to the local exchequer, and of no sort of use to the State. Nevertheless, the fact of the bare existence of the council, as constituted by the *motu proprio*, must be recognised as a boon due to Pius IX., for it establishes the formal acknowledgment of two great principles—that the expenditure of the State ought to be controlled by an independent body, and that the independence is to be secured by making it take its origin in popular election through the medium of the provincial councils, with which resides the right of proposing its members.

This brings us to the consideration of the third great reform ascribed to the present Pope,—the institution of elective municipalities, and provincial councils. In November, 1850, an edict was published regulating the constitution of the internal government of the Roman States, in accordance with the pledge made in the *motu proprio* of September, 1849. • The country was divided into four Legations (exclusive of Rome with its adjacent regions), which were subdivided into twenty provinces, or delegations, each to be composed of municipalities distributed into five classes based upon population. The Legation was to be presided over by a Cardinal, armed with absolute authority over all officials and the armed force; but, as in consequence of foreign occupation this could not have been the case, the appointment of legates has hitherto been delayed on various pretexts, but for the real reason that any ecclesiastical dignitary should not be fettered in his authority. The province was confided to an official, with the title of delegate. It was not decreed that he must be a prelate, but at this moment there is no delegate who is not one. By his side he has a council, composed of as many members as there are municipalities in his government, and appointed by the Sovereign from a list of three names submitted to him by these. They are to be selected from landholders, tradesmen, and men of letters, possessed of a qualification varying from 500 to 1000 Roman dollars (100*l.* to 200*l.*), and they are to be chosen for six years. The powers of the council extend to all matters affecting the province; it arranges the assessment of taxes, and has the care of public works. The municipalities, divided into five classes, have councils varying from ten members up to thirty-six, presided over by a chief magistrate, not a member of this body, but appointed by the Sovereign from a list of three names submitted

by it to his choice. This magistrate is to continue in office three years; half the council is also to be renewed at the end of that term, the outgoing members being capable of re-election. The constituency to name the council, and in so doing to give life to all the degrees of this complicated system of administration, was to consist of six times the number of members to be elected. A municipality of thirty-six members was therefore to have a hundred and twenty-six electors. These were to be selected two-thirds from landholders, and one-third from tradesmen and men of letters; the list was to be drawn up by the municipality, but subject to the delegate's approval, who could modify it at will; and no elector could be inscribed who was not provided with a certificate of moral and political good conduct from the Government authorities. The system, therefore, was to work in the following manner:—A small electoral body, depending for qualification on the arbitrary goodwill of Government, would name the municipal councils, which would submit to the Sovereign lists of three names for every provincial councillor to be appointed, and these last were finally to propose in the same form the members for the council of finance. It might seem that here there were ample provisions against an inundation of democracy. The Government did not, however, think the season sufficiently settled to allow it to risk at once a trial of so much freedom. By a special proviso it was declared that the electoral franchise should not be exercised for three years to come, and that therefore the Sovereign for the time would institute by nomination the councils. But when these three years had passed, and *half* the councils were to be renewed, a secret circular of Cardinal Antonelli, No. 74,098, dated 3rd August, 1853, suspended the elections for another term of three years, and directed the councils themselves to fill up their vacancies; those members who by lot were designed for going out, being not only capable of re-election but entitled to vote, so that nothing prevented their recording their votes in favour of themselves, and the practical result was, that the councils named by Government came out of the professed process of renovation with little or no change. But when the second period of delay drew to its close, the same course was again had recourse to. The Cardinal professed alarm at proceeding to elections in times, as he declared, yet quivering with the shock of revolutionary convulsion, and which required the presence of foreign garrisons. One might have thought the existence of these troops to have been the best guarantee for the preservation of order during the experiment of elections, instead of an obstacle in the way of their occurrence. The Cardinal, in the hope of getting evidence in favour of his view, consulted the chief magistrates in the municipalities. They advised the execu-

tion of the law; still the Cardinal, for reasons which we really have never been able to discover, persisted in his disinclination to put the law in force, and on 6th November, 1856, a secret circular, 41,421, again prohibited the elections. The arbitrary nature of these circulars gives the measure of the Papal administration. A letter simply bearing the Secretary of State's signature, suspends, modifies, abrogates and altogether overrides enactments promulgated by the Sovereign with every form of assurance that the existing order of things can offer as a pledge of sacredness.

When the law has thus been violated at pleasure in its fundamental provisions, it can be no matter for surprise that all prerogatives conceded to the councils have been made a subject of sport. The municipal councils have, in fact, been reduced into a state of subjection greater than under Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. When that of Bologna drew up a respectful petition praying for some very moderate reforms, it was fined in a body. On another occasion, the Cardinal imposed upon the council of the same town a chief magistrate of his own, although by law—the provisions of which, short of those concerning the exercise of the franchise, are distinctly affirmed to extend to the existing councils—his choice is limited to one of three presented for approval. At Nettuno and Genazzano, again, the Government freed itself from importunate representations by arbitrarily dissolving the councils, and appointing new ones of its own authority. Fairness will allow that the municipal regulations promulgated by the *motu proprio* of 12th September, 1849, would have endowed the country with institutions capable of proving nurseries for progressive improvement; but truth must declare the Government to have forfeited all merit on this score, for hitherto its action has been solely directed towards thwarting the execution of this edict.

We will now inquire into the administration of justice in the Roman States; for a people will often consent to accept, in compensation for political rights, an even and ready system of justice. Owing to the complex and involved mode of procedure in the Papal States, arising out of an accumulation of inveterate traditions, it is not easy to render an account of its working, and we must crave the reader's indulgence for our tediousness while unravelling a system which exemplifies all that is objectionable in the principles of the Pope's administration, and all that is well-founded in the complaints of its subjects.

In ordinary civil suits there prevails no system of intended injustice or corruption. The Papal government has never been animated with wanton tyranny, that does wrong from a perverse disposition, but it forcibly disturbs the even application of justice in the assertion of what it proclaims and believes to be a divine right.

This right finds its expression in canon law, which, for the benefit of a caste, excludes from the jurisdiction of ordinary tribunals and common law an infinity of cases affecting the interests of the community. In ordinary cases every suit can go through three hearings, and should the verdict in the last *entirely* cancel prior sentences, then it can undergo a fourth trial. The jurisdiction involved in these three degrees is distributed through a variety of tribunals, combining in a perplexing manner the power of trial in first and second instance, and entailing much painful delay. For example, the Court of the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber decides, in first instance, all disputes arising within the limits of the city of Rome, that involve property to the value of two hundred Roman dollars; while on appeal it hears all like cases already tried by the chief magistrates of municipalities in the districts depending on Rome, and all cases of not more than five hundred dollars in value, already adjudged by tribunals not within the limits of the Courts of Appeal in Bologna and Macerata. This complicated system, spreading the same degree of jurisdiction through ever so many courts, instead of lodging it in one, is a plentiful source of obstacle in the way of ready justice. The courts are overtaken by distracting objects, and arrears of suits accumulate without fault on the part of the judges. The highest civil tribunal in the Roman States is that of the *Ruota*. It dates back to the period of Pope John XXII. (1316-21), and derives its name from the judges sitting about a round table. Besides adjudging in second instance all matters, that by reason of their importance, are beyond the competence of the last-mentioned tribunal, the *Ruota* is the court which finally hears the cases admitted to the privilege of a fourth trial. It also acts on demand of the sovereign, as an extraordinary tribunal for the interpretation of papal decrees and matters connected with foreign countries, on which account the Catholic States of France, Spain, Austria, and Tuscany have the right each of naming one of its judges.

The integrity of this court bears a high character, but its mode of procedure unfortunately is so objectionable as to deprive its virtue of nearly all value. It is difficult to conceive the interminable delays and discussions that attend its obsolete forms of consultation. In the first place, all pleadings are in writing and in Latin. Then they have to be couched in the form of exceptions taken and doubts suggested as points of abstract law, so that the whole debate is cast in the perplexing mould of a tissue of mediæval theses, on each of which the court gives expression to an opinion which in nowise implies a verdict. There are often a dozen opinions pronounced over a period of as many years, and yet the case is not absolved. We have heard of one suit, involving a mere trifle, which, after pending for twenty-eight years, was

settled by a compromise between the parties. A prolific source for discussion is generally in what mode the point at issue is to be taken into consideration, and in what form expression is to be given to the competency of the Ruota in dealing with it, and years are often spent before the real matter is taken in hand. The Ruota has an honourable character for independence; it has repeatedly resisted arbitrary interference on the part of the executive, but it is equally true that the weight of its antiquated forms too generally crushes the poor suppliant who may be drawn within its precincts. The source of this defect is the complicated legislation on which the sentences have to be framed. Avowedly the old Roman law is the code, but with all the multifarious comments, glosses, modifications, and contradictory amendments which are spread through the whole series of Papal decrees and canons, to the utter transformation of the stock upon which they have been grafted. It has long been acknowledged, even by the Papal Government, that this confused mass of legislation should be reduced, for the ordinary purposes of justice, into some clearer shape. Upwards of forty years ago a commission was instituted with the view of fusing into harmony these provisions of Papal and Roman legislation; but up to this time the Roman States have been endowed with no code—except a monstrous police code of which we will speak hereafter. Still, the author of the paper in the “*Civiltà Cattolica*” has not blushed to assert the contrary, and actually to garble for this purpose the title of a book, quoting as “*Codice Civile*,” what is in fact the “*Codice di Procedura Civile*,” the instruction for the form of civil trial. When an advocate stoops to so unjustifiable a trick as to falsify his quotations, he sinks to a pitch of dishonesty which ought to exclude him from court.

The manner in which criminal justice is dispensed is still more objectionable. M. de Rayneval, indeed, declares “it to be beyond attack, and that, having followed several trials through all details, he had convinced himself that every precaution requisite for the confirmation of facts, and every possible safeguard for free defence, was scrupulously observed, including public pleadings.” It is difficult to conceive an ambassador of France making so false a statement. The High Criminal Court of the Sacra Consulta may be fearlessly set down as the most discredited of Roman tribunals. It is presided over by a cardinal, and composed of an indeterminate number of prelates. They are mostly young men beginning their official career, and as ignorant of law as wanting in experience. Yet by a provision which has no parallel in the legislation of any country, the verdict of this court is absolute and admits of no appeal except in a case of capital sentence not unanimously pronounced; and even then the appeal is but formal,

for it merely amounts to a protest referred to the consideration of the *same* court, which decides on it in private without the presence of the accused. This is also the court that tries all those numerous criminal cases included in the category of *political offences*, on which occasion its mode of procedure is monstrous. The accused is then not allowed to name his advocate, but obliged to be content with one out of a number appointed for the service—a liberty often reduced to a mockery by the fact that one alone can fulfil it. He is not confronted with the witnesses who depose against him—and he is not present even at his defence, or when sentence is pronounced. The tribunal, converted into a special commission, and judging in secret, not *according to evidence* but to *moral conviction*, not by personal investigation, but on the second-hand and ex-parte report of judges of inquest appointed by the Secretary of State for the purpose of drawing up in private a precis of the case, is absolved from all existing laws and empowered to act on directions coined on the occasion by the executive with a view of meeting the special case in point. In other countries there are violations of justice on the part of arbitrary tyrannies, but it is the privilege of the Pontifical Government unblushingly to inscribe upon its statute-book dispensation from all the trammels of right. Let any one read paragraphs 555 and 556 of the “Regulations for the Mode of Criminal Procedure,” and refute our assertion. The verdicts emanating from this irresponsible court are worthy of a tribunal that consents to perform so gross a burlesque of justice. A couple of years ago some youths, most of them mere boys, vented their political zeal by a display of fireworks on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Roman Republic. The freak was foolish and without any importance. Yet the Consulta, in its Draconic ferocity, condemned them to twenty years servitude in the hulks, where they now are. It is hard for an Englishman to render himself an account of the gross perversions of justice perpetrated by a court that, shrouded in secrecy, sits in judgment on cases brought under its notice, in reports drawn up by venal scribes in the full security of official protection, and without fear of refutation from prisoners deprived of the possibility of making a defence. As an instance we will state one case, for the truth of which we can vouch. In the last days of the Roman Republic Colonel Calandrelli, moved by feelings of patriotism, accepted the post of Triumvir, when the only duty he had to perform was to secure a peaceful surrender. His past conduct, known to all Rome, and especially to the Papal Government, proved his integrity. He had, by personal exertions on the 16th of November, 1848, prevented the cannon levelled at the gate of the Quirinal Palace from being fired. When the Sovereign had fled, he continued to

serve his country, and it was the spirit and courage shown by him in preserving order and saving property that caused him to be singled out for the Triumvirate when the times required a man of bold integrity. On the French entering Rome, Calandrelli, instead of leaving the country, voluntarily remained to give an account of the funds confided to his keeping, and he handed over to the Papal representatives two hundred thousand Roman dollars in notes and sixty thousand in coin; yet this man was sent to the hulks for twenty years on a trumped-up accusation of two thefts, the one of the value of two hundred, and the other of twenty dollars. The building of the Ecclesiastical Academy had been occupied by the Republican Government, and its library consequently moved. Calandrelli handed over three cart-loads of books belonging thereto. The librarian lodged, however, before the commission instituted by General Oudinot for the recovery of stolen goods, a charge against him for keeping some back. This charge the commission rejected, as *void of all proof to substantiate it*. Nevertheless, one night Calandrelli's home was invaded by police agents and himself hurried off to prison. Everything found there was exposed to the public for inspection, but without any inventory being at the time taken by the authorities, or any formalities observed to prevent the surreptitious introduction of foreign objects. It was affirmed that there were found books belonging to the Academy, and arms belonging to Prince Barberini. The case was originally referred for report by the Government to a judge of inquest, named Manzoni, who summed up in favour of the accused. It was then taken from him and entrusted to another lawyer who confided the papers to the skill of a certain Posquelloni. The prisoner, meanwhile, was kept in the dark as to these proceedings. He was not able to check the charges brought against him, and he was not even allowed to have communication of the defence made in his behalf by the official advocate. The result was, as before said, condemnation to the galleys for twenty years; fifteen of these for theft of books belonging to an ecclesiastical institution, and five for purloining arms. As to the latter, Prince Barberini's agent deposed to having ceded them to Calandrelli against payment, and a witness, Eneas Viti (soon after arbitrarily thrown into prison for five months, and then as arbitrarily released without trial), swore to having been present on the occasion. Now both the official advocate and several members of the court have since solemnly declared that none of the exculpatory evidence appeared in the report on which the verdict was founded. Was it, therefore, suppressed by the official judge of inquest, appointed by the Cardinal Secretary of State to sift the case?

But it is neither of the ordinary civil courts, with all their interminable pleadings and perplexing modes of procedure, nor of the ordinary criminal courts in spite of their very defective dispositions for the confutation of untruth, that the subjects of the Pope complain the most. The judges are in general men of probity, and there is no reason to suspect their verdict, except when what is construed into a political offence, and the term is an expansive one, is under trial. But what is loudly complained of as a monstrous piece of irrational legislation is the amount of exceptional jurisdiction existing by virtue of canon law—crossing on all occasions the straight course of common justice, and forcibly removing, on grounds of inquisitorial privilege inherent by divine grace to the Church, the cognizance of secular suits into courts that adjudge on principles entirely foreign to civil law. The Roman States are under the rod of maxims invented in the Middle Ages by the scheming brains of ambitious pontiffs, and elaborated into a system by monkish casuists, who impudently dealt in audacious forgeries. At this day the Roman States are at the discretion of ecclesiastical tribunals, which, through such spurious titles, usurp unlimited secular authority. There exists a Tribunale della Fabbrica de San Pietro, a congregation of cardinals and prelates, that judges all suits affecting the property of the Church of St. Peter—a property which, by the way, comprises in the Pontine Marshes, a sanctuary for criminals. A similar Tribunale della Madonna di Loretto. The Tribunale della Visita has absolute jurisdiction in cases of pious bequests. The Tribunale della Penitenziera Apostolica grants dispensations, and considers *reserved* cases of conscience. The Tribunale della Eminentissima Vicaria has special jurisdiction over the Jews. The Tribunale Criminale del Vicariato watches over good morals.

The sixty-eight bishops with their vicars exercise within their dioceses, in virtue of their episcopal functions, an authority in all *canonical cases*, which suspends every other power, and, under the protection of Papal infallibility, defies written law. Let no one think that *canonical cases* merely include such as exclusively affect the Church and its servants in their spiritual capacity. Not only are priests exempt from the action of common law, but all who are in any sense in the service of the Church—therefore, every sacristan, every beadle, every chorister, every pupil in a house of education, for all are ecclesiastical, in short, all that host of ecclesiastical dependents who wear the dress of clerks, or who have at any time worn it, are admitted to the privilege of courts that judge crimes by a code, one of the articles of which, in virtue of a Papal Bull, is that those amenable to their jurisdic-

tion *enjoy the benefit of lighter penalties* than are decreed for the same crimes in the cases of laymen. A clerk cannot even be cited as a witness by a secular tribunal in a case pending before it without the sanction of his bishop. It has repeatedly happened when a criminal suit involved several prisoners, some laymen and some clerks, that in the two trials instituted before the secular and ecclesiastical courts, the laymen, mere accessories, were condemned, while the chief criminals were absolved by the bishop. In civil suits the authority of canon laws extends even to the patrimony of clerks, nay, even to entire jurisdiction in all commercial matters involving, in however remote a degree, participation of an individual connected with the Church. We know of one case where a company that failed counted amongst its original shareholders one single priest. Its embarrassments necessitated legal proceedings that turned on very nice points of law—when, although the priest in behalf of his partners' interests petitioned to waive his rights, the case was removed from the cognizance of the Tribunals of Commerce, and referred to a bishop. In connexion with this judicial authority there exists a commensurate system of immunities. No clerical defaulter can be pursued in the ordinary way; and the lay creditor is continually prevented from recovering his due by the interposition of pleas always entailing unjust delay, and often insurmountable obstacles. The ecclesiastical tribunals have the right of exercising an absolute police over morals, which gives rise to a system of inquisition fostering a fatal amount of unfounded denunciations, and exposing persons to the most grievous annoyances at the discretion of bigotry or malice. Every subject of the Pope is bound to take the Communion at Easter, and his neglect to do so exposes him to arbitrary imprisonment and the suspension of all liberty. For instance, no person can travel from one province to another without a passport, to obtain which he requires a certificate from his parish priest that he has taken the Communion, and besides, if a married man, one from his wife sanctioning his absence, and one from the President of the Rione in which he dwells, testifying on the evidence of two witnesses to his unexceptionable conduct during the period of political disturbances. Thereupon the documents go through the offices of the President of Police and of the Minister of Interior, and it is only after their approval that a passport is issued by the Secretary of State. It is not to be denied that the excess of this ecclesiastical authority often defeats itself, through a secret understanding with those who are entrusted with it: but the grievance of its existence is all the same, and the inhabitants of the Roman States are for ever at the mercy of an exacting authority irreconcilable with

the conditions of public right. To return to the powers exercised in virtue of the ecclesiastical claim to watch over morals. In cases of seduction and illicit pregnancy, the sole testimony of the woman is held sufficient to establish paternity, and judgment is given in the *canonical formula aut dotet aut nubet aut ad triremes*. A person guilty of blasphemy, or transgressing Church observances with regard to holidays and fasting can be fined and imprisoned at the goodwill of the bishop or his vicar. Marriage being a sacramental rite, the ecclesiastical tribunals usurp absolute jurisdiction in all suits that in any manner arise out of this condition, or can be strained into a connexion with it.

There is no limit to the action of an authority that puts forth claims of this kind. All Europe has lately rung with horror at the act of inhumanity perpetrated with inexorable equanimity on the young Mortara. But some ten years ago there happened another case, less generally known though equally outrageous to natural sense of right, and unblushingly excused on the same score of deference to the absolute obligations of a sacramental rite. At Cento, in the Province of Ferrara, there resided a Hebrew tradesman, by name Padova, who was married, and was father of two children. A Christian clerk in his employment seduced Madame Padova. Her husband discovered the connexion, and ejected the clerk out of his office. Thereupon Madame Padova eloped with her lover, carrying away also the two children. The husband immediately called upon the authorities to recover his children, when he was answered that having embraced along with their mother the Christian faith, they could not be left under his infidel guardianship; and a few weeks after Madame Padova was publicly married to the clerk by Cardinal Opizzo, Archbishop of Bologna—the Hebrew husband being at the same time ordered to pay a yearly sum for the maintenance of the children purloined by and residing with his adulterous wife. This introduces us to the claims of ecclesiastical authority to watch over and punish errors of mind, with its consequence to control education. There are a number of tribunals devoted to this purpose of dogmatical and intellectual censorship, such as the Riti, Santa Consulta, Propaganda, and above all the Sant' Uffizio. It is true that this last, by its constitution and historical antecedents the most calculated to irritate discontent, has of late years displayed little public activity, beyond the formal inscription of books upon the registers of a vain prohibition. But although the progress of civilization has, even in the States of the Pope, rendered the application of the stake impossible for latitudinarian inclinations, the Sant' Uffizio is, nevertheless, in existence with unrevoked authority, and actively exercising, through an organized body of inspectors, an inquisitorial, though

covert police, as was conclusively brought to light in the course of a trial before the Royal Tribunal of Florence in March, 1857. Guiseppe Franceschi, a servant of Cardinal Corsi, Archbishop of Pisa, was charged with having purloined valuables and the receipt of a deposit in the savings bank from a dairyman, by name Cypriano Sodi, into whose house he had forced himself when he was dying, on the pretence of urging him to fulfil his religious duties. The prisoner denied the theft, and declared that he had been directed to attend the dying man by the Abbate Morini, priest of the Church of San Felice. Pressed by cross-examination, he was driven to make mention of some diploma which authorized him to perform such offices, but he excused himself from giving particulars, as being by oath bound to keep silence, unless absolved by a priest from its observance. The courts in Tuscany are, however, in possession of considerable authority, and the matter once started was pursued, when it was found that the diploma proceeded from the Inquisitor of Ancona, and named Franceschi, a familiar of the Sant' Uffizio, with the fullest powers and amplest immunities for espying and informing against all who might neglect their religious duties. The Court condemned the prisoner to five years' imprisonment, with hard labour, for the theft of which he was convicted, and it was a source of infinite scandal that the Archbishop of Pisa publicly, although vainly, exerted himself to have the just sentence quashed.

The stringency of literary censorship, and the narrow limits within which education is confined under the dogmatic dictatorship of this jealous authority, can hardly be conceived. Intellectual progress is felt to be a mortal danger, and therefore its invasion is unflinchingly sought to be arrested by a solid rampart of repression, erected in the fashion of a holy principle. The Papal Government assumes, by virtue of its spiritual emanations, the power of communicating insight into the true nature of all things, thus trying to clothe, what is merely a stolid opposition to science, under the delusive mask of a doctrinal initiation into the highest truths. Therefore, the ordinary watch kept by despotic governments against free ideas is in the Papal States intensified beyond example. A publication is not declared free from suspicion after having undergone a simple inspection. Every book has to be submitted to two censors, the one political, the other ecclesiastical, and generally to a third, the technical one. The effect of such a system is too sadly apparent in the utter barrenness of the Roman book-market. In the forty-five years elapsed since 1815, it cannot be said that thirty books of any scientific value have issued from the presses in the Roman States. And in this country—the vaunted patrimony of St. Peter and the chosen

terrestrial paradise of ecclesiastical guardianship, the stigma of damnation is unsparingly assigned to Machiavelli and Guicciardini, while the authority of supreme approval is freely bestowed for the circulation of such wretched and demoralizing publications as the "*Cabala del Pescatore*"—a book for the interpretation of dreams in reference to divining prizes in the State Lottery. Education is exclusively in the hands of the clergy, who claim it on the ground of the injunction to the Apostles to go forth and teach. No instructor of any kind can exist in the Papal States who is not a priest or licensed by episcopal authority. And the miserable condition of ignorance to which the youth of the country is condemned under their auspices, can be inferred from a few facts drawn from the highest degrees of the system. Geology and geography are excluded from the universities as impious. On the death of Professor Metaxa the chair of physiology was suppressed as tending towards Atheism, and political economy has been absolutely interdicted as revolutionary. It can be no wonder that institutions so deficient are not much frequented. In the year 1856-7 not seventeen hundred students were inscribed on the books in the four Papal Universities.

The monstrous powers which we have here described are wielded by irresponsible dignitaries, subject to no control except that of the Cardinal Secretary of State, himself in principle but the organ of an infallible Pope. The authority exercised is, therefore, not the wanton encroachments perpetrated by unscrupulous despots, but a logical consequence from that claim to intuitive insight put forth by the Papacy with the undeviating consistency of belief. It would, however, be a great mistake to believe Papal despotism restricted within the limits of canonical dictatorship. On the contrary, the administration of Cardinal Antonelli has been marked by an unscrupulous application of those purely official engines which are at the disposal of the absolute minister of an absolute State. And here in passing it may be remarked that M. de Rayneval makes much of a reform which he affirms, since the Pope's restoration, has modified the formerly excessive authority of the Cardinal Secretary of State by the institution of a ministry with members of equal rank, each having his distinct department. The truth is just the contrary. Formerly the departments of Foreign and Home Affairs were always confided to two Cardinals, and sometimes even a third was admitted to the Ministry in charge of the Finance. Now there is only one Secretaryship of State, which is filled by Cardinal Antonelli, and the other departments are all occupied by prelates anxious of course to win the purple, and therefore not on a level with the all-powerful dispenser of favours. The Minister of the Interior is not allowed to correspond directly

of his own authority with the Provincial Governor. The Minister of Justice has not the supervision of the tribunals nor that power of promulgating legislative decrees which ought to be within his attributes. Everything is done in the Cardinal's name, and by his absolute direction. He has under his care the arbitrary distribution of assessment, and he likewise has the command of the police force.

The true history of the Amnesty granted by the Pope from Portici, in September, 1849, will give a measure of the extent to which arbitrary dispositions have been carried. It excluded five classes of individuals: 1. Members of the Provisional Government; 2. Members of the Constituent Assembly; 3. Triumvirs and Members of the Republican Government; 4. Military chiefs; 5. All who had already been amnestied on the Pope's accession and broken their engagements to abstain from political movements against his Government. Together these exclusions amounted to about a thousand individuals, and the natural inference of course was that all others were exempt from prosecution for participation in recent events. On the contrary, one of the first acts of the Papal Government on restoration was to establish a *Commission of Censorship*, with unlimited authority to put under control and render harmless all suspicious individuals. And this category was made to include all who had been employed in government offices—all military officers of every rank—all persons connected with public instruction—all provincial and municipal counsellors, with their dependents—all persons serving in the administration of charitable institutions—all medical men who had rendered services at the bidding of the government of the day; in short, every individual who in however remote a degree had felt it incumbent on him to do his duty to his neighbours, or to exert himself to earn an honest livelihood during the existence of a government mainly called into existence by the flight of the Pope with his Cardinals. Without any kind of trial or defence—in most cases even without communicating to the parties the grounds for their punishment—the Commission imprisoned, banished, and relegated to localities and domicile any one it liked, often involving the whole family in the arbitrary sentence. A favourite sentence was the order to live in a certain locality, and the *prohibition to leave the house within certain hours*, to the ruin especially of a large number of medical men, who by this iniquitous procedure found themselves precluded from exercising their calling. Yet this was denied to be an infraction of the Amnesty. With that casuistic duplicity characteristic of the inveterate canonist, the Papal ecclesiastic pointed out that its provisions only exempted from the *corporal pains* for political offences, and that these measures were merely

civil restraints. In the same spirit, prosecutions on the ground of ordinary delinquencies were instituted against men politically obnoxious, and yet when they justly claimed to be tried on the charge with the prescribed forms of justice, their demand was rejected. The Consulta was converted into a correctional political tribunal, judging with the monstrous powers we have described, and on instructions issued for the nonce by the Secretary of State. But, what is still worse, this arbitrary iniquity has been made permanent. In March, 1850, a new code of police regulations was issued. There it is declared, that on the mere *appearance of probable suspicion* (*verificazione sommaria di motivi*), any individual and his family can be transported from one locality to another—can be interdicted from going beyond the bounds of his "*comune*"—can be ordered to remain in his home after or not to leave it before a certain hour—can be forbidden to attend public festivals, theatres, fairs, markets, or to converse with persons named—and can be fined from one to thirty Roman dollars, or imprisoned from one to thirty days at the absolute good pleasure of either the Local Governor, the head of the police, the Assessor General, or the Delegate. Any one acquainted with the infamous character of the Papal police agents—recruited from amongst the scum of the population, many of them ancient residents in the Bagni—must shudder to see this monstrous power of stabbing from behind put into the hands of a batch of convicts, peculators, and thieves. Two instances will suffice to justify appellations that may sound harsh. The Colonel of the Papal Police Force is a certain Nardoni disgraced by Pius IX. himself, and condemned to the hulks at a time when trials were fair. At Ancona the Director of Police was a short while ago, and we believe still is, a man of the name of Il Vigna, who has been convicted of defalcations in the administration of the Carabmeers. This system of screening from justice criminals, willing to make good moral defects, by an accommodating obedience to every wish of authority, pervades the whole Papal administration, and is the reason of its being infected with such deep corruption. The venal agents who devote their services to its work indemnify themselves for their invidious zeal by making it lucrative, and the high dignitaries of the State, unable to dispense with their assistance, are obliged to connive at practices from which they themselves are seldom free, least of all at present. Under a Government regarded by its servants as a lump of ore from which to sweat as much as possible, jobbery and speculation must be rampant, and the public finances, however profitable for some parties, cannot be flourishing for the community. The budget of the Roman States is about 14,500,000 Roman dollars, to which must be added about 3,000,000 of mortmain revenue, and 6,000,000 of municipal

taxation, making the State charges in all to amount in a round sum to 23,500,000 Roman dollars, equal to above 5,000,000*l.* sterling. The interest on the public debt amounts to upwards of 5,000,000 dollars; and it has since the Restoration been steadily on the increase. The Papal Government contends that its financial difficulties are mainly owing to encumbrances due to the lavish emission of paper-money by the revolutionary administration; but the truth is, that the deficit in the exchequer for the year 1847—the last of many undisturbed years of clerical prosperity—amounted to 1,341,168 dollars, and that twelve out of the thirty-five millions paper dollars in circulation at the Restoration had been emitted by the priests. The conduct pursued in reference to these notes is an instance of the want of honesty that characterizes the Papal Government. In the very beginning of his reign, Pius IX. issued bonds which, being duly secured, circulated freely. When the Republic saw itself driven to the same financial device, it decreed one general issue of paper, so as to remove all distinction and probable difference in value between its own bonds and those already in circulation. The Papal Government, bound by every obligation to honour in full the notes which it had itself issued, did nothing of the kind, and cashed them at the same loss of 33 per cent. which it imposed on the Republican paper-money. The extent to which jobbery is prevalent in the Roman exchequer is convincingly proved by the expenses avowedly attending the collection of the revenue. They are greater than in any other country we know of. In England they amount to 8 per cent.; in France to 14 per cent.; but in the Papal States they attain the monstrous proportion of 31 per cent. While in Piedmont the drawback on the public lottery for gains and administration amounts to 56 per cent., it rises in the Roman States to 67 per cent. In the one country the Government monopoly of salt and tobacco is managed at a cost of 25 per cent., in the other of 46 per cent. When so evident a waste of public money is formally sanctioned for the benefit of the officials, it can be no matter for surprise to find them guilty of unscrupulous frauds. One of these lately attracted attention throughout Europe from its gigantic proportions, and is illustrative of how the people are made to defray defalcations due to the criminal negligence of men who are left unscathed. The Director of the Monte di Pietà was a certain Marchese Campana, known to all who have visited Rome for his wonderful collection of works of art, bought by him at every price. By inheritance his fortune was a mere trifle, and his salary no more than 841 dollars a year. Still the princely expenditure he incurred raised no suspicion in his superiors. In 1847—the season of Pius IX.'s accession—an inspection of the Monte di Pietà revealed grave

disorders. The Director, however, succeeded in exculpating himself, and was allowed to retain his office. During the Revolution, the Marchese Campana distinguished himself by loyal zeal, and on the Restoration no layman enjoyed higher favour. The institution which he directed was within the department of the Minister of Finance, at that time a certain Galli, who has left behind him a most unenviable reputation. He it appears empowered Campana to take in form of loan 20,000 dollars from the Monte di Pietà—the permission, however, bearing the words “*for once.*” Campana, nevertheless, found means of procuring 498,641 dollars, when a new Minister of Finance, Monsignor Ferrari, ordering an inspection of the establishment, discovered this proceeding. And now ensued what seems incredible. Campana confessed what he had done, and Monsignor Ferrari, instead of bringing him to trial, was content with desiring the treasurer to keep the keys of the cashbox in future to himself—the result of which wise precaution was that Campana continued his defalcations until they amounted to 983,959 dollars. Then at last the Minister saw himself obliged to interfere. The Director was arrested and convicted, and a loan raised to discharge the claims of those whose property had been made away with; but the Minister of Finance, to whose indolent supineness the occurrence of the fraud was due, has never been called to account, while, within the last few weeks, Campana himself has been quietly released from prison.

This inconceivably lax manner of conducting business pervades every department. Surely it is not unreasonable for the Papal subjects to complain loudly of a state of things which overwhelms them with burdens without offering in return any compensation. If we add together the money allotted for public works and public instruction in the ten years 1847–57, we arrive at the petty sums of 963,927 dollars and 45,110 dollars! At the present day the Papal States alone in Europe are without railways, with the exception of the one between Rome and Civita Vecchia; and it is only quite recently that they have been allowed to possess the electric telegraph. From whichever side we begin, and in whatever direction we push our inquiries into the nature of the Papal Government, we find ourselves in presence of a power that would rest its absoluteness upon maxims broadly proclaiming inveterate hostility to human independence in judgment, much more so in action, and would arrogate the right of exacting the dumb obedience due to the representative of an infallible principle. And this excellent and transcendental dispensation we find to be confided to a set of officers distinguished personally in nothing from the vulgar agents of common despotisms, except in their outward garb, their excessive affectation of insufferable pretensions, and the particular paltriness which characterizes their practical pro-

ceedings, in singular contrast to their high-sounding language. This is a prominent feature in the present Papal Government. Unavoidably unrelaxing in the abstract assertion of pretensions which only in their entirety give a reason for its existence, the Papacy finds itself yet obliged to take into consideration the practical existence of opposing obstacles. No longer able to impose the temporal authority it would wish to wield with the absolute vigour of mediæval vehemence, it has stooped to secure by subterfuge the power which it feels itself too weak to assert effectively. Hence the necessity to connive at corruption in its servants, to have recourse to covert snares for retaining possessions which must slip from its keeping in a struggle of strength to strength. Therefore, the severe dignity which once marked the Court of Rome has entirely fallen from it, and instead of the frowning repression of a Hildebrand, nothing is to be met with but a disingenuous casuistry, bent on disarming opposition by plausible assurances speciously falsified. It is true that other countries suffer a more inexorable tyranny. The Papal Government often concedes indulgences which would be withheld in States ruled by ordinary law, but it is invariably at the price of the master-right of all rights—that of individual judgment. On the renunciation of this pretension, the Papacy will not object to any dispensation if expediency recommends the concession, and its advocates take refuge in the assertion that this practical compromise satisfies the Roman population.

In a country governed in the manner we have described, it is easy to prevent those public manifestations of opinion which alone can impose silence on persons who recoil from no perversion of the truth, but the events which attended the Pope's journey through the Adriatic provinces to Bologna prove adequately the feeling in the country. It had been long spoken of, and much was expected from the personal observation of the Sovereign, whom every one allows to be animated with benignant dispositions. Indeed, the reactionary party felt so alarmed at the influence which might be exercised upon his temper, that Cardinal Antonelli issued a secret circular to the chief magistrates, directing them not to convoke the municipal councils, lest they might lend themselves to the expression of hostile sentiments. Leaving Rome the 4th May, 1857, the Pope travelled by Assisi, Perugia, Macerata to Bologna, where he arrived the 9th of June. His reception was more than cold, and even official pomp was wanting in many places. When it became apparent that the municipal councils were systematically left unconvoked, the leading inhabitants in the towns got up addresses amongst themselves. Considerable difficulty attended their presentation, the magistrates hesitating to become the organs of transmission, and the Pope de-

clining to accept them publicly. Nevertheless, they were all handed in, and the chief magistrate of Forli alone refused to take charge of the one from his town. Cardinal Antonelli, indeed, issued another secret circular, forbidding the chief magistrates to transmit them, but it came too late. The address from Bologna was signed by the greatest names in the province, amongst them Count Zucchini, Councillor of State. It explained, that had the municipal council been convened, it would have been entrusted with its sentiments, and humbly prayed the Sovereign by his presence to remove the sad misunderstanding existing between his government and people. The towns of Cesena, Forli, Ferrara, Faenza, Ravenna, &c., followed the example, the address of this last town being signed by fifteen municipal councillors, Government nominees. At the same time the different corporate bodies presented petitions about special grievances. The advocates demanded *a code*, public prosecution, and courts of appeal for cases decided in the archiepiscopal courts. The Chamber of Commerce represented the necessity for modifications in taxes and tariffs, and the students prayed for the restoration of the Athenæum of Bologna and a liberal modification in the studies. The fact of these petitions having been submitted to the Pope becoming known, the Government thought fit to distort the fact of their not having been publicly presented into a denial of their existence. The consequence was, that several were immediately published in the Piedmontese journals, along with the signatures, and Count Pepoli, of Bologna, wrote a letter to the Senator, upbraiding him for not having presented in an *official* manner the address confided to him. On the meeting of the municipal council after the Pope's departure, the Marchese Bevilacqua, Marsili Malvezzi, and several other members, took the Senator to task for not convening them during the Sovereign's stay, and it was then that the cardinal's secret circular came to light. Nothing can be more conclusive as to the gulf that separates the Papal Government from its subjects than these occurrences. They did not proceed from any class or province, they were calm and well-considered manifestations on the part of representatives from all classes, reflecting in its most matured shape the unequivocal convictions of solid sense; and after ten years of quiet power, under circumstances peculiarly favourable to its protection, we find the Papal Government charged to its face with having utterly omitted to introduce one single reform calculated to put it in harmony with the people. It is this Government, alike vicious in principle and monstrous in practice, that diplomacy will have to bring into unison with modern ideas. The task is sufficiently embarrassing to justify hesitation, and many will be inclined to think M. About right in proposing to cut the knot by at once

extinguishing the temporal authority of the Pope altogether. In principle we concur heartily in this view, but we have strong misgivings as to its being practically feasible at present. The argument mainly relied on in defence of the Pope's sovereignty—the necessity for him as Primate of the Catholic Church to be free from foreign control—has, indeed, been signally done away with by the practical fact of his being at the mercy of foreign garrisons.

Still, although the temporal dignity assigned to the Pope has been proved a delusion, it does seem as if the delusion were yet too much a matter of general acquiescence to be finally dissolved at this time. It is certain, at all events, that Louis Napoleon is of this opinion, and has positively restricted his purpose to mere reform. The celebrated pamphlet, "*Napoleon III. et l'Italie*," gives us tolerable information as to the measures which his influence would introduce. They are (1.) The secularization of the government by a Council of State composed of lay and churchmen. (2.) A representative body chosen by the provincial councils, empowered to deliberate on all laws and to vote the budget. (3.) Efficient control in local bodies over local outgoings. (4.) A civil code based on either the Napoleon, Lombardo-Venetian, or Neapolitan code. In our minds there ought to be in addition a diminution of territory. No one pretends that the Pope ought to have more than is requisite to ensure his dignified existence. We would, therefore, restrict him to the western provinces, long and intimately connected with Rome, and take away the Adriatic provinces, the population of which is unanimously hostile to the yoke of the Church. There can be, however, no doubt that the plan proposed in the pamphlet would drive at the heart of ecclesiastical government, especially in the point of a code. Therefore, the question obtrudes itself, how far it may be possible to make the Papacy accept it? The proud boast of the Church of Rome, that it never waives a point and never yields a tenet, raises before the minds of many a vision of inflexibility that inspires them with alarm. That the Papacy will resist to the utmost is a matter of course, but that it will be able to resist the above demands, with the support of the sympathy attaching to a struggle of principle, we altogether doubt. The strength of the Papacy lies alone in its religious dogma; and this is not attacked by the points put in the pamphlet. In its temporal constitution the Papacy has at all times been weak, and obliged to make concessions, which proved indeed false, but nevertheless are on record. Within the same generation which witnessed the Council of Trent, the Papacy saw itself engaged in an obstinate struggle with the Republic of Venice for the assertion of those exemptions and privileges which had been canonically

confirmed by the decrees of the recent council. In the course of this contest the most severe measures at the disposal of the Court of Rome were put in execution, and an interdict was laid on the Republic. What was the effect of all this ecclesiastical artillery upon the Catholic and Italian State? It was absolutely powerless. The Venetian Senate and people took no notice of this attempt on the part of the Church to encroach on their political constitution. The interdict remained a vain flourish, while the Venetians continued Catholics as before, and at last the Pope saw himself obliged to yield his pretensions without even obtaining the hollow concession of being allowed to go through the form of absolving Venice from the interdict. Let it be borne in mind that this happened in Catholic Italy, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and can we then seriously be afraid of popular sympathy in our time being directed with blind vehemence in favour of the identical pretensions which there met with so cold a reception. Besides, we know exactly the political influence of the Papacy through the failure which has attended its renewal of the Venetian mistake in the late interdict pronounced against Piedmont for infringing canonical privileges, while the great fact of the French Concordat and of the Court of Rome remaining in communion with France and Belgium, in spite of their laws sanctioning divorce and disregarding all the special privileges claimed by the clergy, is convincing evidence that the Papacy can be brought, on these secular points, to acknowledge the force of necessity. Now there is nothing at issue in the question of reform in the Papal States which touches a point of religious dogma. Were the Pontiff, indeed, to be exposed to personal humiliation and suffering, the reverence attaching to him in his spiritual capacity might awake sympathy, and bring on a popular feeling which Catholic cabinets, only too eager for action, would quickly foment for their private purposes. Therefore, also, the Emperor of the French has been most explicit in defining the limits of his plan so as to remove misconception and misrepresentation; and, much as we should rejoice to see the temporal authority completely annihilated, we believe that his scheme embraces as much radical improvement as is really within immediate reach. Let the Pope's dominions become Roman States, and no longer be the patrimony of St. Peter, and let that monstrous system of ecclesiastical privilege, now in existence, be demolished by the practical introduction of civil right and justice, and reform will inevitably make good its progress, especially when freed, as we may hope will be the case, from the continuance of that obstinate and malignant foreign intervention which hitherto has never failed to crush its seed in Italy.

ART. VIII.—AUSTRIAN INTERVENTIONS.

Recueil des Traités, Conventions, et Actes Diplomatiques, concernant l'Autriche et l'Italie. Paris, 1859. •

SINCE the publication of our last number, war has broken out—the first real interruption of the peace of Europe since 1815; for, though the Crimean war broke up the old alliances, and so prepared the way for the present contest, it hardly affected the situation of the Continent. What three months ago seemed scarcely more than a vague prevision has become a dread reality. The fair plains of Lombardy are now the stage on which hosts more numerous than were ever before assembled within lists so narrow, contend for supremacy in arms. In his proclamation to his people, the French Emperor truly declared that Austria had brought things to such a pass, that she must either extend her sway to the Alps, or be driven back to the Adriatic. But in our opinion, although the war be at present confined to the Peninsula, the real question at issue is of far deeper import than even the independence of Italy. This war appears to us to be a contest between opposing and irreconcilable principles. In the soldiers of France, hailed as deliverers by the inhabitants of every village through which they march, we see the defenders of humanity and the right of progress, and in their leader the vindicator of that national will which he never ceases to proclaim as his first title to the throne. Francis Joseph, on the other hand, represents the antiquated mediæval principle of divine right—he, as it were, puts himself under the ban of modern civilization, by the unbridled licence which he and his generals have allowed their troops to exercise on the unarmed inhabitants of Piedmont; for, let none confound the atrocities committed by the Austrian soldiery with the inevitable calamities of war.* Battle is a grim deity; yet, in modern times, even war has its humanity. Civilized commanders see their enemies in armed men, not in defenceless peasants, and restrain the evil passions of their inferiors: the plunder of open and unresisting villages, the ill-treatment and massacre of women and children, the imposition of immense and ruinous requisitions, are surely not necessary inflictions. Yet these very horrors, scarcely paralleled since Turenne drew on himself the reprobation of all posterity by

* The Sardinian government has made these cruelties the subject of a strict and legal inquiry, the results of which are now published to the world.

his ravage of the Palatinate, are a proof the more of the different principles represented by France and Austria in this contest, and precisely on account of so radical a difference, we believe the actual war cannot end without the overthrow of the Napoleonic dynasty, or the destruction of Austria as a first-rate power. If this be the case, it seems almost impossible that it should be reduced to a life and death struggle between two States only. Already the Germanic Confederation appears animated by the most hostile spirit towards France; and, as if in anticipation of an attack on its part, the armies of Russia are gathering on her western frontier. If another Frederick the Second now held the reins of power at Berlin, we can hardly doubt what policy he would pursue. A truly German and Protestant sovereign would offer his alliance to France and Russia, for the total annihilation of Austria, proposing the cession of the Rhenal provinces to the one, of Posen to the other, and demanding in exchange the hereditary States of the House of Hapsburg, and the Imperial crown of Germany. This would be, indeed, a great and national policy; one that might enable the Germans to achieve that position in Europe to which their number and intelligence seem to give them a right; but we fear that the love of half-measures, which appears to be a malady of our age, and deep-rooted prejudice against France, will rather prevail over all recollections of the anti-German and Catholic policy of Austria, and induce Prussia to embark with the minor States, on what we must consider as the suicidal course of defending her ancient rival.

It is not for us, however, to foretell the decisions of Cabinets. From day to day, facts may gainsay the most plausible reasonings. The duty of the reviewer, as of the journalist, is rather to enlighten public opinion and to put events under their true aspect, so that each man may judge for himself on the merits of the cause at issue, than to indulge in vain speculations as to the future. We consider it to be of great importance that, at the present crisis, the English people should be thoroughly acquainted with the policy and character of the Government, whose very existence is actually at stake.

History presents few phenomena more worthy the attention of the student than the rise of the House of Hapsburg, from the possession of a small castle in Switzerland to that of half Europe. In the middle ages, marriage with royal heiresses was the method of aggrandizement adopted by this ambitious race. Within the space of a hundred years, the marriages of three successive princes* brought all the rich possessions of Burgundy, Spain,

* The Emperor Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy; his son, Philip, Juana of Arragon; his grandson, Ferdinand, Anne Jagellon.

and her tributary States, and finally, Hungary and Bohemia, under the sway of the Austrian family. A fourth generation endeavoured to absorb England by the marriage with Mary Tudor, a design happily frustrated by her leaving no direct heir; but the intention of Philip was clearly manifested by the earnestness with which he sought the hand of Elizabeth on the death of her sister. Such notorious fortune-hunters were the needy Princes of Hapsburg, of whose piteous plight, while courting their wealthy brides, the old chronicles record many visible proofs, that a Latin line records the fact:—

Armis crescunt alii: tu felix Austria! nube.

The House of Hapsburg attained its zenith in the 16th century. Since that time, the constant enmity of France, the extinction of the Spanish branch of the family, and, later, of the male line in Austria, have contributed to circumscribe its power. Princesses, too, no longer receive vast territorial possessions as a dower; and it has been wisely adopted as a principle of statesmanship, that female sovereigns should unite themselves to younger sons of third-rate royal races. Since Maria Theresa, the last real Hapsburg, bestowed her hand and her vast inheritance on Francis of Lorraine, no new advantageous marriage has enlarged the frontiers of the empire;* but, though one means of gratifying the ruling passion of the House has been taken away, the spirit of encroachment itself has not been destroyed, and another system, slower, less sure, and at the same time far more onerous to the nations it affects, has been adopted, and gradually reduced to a system. This system may be termed that of intervention, and to it we propose to devote our attention in the present article.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), the duchies of Milan and Mantua were the only possessions in Italy retained by Austria. Indirectly, however, her influence extended farther; for, by the peace of Vienna, in 1735, she had secured the heritage of the House of Medici for Francis of Lorraine and the descendants of his second son, a compact concluded without the consent of either the Tuscan people or Prince. Foreseeing the coercion about to be exercised on him, John Gaston, the last Medicean Grand Duke, placed in the hands of the Archbishop of Pisa a solemn protest, dated September 12th, 1731, in which he declared that, as his ancestor freely received investiture of the Duchy of Tuscany,

* The Duchies of Modena, Massa, and Carrara were, however, acquired to the family by the marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand, third son of Maria Theresa, with the daughter and heiress of Hercules, the last of the House of Este, in virtue of a secret treaty concluded 11th May, 1753.

on condition of maintaining its liberties,* so he, the last of his race, intended to leave his people free to elect their own future Government, and obliged to bow to superior force, he beforehand released them from all duty of obedience to the will he might be constrained to leave at his death. Force prevailed over right, and the second line of the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine remained in possession of Tuscany until displaced by the superior might of Napoleon, and the treaty of Luneville, in 1801.

Meanwhile, Austria had been endeavouring to gratify her love of encroachment in Italy in another direction. Deprived of the duchies of Milan and Mantua at the treaty of Campo-Formio,† she obtained possession of part of the territories of the Venetian Republic, which it should have been her duty to defend, and the correspondence of Count Joseph de Maistre, during his embassy at St. Petersburg, affords ample proof of her covetous designs on Piedmont,‡ the execution of which was only prevented by the opposition of Russia, and the victories of Napoleon. In both these cases Austria can have had but little expectation of long retaining the advantages she sought; but she hoped, and as events proved, with justice, to found on this slender base a future title to the possession of territories she had never before held. It is worthy of remark, that the only part of the treaties of Austria with Napoleon maintained at Vienna in 1815, were the articles of the treaties of Campo-Formio and Luneville, which granted to her portions of the ancient territory of Venice.

With 1815 began a new era in the policy of Austria in Italy. The plenipotentiaries assembled at Vienna, thoroughly alarmed by the return of Napoleon from Elba, had no more earnest thought than to oppose all possible barriers to the future attacks of France. Forgetful that nationality was the force by which Napoleon had been vanquished, and that in consequence, a power intended to form a substantial obstacle to another series of conquests must be based on the development of that idea, the diplomatists at Vienna conceded to Austria the sovereignty of Lombardy and Venetia, falsely imagining that numerous armies suffice to constitute a strong State. Nay, more, Austria obtained possession of the part of the ancient duchy of Ferrara lying on the left bank of the Po, and the recognition of a right of garrison in Piacenza

* This is clearly proved by the diploma of investiture given by Charles V. to Duke Alexander Medici, and still more by the act by which the chiefs of Florence accepted the Duke as Head of their Republic, dated April 27th, 1532.

† 17th October, 1797.

‡ Shortly before the battle of Marengo, when Austrian troops held Piedmont and the king was a fugitive in Sardinia, the Imperial minister, Count Kevenhüller, formally declared that his master would never permit the return of the ancient sovereign.

(the capital of a territory the reversion of which was secured to Piedmont), and in Ferrara and Commachio, fortresses belonging to the Church. The possession of these fortresses gave to Austria a strong military line of defence on the Po, and a position of constant menace, directed towards Piedmont on the one hand, towards central Italy on the other. So obviously did this concession encroach on the liberty of the Italian States, that Pius VII., never suspected of any subversive tendencies, felt deeply aggrieved, and his nuncio, Cardinal Consalvi, formally protested* against it in his name.

Yet, while the plenipotentiaries thus gave Austria the means of coercing central Italy, it was their obvious intention that the minor Italian States should be sovereign within their own limits. To counteract and render vain this intention was the immediate object of the Austrian Government. Scarcely was the treaty of Vienna signed, by which this independence was guaranteed, than Austria concluded two secret treaties, the one with Tuscany,† which, under cover of a military league for the external and internal defence of Italy, really gave to her a right of intervention; the other with Naples, the secret articles of which bound the King not to make any change in his system of Government which should be contrary to that of Austria. In 1816, Prince Metternich put forward a demand yet more directly aggressive; one in which we should find it hard to believe, were it not proved by documents preserved in the Sardinian archives. Austria demanded the cession of the Upper Novaresè, or, at least, of the province of Domodopola, and the right of garrison in Alessandria, on the plea that the fortress of Piacenza did not constitute a sufficient guarantee for her security; as, in case the King of Piedmont made an alliance with France, Lombardy would always be liable to invasion. The English ministry opposed but a faint resistance to this strange pretension, which was, however, speedily put an end to, by the positive declaration of the Emperor of Russia that he would never tolerate any infraction of the treaties to the prejudice of the King of Sardinia.

Foiled in this attempt at territorial aggrandizement, Austria sought to increase her influence by the formation of a league of Italian princes, under the presidency of the Emperor, well aware that whatever verbal distinction might be drawn between the rights of the Emperor of Austria and of the King of Lombardy, she would always be sure to weigh in the balance with all the influence attaching to her forty millions of subjects. This project was earnestly opposed at St. Petersburg by that great and ever-

* 11th of June, 1815.

† 12th of June, 1815.

vigilant Italian statesman, Count Joseph de Maistre, who, devoted not to the outer semblance but to the inward spirit of order, was clear-sighted enough to see in Austria the real cause of revolutionary excitement in Italy, and that only by her total expulsion could that cause be effectually eradicated. He therefore urgently counselled this measure, as well as the establishment of a national Government, and hence was the first to advise that the King of Sardinia should constitute himself leader of the Italians.* The result was that the Austrian scheme was thwarted by the disapprobation of Russia.

1820 gave to Austria the first opportunity of actively infringing the liberties of the Italian States. The spirit of nationality, originally roused by Napoleon, was excited by the name and the real existence of a kingdom of Italy, which, though comprising but a portion of the Peninsula, held out fair promise for the future, and by the knowledge that the soldiers of Italy were found worthy to emulate their French comrades under the imperial banner; and being appealed to by the Austrians themselves, in the proclamations issued by Archduke John in 1809, and by Count Nugent† in 1813-14, it began to recover from the discouragement caused by the violation of the promises then made, and different Italian States proclaimed the constitution.

Austrian troops put down the first attempts of the Piedmontese to attain liberty, and the Government would willingly have obtained the exclusion of Prince Savoy-Carignan (afterwards Charles-Albert) from the throne,‡ as a punishment for his participation in the movement. His title was finally recognised, on the assurance of the King, that he should be obliged to sign an act binding himself to preserve the organic forms and fundamental bases of the monarchy such as he should find them on his accession.

At Naples an equally violent policy was pursued. The dispatch of Prince Metternich himself to the Duke of Modena,§ proves that want of men alone prevented the Austrian army from marching on Naples at the first news of the rising, without awaiting the permission of the King, or the consent of the European powers; and the Chancellor declared at Labach to the Russian Plenipotentiary, Count Capo d'Istria, that his master would rather declare war than allow representative institutions of any kind to

* Count Joseph de Maistre to Count Valesia, Petersburg, 18th July, 1814.

† Ravenna, 10th December, and Modena, 25th February.

‡ The design of Austria was to transfer the succession to the Duke of Modena, a Hapsburg prince, married to a daughter of Victor-Emanuel. The interference of France alone appears to have counteracted this scheme.

§ 25th January, 1821.

be established at Naples, and that if the King himself favoured them, the Emperor would make war on him. The same thought, but applied to the whole Peninsula, is repeated in a dispatch* to Baron Vincent, Ambassador at Paris, with the addition, that a Government cannot circumscribe its attention to its internal affairs, nor look with indifference on the agitation or repose of neighbouring States.†

To reach Naples, it was necessary to pass through the States of the Church and Tuscany. The Tuscan Premier, Count Tossonbroni, vainly remonstrated against this invasion, and the correspondence of the Marquis de Maisonfort, French Minister at Florence, proves the unwillingness of the Tuscan people and Government, which, as he affirms, was consulted merely for the sake of etiquette, to receive the Austrian troops, and later, testifies to the "violent subjection" exercised over Tuscany, and to the consequent loss of her independence. It is to be remarked, that not the slightest disturbance had occurred in the Duchy to afford even a pretext for this uncalled-for intervention.

In Romagna even the form of demanding the consent of the Government was not observed. The dispatches of Cardinal Consalvi, Papal Secretary of State, and of Cardinal Spina, Legate of Bologna, exist as proofs that the Austrian garrisons at Ferrara and Commachio were reinforced, and Romagna afterwards occupied, not only without the consent or previous knowledge of the Roman Government, but in spite of directly contrary assurances given at Laybach. Once in possession, the Austrians used the influence thus acquired to induce the Government to use measures of violent repression, which appear to have been thoroughly repugnant to the persons obliged to put them in execution, and such was the opinion of the morality of Austria entertained by the Cardinals cited above, that in one letter‡ Cardinal Spina records his suspicion, that the movements of the extreme Liberal party were excited underhand by Austria as a pretext for intervention; and in a dispatch of the 1st of April, 1821, addressed to Cardinal Sanseverino, Legate of Forli, the object of which was to put a stop to the cruelties exercised by the Austrians, and at their instigation, Cardinal Consalvi exclaims, "Austria alone would not have reprobated the massacre of the Innocents!" In vain even did the Legate appeal§ to the agreement made by the different Governments in 1817 not to banish their subjects: Austria

* 6th March, 1822.

† These occupations were doubly convenient to Austria. She extended her sway, and supported vast armies at the expense of others. Five years' occupation cost Naples, 85,000,000 ducats (£14,500,000).

‡ 5th August, 1820.

§ 27th June, 1821.

held the power of the sword, and at her command the imprisonment or exile of the noblest and best citizens spread desolation throughout Romagna. So great was the terror inspired, that Cardinal Consalvi was obliged to order vigorous measures, against his own convictions, to stave off Austrian intervention, and the still greater evils attendant on it.

The consequences of the Austrian intervention at Naples are well known. The Parliament, the demeanour and order of which had excited the warm admiration of a speaker of the English House of Commons, was dispersed, the constitution overthrown, and the system of despotism organized, which, unparalleled in modern times, has excited the indignation of all Europe, and caused remonstrances resulting in the interruption of diplomatic intercourse. The Austrian army remained until the King had raised, to replace it, a body of Swiss mercenaries, receiving double pay, and officered by their own countrymen, who have ever since proved themselves the faithful instruments for the oppression of a whole people. This guarantee for the tranquillity of Naples once obtained, the Austrian troops were withdrawn, but at the same time the Emperor of Austria wrote to the King of Naples with his own hand, warning him that he should exact the strict observance of the secret articles of the treaty of 1815, confirmed by recent promises, and at the same time offering him the support of the Austrian forces, ever ready to march at the slightest symptom of disorder or revolution. The King replied by expressing his hope that if any disturbance occurred his own troops would be able to suppress it, and by appealing to the principles he had taken as his guide, as proofs that he would rigidly adhere to the actual system of government.

Thus Austria, while withdrawing her troops, and escaping the reprobation which must necessarily have attached to the direct oppression of an independent State, preserved all the influence an occupation could have given her, for the certainty of her return, in case of the slightest movement, continued to hang as a menace over both ruler and people; and even a truly liberal sovereign might well have hesitated to grant free institutions to his subjects, unless he felt sure of being able to cope with the armies of the Austrian Empire. That the fear of the return of the Austrians actually exercised great influence over the minds of the Italian rulers, is proved by a dispatch of Cardinal Consalvi* to Cardinal Sanseverino, in which he warns him that in consequence of the declaration of the Austrian Secretary of State, it is necessary to exert the utmost vigilance, and prevent the slightest disorder, lest a pretext be afforded for a return.

* 27th February, 1822.

Nor did any precaution long avail to prevent its taking place. The change of Government in France in 1830 gave hope to the Italian Liberals, and so much excited the apprehension of the Austrian Cabinet, that Prince Metternich declared to Count Pralormo, Sardinian Minister at Vienna, that had Europe been in the same position as in 1815 (that is, had the sovereigns bound by the treaty of the Holy Alliance still had seven hundred thousand armed men at their disposal), he should have advised an invasion of France, to teach her to abstain from revolutions in future. The Italian Liberals fondly trusted that if France did not actively interfere in their favour, she would at least proclaim the principle of non-intervention, and oblige Austria to leave them to deal alone with their sovereigns. The French Government actually did instruct its Ambassador at Vienna, Marshal Maison, to oppose the Austrian intervention, if not in Parma and Modena, at least in Romagna; but on the answer that the Emperor would intervene, even at the risk of a war, all opposition was restricted to a barren protest* against the principle on which Austria was acting, and a request that the Pope would inaugurate internal reform. When this protest and advice remained utterly unheeded, France contented herself with occupying Ancona, ostensibly in the hope of more easily obtaining administrative reforms,—a measure which in reality aggravated rather than ameliorated the position of the Roman States, and left Austria in absolute possession of Romagna.

While Austria was thus actively supporting the internal system of government beyond her own frontiers, it is curious to remark the real opinions of the very statesmen engaged in carrying out this policy. Among themselves the Austrian Ministers and agents freely avowed the national character of the Italian movement, and acknowledged that force only could retard its progress. Thus Prince Metternich, who in 1847 publicly called Italy a geographical denomination, confessed so early as 1830,† in a confidential letter to Count Henri de Bambergo, diplomatic agent at Milan, “that the desire of the Italians for independence, unassuaged for a thousand years, had more than ever taken possession of many minds, and that the tranquillity of Italy could scarcely have any other guarantee than that of a national character.” Somewhat later in his instructions to Chevalier Menz, an agent employed at Milan to conduct diplomatic affairs, the Chancellor declares, “that the revolutions in Italy would have infallibly consolidated themselves and drawn on others had the Emperor been stopped by the absurd principle of non-intervention,”

* 27th March, 1821.

† 23rd September.

and admits that the tranquillity then reigning (1833) was due to the overwhelming forces of Austria alone.

Chevalier Menz, in his reports, makes the same admission, from which he deduces the necessity of prolonging the occupation of Romagna. He also states, that the presence of Austrian troops on the frontier was the surest guarantee for the tranquillity of Tuscany, where the Grand-Ducal Government was then exciting discontent, by the introduction of a more rigorous system of police. The same Chevalier Menz approves the formation of secret societies, armed in favour of the Government. Readers unfamiliar with Italy, and the history of Romagna especially, may not appreciate the full meaning of this manœuvre of Austria. All have heard of the liberal sect of the Carbonari, loudly denounced as a continual conspiracy against all established government, while the rival societies, organized by papal and Austrian agents, have almost escaped observation. Yet of these there were at least three, that of the *Sanfedisti*,* which papal for the initiated, in the lower grades was in reality Austrian; that of the *Centurions*, and thirdly the *Society of Ferdinand*, formed somewhat later than the others, and working for the profit of Austria alone. These sects, in exclusive possession of the right of carrying arms, strictly forbidden to the rest of the population, were recruited among the worst and most abandoned characters, and at the head of the Society of Ferdinand especially, in direct communication with the Austrian general, Count Nugent, was one Baratelli, a man of profligate life, notoriously corrupt, whom private interest alone had saved from condemnation to the galleys for breach of trust, and who later was accused of forging bank-notes to the amount of 180,000 crowns, an accusation which gave rise to a trial begun before the tribunals of Verona, transferred thence to the criminal courts of Ferrara, and finally hushed up by order of Pius IX. The members of these sects, assured of impunity under the pretext that they acted in defence of the government, were constantly guilty of murder and robbery; while the unhappy and peaceable inhabitants of Romagna could find no protection from the law, which forbade them to take up arms in their own defence. Any man known for his patriotic and liberal opinions, was the aim for the daggers of these sectarians, while the assassination of worthy citizens, and the massacre of women and children in the streets, were alike left unpunished, nay, in many cases were openly tolerated by the Papal authorities. Were these facts even doubtful, we should hesitate in bringing forward such accusations; but they are attested by eye-witnesses, by grave and con-

* Society of the Holy Faith (Santa Fede) was the title, whence the name Sanfedisti.

scientious historians, and even by the orders issued by the chief sectarians to their bands. This being the case, it would be a betrayal of the cause of truth and justice, to throw a veil over the licence of the reactionary party,* or while recounting them, to let it be supposed, that they were the work of inferior agents, unknown to the Government, or unsanctioned by it. Austria, and Austria alone, is responsible for the excesses which took place under her protection; for without her, the Papal Government, the members of which owed their places to her patronage, could not have resisted the just indignation and hatred of the people for a single day.

We have, perhaps, dwelt too long on past events, the immediate interest of which may be thought to have gone by. But it was our object to show, before speaking of the events of our own time, that Austria reduced intervention to a system, her aim being to render tributary the so-called independent States of Italy, and we wished to prove this fact from the despatches and letters of cardinals and ministers, witnesses not to be suspected of favouring revolution, or of extravagant attachment to the liberal and national cause. We have insisted the more on this systematic interference of Austria between the Italian Governments and their subjects; as, in our opinion, it explains the hatred of Austria now universal in Italy, and the tendency to strive for independence at all risk, rather than reform. In their immediate rulers, the Italian people see mere vicegerents of Austria, sure to fall were their powerful patron once expelled from the Peninsula, and their hatred passes over to the real cause of oppression, treating its executors rather as objects of contempt. We will now speak of the interventions of Austria after 1848, both in Romagna and Tuscany.

We shall not refer particularly to the Duchies of Parma and Modena, scarcely independent, even in theory, as the reversion of both was secured to the House of Hapsburg. Special treaties,† moreover, declared both to form part of the Austrian line of defence, and authorized the troops of the Empire to march in at any moment, and take possession of the fortresses, while the Ducal Governments were bound not to conclude any other military convention without the previous consent of Austria. The incorporation of the two Duchies was completed, by a financial treaty, immediately following the military one, and, finally, by the Customs League, concluded in 1852.

* Within the last few weeks Parma was the scene of excesses got up by the reactionists to revenge the premature movement which endeavoured to follow the example of Tuscany. We adduce this fact as showing that the maxims of this party have not changed since 1838.

† 24th December, 1847, and 4th February, 1848.

It is not for us to relate the reform movement of 1846,* nor the struggle for independence that ensued—a struggle most unfortunate, if viewed alone, yet affording hope for the future to all capable of taking a larger view of affairs; for on the fields of battle of Lombardy, on the ramparts of Venice, sprang up the feeling of the unity of the Italian nation, which developing itself with time and reflection, has now assembled the youth of all Italy under the banners of Victor-Emmanuel, the Dictator-King, to fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy. We hope now to show how the results of that struggle affected the so-called Independent States, and how their weakness was taken advantage of by Austria to extend her indirect sway over the whole peninsula.

In 1848, the Grand Duke of Tuscany was the first Italian sovereign who declared war on Austria, the first who promised sympathy and aid to the Lombard patriots. The sincerity with which he did so may be tested by the fact that, in 1849, it required but an order from Marshal Radetzky,† the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian armies, to make him abandon his States, although no disturbance or violation of the Constitution he had voluntarily granted had taken place to afford him a pretext for seeking refuge at Gacta. It was rather Austria who needed a pretext for invading Tuscany, and counselled this flight of the Grand Duke, in the hope that it would be followed by disorder. This expectation was deceived: the people, though alarmed and staggered at seeing themselves abandoned by a prince they had loved and trusted, remained quiet, and after the fatal battle of Novara had decided for a time the fate of Italy, the wisest and best of the Tuscan Liberals addressed a petition to the Grand Duke, imploring him to return to Florence, in the hope of thus avoiding an Austrian intervention.

The reply of the sovereign, and the proclamation he immediately issued, were apparently most favourable, for he promised to return, and to maintain the Constitution. Delusive promises! The Austrian troops were already on their march, and while the Liberals were amused by the hope that their progress would be arrested, and Florence at least respected, and were thus prevented from even attempting to organize a resistance, which, though it could scarcely have been successful, would at least have proved the Italian sentiments of Tuscany, Baron d'Aspre, and the troops under his command, passed the frontiers. Before leaving Modena,

* We may note, however, that Austria regarded this movement almost as a direct attack, and offered a garrison of 5000 men to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

† 2nd February.

the Austrian general had issued an order dissolving the Tuscan National Guard and volunteers, commanding them to give up their arms, and confirming the re-organization of the Municipal Guard, and of any body of Tuscan troops that should join his standard, thus exercising the privileges of a legitimate sovereign. Lucca, Pisa, Leghorn, and Florence were successively occupied by the Austrians, everywhere the National Guard was dissolved and disarmed, the soldiers were obliged to lay aside the medals they had won the previous year in the War of Independence, and it was not till the occupation was complete that the Grand Duke returned to his capital. These facts prove that whatever sentiments he had previously simulated and allowed to be expressed in his name by a Liberal ministry, he himself was personally no stranger to the Austrian projects of intervention, as in truth Baron d'Aspre had hastened to declare in his proclamation issued at Empoli.

From this time forward the policy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany was in all points conformable to that of Austria. The Constitution he had granted the 15th of February, 1848, was not formally abolished until the 5th of May, 1852, (exactly the same period at which Francis Joseph saw fit to abolish his Constitution of the 4th of March, 1849,) but its provisions were systematically violated, by the establishment of extraordinary tribunals, by the arbitrary powers granted to the police, by the increase of taxation, and by the creation of a public debt of thirty millions of francs.

These violations of law may be said by some to have affected the rights of the Tuscan people, not the independence of the State, but the autonomy of the latter was totally abrogated by the privileges accorded to the Austrians. Not only were the troops declared to be entirely under the orders of the general commanding the Austrian forces in Italy,* not only did the Grand Duke bind himself to put the citadels and fortresses occupied by them in a complete state of defence, and to supply them with provisions and munitions of war, but the Austrian commanders exercised all the rights of sovereignty. The national banner was torn by order of Baron d'Aspre.† Tuscan citizens were tried by Austrian court-martial, executed by Austrian soldiers, and their sentences were confirmed or commuted by Austrian generals. The decisions of the military tribunals exist to prove these facts. From them we learn how Tuscan citizens were tried by court-martial, not only for political, but even for ordinary crimes, and that they were condemned and executed by this authority, although the penalty of death did not exist in the code

* Convention of the 20th of May, 1850.

† Notification of the 11th May, 1849.

of Tuscany. In none of these judgments is there the slightest allusion to the Grand-ducal Government—we read only the names of the accused, their place of birth, and condition in life, their supposed crime, the sentence awarded, and, finally, the ratification or modification of the latter by Marshal Count Radetzky, military and civil governor of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces. This system continued in force the whole six years of the Austrian occupation; some of the judgments we have examined being dated within a few months of the withdrawal of the troops. Nor was the desire of the Austrians to trample on all law shown only by assumption of judicial power. Austrian soldiers systematically refused to appear as witnesses before Tuscan tribunals, and it was by order of Austria that funeral services were forbidden at Santa Croce for the repose of the Tuscan volunteers who fell in the war of independence, and that the tablets erected to their memory were removed.

Such being the benefits conferred on the Tuscan people by an Austrian occupation, which cost them a sum very little short of twenty-three millions of francs (920,000*l.*), can we wonder that they should have learnt to abhor the Austrians with a hatred as bitter as that of the Lombards, or that they should have seized the first opportunity of declaring themselves Italians, and of proffering their aid to free the whole country from the yoke of the stranger? What rather excites our astonishment and admiration, is, that the natural gentleness of the Tuscan character should have so far prevailed over hard experience of the past as to allow the perfidious Grand Duke, who had rewarded the attachment of the people by bringing such evils upon them, to leave Florence without experiencing the slightest insult. This testimony to the moderation of the leaders and the discipline of the people may, indeed, make us hope that Italy will nobly conquer a future very different from her past.*

Let us now turn to Romagna.

But for the French expedition to Rome, it is certain that the whole of the Papal States would have been occupied by the Austrian troops. By it they were confined to the provinces north of the Apennines, but it by no means lightened the burthen of the unhappy inhabitants of Romagna and the Marches. Onerous as the two former occupations had been, they afforded no measure of the sufferings about to be caused by the third—sufferings which we hope are now ended by the forced withdrawal of the

* It may be well to state, that the principal act of the Treaty of Vienna, while restoring Tuscany to the Archduke Ferdinand, expressly limited the succession to his descendants, for the partisans of Austria have often put forward a pretended right of reversion, as an excuse for her occupation of Tuscany, which even they found it hard to defend.

Austrians from their distant garrisons. In 1821 and 1831, the Austrians had at least affected to respect the Papal authorities; in 1819, they marched in with the air of conquerors resolved on making a permanent establishment; took Ancona and Bologna by storm, and, although they allowed the Pontifical Government to restore itself, they paid it no respect, and established beside it a separate civil and military government of their own. If we compare this conduct with the moderation of the French at Rome, we shall be at no loss to understand why the population are well-disposed to forgive an intervention which preserved them from worse evils, and why the ultra-reactionary party often cursed the hand which, while restoring, yet restrained their revenge.

It would take us beyond our limit did we endeavour to describe the horrors that attended the storming of Ancona and Bologna, the desolation spread throughout the surrounding country, or the injuries and insults heaped upon individuals, without regard for either sex, or rank, or age. Suffice it to say, that the inhabitants were made to endure the licence of a soldiery encouraged rather than restrained by the example of their officers. The first application of the state of siege was a general disarmament. The concealment or retention of any kind of arm was cruelly punished, and the slightest suspicion was enough to cause perquisitions throughout whole towns, in which not even the repose of the dead was respected.* The banditti alone, assembled in numerous bands, retained their weapons in defiance of the edict, and were enabled, by the general disarmament, to terrify and put to ransom whole towns, the inhabitants of which knew not whether to dread the outlaws or the Austrians the most. Even ornamental arms formed no exception to the general rule, but were carried away and appropriated by the Austrian officers.

In Romagna, a province less known and less visited by strangers than Tuscany, the conduct of the Austrians was far more arbitrary and oppressive than even in the Grand-Duchy. The whole Austrian system was applied precisely as in Lombardy. Austrian judges conducted trials according to Austrian rules of procedure, applying the penalties of the Austrian code, and sentencing in the name of the Emperor of Austria. Nay, even the German language was used in these trials, and witnesses were compelled to sign depositions written in German, which had originally been wrung from them by the use, or at least the menace, of the bastonnade. So cruelly have the Austrians exercised the powers thus usurped, that during their occupation four

* The tombs of the family of Count Tancred Mosti, at Ferrara, were broken open in the search for concealed arms.

hundred persons have been sentenced to death, and executed, at Bologna alone. Ancona and other towns have not been spared, and the condemnations to exile and imprisonment are in proportion to the capital sentences.

Since 1849, the Papal authorities have been at most the passive executors of Austrian pleasure. Expeditions in search of hidden arms were made without communication with the local authorities, who were, however, expected to pay the expenses, and severely punished in case of hesitation; persons were arrested by Austrian soldiers, or by orders given directly to the Roman police by the Austrian commanders, and, as if to add insult to injury, the Romagnese were heavily mulcted to provide for their oppressors. Besides a tax still yearly levied "for the cost of the occupation," they were obliged to furnish sums for the fortification of Ancona, and for the erection of barracks and vast military establishments at Bologna, all, of course, for the profit of the Austrians alone. As a proof of how thoroughly the Austrians regarded Romagna as an incorporated province, we may mention, that all passports, whether for natives or strangers, were obliged to be countersigned by the Imperial authorities, who alone issued permissions for the chase, and even for public amusements and festivals. Nay, more, trials in Romagna were constantly mixed up with those carried on in Lombardy, prisoners were transferred to Mantua, the seat of the special tribunal for political offences, and in one instance, at least,* sentences were commuted not merely by Marshal Radetzky, but in virtue of the amnesty to certain classes of prisoners granted by the Emperor of Austria to celebrate his marriage.

The fearful state of Romagna attracted the attention of the Congress of Paris in 1856; but, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries, who repeatedly urged the danger to which peace and the balance of power in Italy were exposed by it, and the concurrence in the view expressed both by Count Walewski and the Earl of Clarendon, Austria disdained even to modify her policy for yet another year. In 1857, when the Pope was preparing for a journey through his dominions, certain changes were introduced—changes rather apparent than real. The Cardinals-Legates, who had not been seen in Romagna or the Marches for years, were allowed to re-assume the semblance of power; but the condition of the people was by no means ameliorated.

A few months since, while Count Buol was promising the speedy withdrawal of the army of occupation, reinforcements were being sent to Bologna and Ferrara, and still more lately the

* That of Jarné, tried with others for not having denounced the Mazzinian attempt at Milan in 1853.

garrison of Ancona was raised to seven thousand men, without the previous knowledge of the Papal government, the state of siege proclaimed, and the neighbouring villages required to send labourers to construct new fortifications, and to furnish provisions to replenish the stores of the citadel. The Roman authorities protested, but could obtain no other satisfaction than a promise that the lanthorn of the light-house, which had been extinguished, should be re-lighted! At Bologna, meanwhile, Cardinal Milesi, the Papal legate, issued a notification,* ordering all persons licensed to possess arms to deliver them up to the police within five days in the towns, within fifteen in the country, promising that they shall be restored if there be no objection against their possessor, and menacing with severe punishment any person, although previously licensed, who shall retain arms, or a number of cartouches exceeding that permitted by the police. Even gunsmiths were not to be allowed to keep arms in their shops. They were to place their stock-in-trade in the hands of the police, and were assured that articles should be given up on the appearance of a purchaser provided with a regular licence. This notification of Cardinal Milesi is the more remarkable, as it exactly tallies with one issued at Milan a few weeks previously, when the state of siege was proclaimed throughout the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. It appears, then, that in spite of the theoretical independence of the Pope, and the protest of the neutrality of his States, under which the Austrians hoped to protect their left flank from the attacks of France, as their right was covered by Switzerland, the inhabitants of Romagna were to be exposed to all the hardships endured by the citizens of provinces in which war is actually carried on.

Wherever Austrian armies of occupation have set their feet, they have implanted bitter resentment and undying hatred of the Austrian name. Not in the Roman provinces alone, where the Papal government was previously so unpopular that any army coming to restore it was necessarily regarded as an enemy, not only in Modena and Parma, which, having experienced all the benefits of an almost direct Austrian sway, took the first opportunity of showing their appreciation of it by throwing themselves into the arms of Piedmont in 1848, but equally in Tuscany, and far away in the East of Europe, in the Rouman Principalities. Before 1849, the Grand Duke of Tuscany was one of the most popular sovereigns in Europe: his mild, though absolute rule was dear to the people, and the inhabitants of the other Italian provinces complained that the Tuscans, unacquainted with suffering, did not sympathize with the grievances of their oppressed

* 23rd of May, 1859.

brethren. Six years of Austrian occupation sufficed to change the character of the people so entirely, that persons who re-visited the country after an absence of some years were struck by the alteration, and declared themselves unable to recognise the Tuscan race, which, formerly so gay and gentle, had assumed the air of dogged resolution peculiar to the oppressed, who are resolved on seizing the first occasion of liberating themselves. The Florentines henceforth understood the woes of the Milanese, and the Grand Duke was never forgiven for having called in the stranger. Thus we see that the first act of the Tuscan liberals was to demand his abdication.

Formerly the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia could assuredly not be said to nourish any feelings of hostility towards Austria. The vast majority hated the Turk as a foreign and infidel master. A more enlightened minority, perhaps, dreaded that their country might one day be absorbed by its powerful protector, Russia; no party appears either to have hated or dreaded Austria, and the kindred portion of the population of Transylvania, deceived by brilliant promises, and led by Austrian officers, rose in insurrection in her favour in 1848, against their fellow subjects. When the Austrian army of occupation entered Wallachia in 1851, no opposition was offered to its progress. We will not pause to characterize the nature of this intervention (as to do so would be but to recapitulate, with slight variations, what we have already said while speaking of Tuscany and Romagna), nor to relate how the Austrian army took possession of the whole country, as if to occupy it permanently, nor to tell of the delays by which they endeavoured to stave off the necessity of evacuating the provinces. We are here only concerned with the impression this occupation left on the Roumanian population. There are many parties in the Principalities. Some are favourable, others hostile to Prince Couza; some desire to preserve the semblance of Turkish suzerainty, others wish for complete independence under a foreign sovereign: in one point alone do all concur—they would rather submit to be governed by his Highness of the Infernal Regions than by the House of Austria. It is not long since that a Wallachian, distinguished both for position and talent, well acquainted with his own country, observed to us: “When I formerly heard Italians or Hungarians speak of Austria, I used to think them guilty of gross exaggeration, and to consider their hatred of her as prejudice: since the occupation, their hatred seems to me too mild, and this feeling is universal in the Principalities.” Can any condemnation be stronger?

To return from this digression (which we have allowed ourselves to make as proving that the Austrian system of interven-

tion is not confined to the Peninsula, nor the conduct they have there developed to populations intensely hostile to their rule), and revert to the consideration of the policy pursued in Italy.

We have already seen that but three days after the signature of the principal act of the Congress of Vienna, which put Austria in possession of Lombardy and Venetia, she concluded treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which, while guaranteeing these sovereigns not only against external aggression, but also against any disturbances in their own dominions, virtually deprived them of the independence which otherwise would have been theirs by the principal act. From that time forward Austria has steadily pursued the same policy. Her object has been to govern indirectly beyond her own frontiers, by binding the rulers of the minor Italian states to adhere to her own system of administration, and by teaching them to look up to her as their sole supporter and protector. The treaties of alliance with Modena and Parma, if that name can be given to agreements between states so disproportioned in strength, that conventions between them rather appear acts of vassalage on one part, of protection on the other, were not indeed signed till much later, but both the Ducal governments had long leaned upon Austria, followed her inspirations, and bound themselves to her by various conventions assimilating their system to hers. But one Italian state preserved a certain liberty of action, even at the worst times. - Family tradition taught the princes of Savoy, that Austria was their natural enemy, and the ties of blood made them look for support towards France. Thus, though fear of revolution induced the King of Sardinia (Charles Felix) to ask the aid of Austria in 1821, and to admit her garrisons into his fortresses, he did not identify himself with her, and his successor Charles Albert, though long obliged to dissimulate, never forgave the enmity which had threatened to deprive him of his throne.

What motive can we assign for a policy so encroaching as that of Austria? Other great powers are content to live in the close neighbourhood of small states, without forcing on them conventions destructive of their internal independence, or binding them in a league against their own subjects. Why should Austria alone form an exception to the general rule? The hereditary ambition and encroaching temper of the House of Hapsburg may be deemed an insufficient motive, and in truth there exists another, one that sufficiently proves how just will be the expulsion of Austria from Italy. The independence of the minor states was incompatible with her possession of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces. Had the Italian sovereigns been left to deal alone with their subjects, had they, either by external pressure or by their

own will, been induced to grant liberal institutions, and obliged to observe the promises they had made while yet uncertain of their restoration;* had they been free to form a league among themselves even for purely commercial purposes, the position of Austria would speedily have become untenable.

We are far from saying that the situation of Austria was ever an easy one. Under Napoleon, whether annexed to France, or forming part of the kingdom of Italy, the inhabitants of the different provinces had all enjoyed the blessings of a liberal code, of even-handed justice, of a public administration, and of comparatively light taxation, while their pride was flattered by equal participation in the military glory of the Empire. Independence and national unity were alone wanting, and this was the more keenly felt, as the master-hand of Napoleon raised the spirit and roused the ambition of the people. This made the Italians forget for awhile the real benefits received from the Emperor, and listen to the flattering promises of Austria, that their country should obtain complete independence, and take rank among the sovereign states of Europe. They speedily began to perceive their error; and the first scheme of Napoleon at Elba was to respond to the invitation addressed to him by the delegates of all the Italian provinces, secretly assembled at Turin; but their illusions were not entirely dispelled until the publication of an Imperial rescript,† declaring the formation of a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, annexed to Austria, without the slightest guarantee as to their future condition. An old fable relates how the frogs asked Jupiter for a sovereign; he sent them King Log, but they complained that their ruler did nothing; and then Jupiter replaced him by King Stork, who proved his activity by devouring his subjects. Unworthy as the comparison may seem, it is an apt illustration of the situation of the Italians. They had exchanged a government, far from perfect, no doubt, but still infinitely better than any they had ever known before, for one the mysterious character of which might well cause suspicion as to the policy it would pursue.

Under these circumstances, it would have required great moderation on the part of the Austrian government, to reconcile the Italians in any degree to the rule of a foreign and anti-pathetic race. Had their material condition been improved, their burthens diminished, the administration ameliorated, and, above all, confided to Italian hands, they might possibly have learnt to regard

* Ferdinand I. of Naples went so far as to say, in his proclamation dated Palermo, 1st May, 1815, that the people should be sovereign, and he himself the first guardian of the Constitution!

† 7th of April, 1815.

their rulers with less abhorrence. Far from this being the case, the Austrians have from the first assumed the position of an army occupying a hostile territory; and it is a fact that the breach between rulers and subjects has grown wider every successive year. Nor is this surprising, if we cast a glance on the Austrian system of administration. To use the words of Count de Cavour, in his Memorandum addressed to the English Government,* “the bureaucratic pedantry, the vexations of the police, the crushing taxation imposed by Austria, the most severe recruiting system in Europe, and her rigour and violence, even towards women, have had the worst effects on her Italian subjects.” And severe as is this condemnation, it must be called moderate when applied to Austria. It would take volumes to describe in detail the system of government applied in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, the cruelty and despotism of the police, the perversion of justice—inévitable even, as the great majority of the judges were Germans, unacquainted even with the language of those whose lives and fortunes were in their hands, and the discouragement both of agriculture and manufactures, and even of learning.†

The wretched administration of the finances, perhaps, contributed more than all to alienate the Italians from their rulers; for the yearly spoliation of their country clearly proved the systematic intention of sacrificing its interests to those of the ruling house. Authentic documents prove that during the period that elapsed between 1815 and 1848, 112,000,000 of lire (£1,400,000) were yearly raised by taxation, of which more than one-half was carried off to Vienna in hard cash—a sum amounting in thirty-three years to about £80,000,000, without counting the sums taken from the Lombardo-Venetian bank. Since 1848, these burthens have been enormously increased. The regular yearly taxation has been raised to 170,000,000 of lire (£6,800,000), by which we find that more than £40,000,000 have been taken from Italy in ten years, besides the extraordinary taxes, contributions, requisitions, and forced loans, amounting to not less than £20,000,000.‡ In this calculation we do not include the last forced loan of this year, amounting to 75,000,000 of florins—or seven and a half millions of pounds sterling.

* 1st of March, 1859.

† Francis I. said to the Professors of Pavia, assembled to compliment him: “Observe, gentlemen, you are to form obedient subjects, not learned men.”

‡ Enormous as these sums are, they do not represent the whole burthen thrown on the people, who were obliged besides to bear all municipal and local charges. Great losses were also occasioned by the obligation to pay the taxes in hard cash, which could only be procured at a high premium, the usual circulation being in depreciated bank-notes.

These figures speak eloquently of the woes endured by the Italian subjects of Austria; and well did their masters divine that it would speedily be impossible to retain any hold over them, were they to see Italian provinces close at hand in possession of all the rights and privileges of freemen, from whom they might expect both sympathy and aid in their endeavours to throw off the yoke of their foreign masters. The Austrians were of course anxious to preserve the possession of provinces the almost inexhaustible natural wealth of which was so necessary to sustain their rotten financial system; and it would therefore be absurd to blame them for taking the only means for securing their dominion. That they were right in so judging of their own situation is proved by the danger to which they have been exposed by the establishment of a free and constitutional system in Piedmont. If the freedom of a single state, lying at the foot of the Alps, divided from the rest by the Austrian armies and fortresses, which menaced its very existence, and formerly scarcely regarded as itself Italian, was so full of peril, what would have been their situation had Naples, Romagna, Tuscany, and the Duchies been as free, and perhaps united with it in the bonds of a confederation? Yet, had Austria not interfered by deed as well as word, it would have been the right of Independent States to league together for self-defence, or commercial purposes, and to do so would have been the natural, and almost inevitable, policy of the Italian sovereigns.

Austria then was wise in her generation: she knew well that as a palace of cards raised by a child falls to the ground if a single one be removed, so the loss of a distant province of her empire might cause a shock which would shake the whole fabric raised by the policy of successive generations. To preserve Lombardy and Venetia, then, as well as to gratify her thirst for aggrandizement, she wove the subtle web in which she entangled one Italian sovereign after the other. At one period, indeed, her success was all but entire: the will of a single man stood between her and complete, though indirect, dominion, from the summit of the Alps to the southern point of Sicily. Had Victor-Emmanuel, on the bloody field of Novara, elected to place a despot's crown on his soldier's brow, it would have been easy to do so. Supported by foreign armies and a nobility ill-disposed towards a constitution which had deprived them of their peculiar privileges, he might have resumed the absolute sway of his ancestors, and Austria would have been mistress of Italy.

The King of Sardinia made a nobler choice: he decided to be the first champion of Italian independence, rather than the absolute monarch of a petty state; and his single will sufficed to deprive Austria of the results of her long-pursued and undeviating

policy. For while she bound the sovereigns of Italy to herself, she had united their subjects in a common bond of hatred, and this hatred, of small account as long as the peoples were without a leader and a representative in the counsels of Europe, ceased to be harmless and unavailing as soon as they found a chief in the royal hero of Santa Lucia and Goito. At the Congress of Paris, Count de Cavour, though the representative of a secondary state, spoke in the name of twenty-five millions of Italians; and it is not to be denied that the first germ of the present budding hopes of Italy sprang from the favourable hearing accorded to his description of the state of his native country.

That hatred of Austria is universal in the Peninsula is a truth now most eloquently proved by facts. Her interventions in every state have caused her to be everywhere regarded as the common enemy. Freedom from her yoke is now the one ruling passion of the Italians, and thus we have seen the Piedmontese chambers declare the dictatorship of the king without a word of remonstrance from the radical party, and every village freed from the foreign sway hastens to acknowledge the same authority. What was six months ago the *Piedmontese*, may now truly be termed the *Italian* army, since its ranks are filled by the youth, and its leaders are selected among the soldiers,* of every province of Italy.

Austria has succeeded in effecting what was long deemed impossible. Even the best friends of Italy dreaded lest the jealousy of one city against another, and the spirit of municipal independence, should prevent the combination of the different provinces for one common object. Events have already gone far towards dispelling this fear. Thanks be given unto Austria, for hers is the merit. Fearful as has been the suffering caused by her interventions, we yet believe that they have contributed more towards cementing the Italians into a nation than any other series of circumstances could have done. Hatred is a strong bond of union, and the feeling that the enemy and oppressor is one has led the Italians to the firm conviction that his expulsion is the essential preliminary to their national existence, and that common action alone can obtain the result desired by all.

No one really acquainted with the present state of Italy can doubt that the movement now in progress is both national and spontaneous. It indeed presents many remarkable features, but the one that appears to us most striking, especially if we compare it with the behaviour of the people in 1848, is the extreme calmness now observable. Then, every skirmish was celebrated

* Of the commanders of the five Sardinian divisions, three generals, Cialdini, Fanti, and Ciachiani, are natives of the Duchies.

by an illumination, every arrival or departure was the pretext for a noisy demonstration, for the walking in procession by torch-light, and the singing of patriotic hymns. Every city had its own municipal government, furnished its own band of volunteers, commanded by its own chiefs, little disposed to bow to any common leader, or to co-operate in any general plan of campaign. Now all this is changed—enthusiasm has been subordinated to discipline and turned into practical channels. A casual observer walking through the streets of Turin or Genoa, might almost doubt whether all he had heard of war and turmoil be not a dream, so calm and serious is the demeanour of the people. Closer observation, however, leads to the conviction that this calmness is produced by faith and obedience to superior orders, not by indifference. Two persons meeting, accost each other by the whispered question, is there any news from the camp? and every scrap of intelligence is commented on in low but eager tones, by small knots of men gathered together at the corners of the streets.

But, perhaps, the most striking proof of the new spirit of discipline and abnegation is the short but decisive revolution in Tuscany. The discipline of the people was shown by the Grand Duke being allowed to depart without experiencing a single insult, the abnegation of the leaders by the instant offer of the Dictatorship to Victor-Emmanuel. For Florence, with all her recollections of intellectual and artistic supremacy, to be willing to bow before a King of Piedmont, is no common proof of readiness to sacrifice for the independence of Italy. And yet truly, this was acting after the spirit of their ancestors. Machiavelli could forget the crimes of Cæsar Borgia, in the hope that he would expel the stranger, and found a strong Italian Kingdom—the modern Tuscans may then well be ready to confide their destiny to hands far different.

Abnegation alone would, however, be insufficient to work out the deliverance of Italy, or to maintain her liberty if once conquered. Did we merely see the Italian provinces put themselves into the hands of Piedmont, and call upon her to deliver them without joining actively in the war, we should have but small hope for the future. The contrary is the case. Even before the war began, volunteers from every part of Italy arrived in Piedmont. Every town sent its contingent to what all felt must henceforth be the national army. From Lombardy, Venetia, Romagna, Tuscany, and the Duchies, they poured in by scores and by hundreds, with no other ambition than to partake the severe discipline and rough fare of the hardy Piedmontese soldiers in whose ranks they were incorporated. These volunteers belonged to every rank of society, so that at the present hour there is scarcely a noble family of Northern and Central Italy, which

is not represented by one or more of its members in the regiments, now gaining honour for the Italian name. Men bearing names as noble as any in Europe, which would be a sufficient passport to the most exclusive society of either London or Paris,* are now furbishing arms, or rubbing down their horses in the Sardinian camps. So numerous are the volunteers, that Piedmont has not been obliged to call out either the second or third classes of her reserve, till within the last few weeks. During the last few weeks, the tide of the volunteer immigration has turned towards Tuscany. It were premature to hazard conjecture as to the numbers likely to be attained, or the part to be played by the army of Central Italy; but we cannot but express our strong belief that it will be found worthy to take its place beside its compeer in the north. Strong brigades are being organized at different points, by competent officers; already the vanguard has left Tuscany, and entered the Lunigiana, a frontier district of Parma, which has declared for the national cause; and before long, perhaps, events may test the valour and discipline of the whole army.

Naples and Sicily have hitherto taken an insignificant part in this great national movement, but we incline to attribute this to peculiar circumstances, rather than to the absence of patriotic feeling. We know, at least, that numerous volunteers who intended to join the national army, were prevented from doing so by the interference of the police. For it must not be forgotten, that by far the greater part of the volunteers have left their homes without passports, and escaped over the frontiers. Now this was only possible when the province they left was conterminous with Piedmont, or at least with a state offering no active opposition to their passage. For the Neapolitans this could not be. To reach Leghorn by land (the only port whence volunteers could embark for Genoa), they would have been obliged to escape the vigilance of the frontier guards and cross the States of the Church, a most difficult undertaking without a passport, while to leave Naples clandestinely by sea would have been absolutely impossible. The first acts of the new king afford little hope of his changing the system pursued by Ferdinand II., but we trust that if final victory be on the side of Italy, in Lombardy, the Neapolitans will find resolution to enforce that which their sovereign is unlikely to grant of his own free will.

It were indiscreet to speculate as to the probable duration and consequences of the present war. This much, however, is certain,

* Belgiojoso, Melzi, Visconti, San-Vitale, are names needing no comment, yet they are taken at hazard from the list. Already in the beginning of April, it was calculated, that the yearly revenues possessed by these noble volunteers amounted to no less than 600,000*l*.

Italy must be freed from Austrian domination, or fall back into a servitude far worse and more hopeless than before. Not only she herself, but, to judge by the colossal efforts making by France, the emperor Napoleon is resolved to strain every nerve to attain the first result. For some time to come the war is likely to be confined to Northern and Central Italy, and while it is so it seems decided on all hands that England is to remain a passive spectator of the contest. But we can imagine circumstances in which the contest might be carried into other regions, although its object were still the independence of Italy. The fortresses of Mantua and Verona (not to mention Peschiera, Legnago, Venice, and others of less note), are of prodigious strength, and no doubt Austria, though driven from the whole of the open country, will refuse to yield, and will await events behind the walls of her strongholds, prepared for resistance by years of toil.

We are convinced that the French Emperor has no thought of attacking the German Confederation, but should the hypothesis we have made prove correct, would he not be justified in carrying the war into the eastern provinces of Austria, which by no means belong to that Confederation? Ought such a step on his part to induce England to deviate from her neutrality? Before concluding, we propose briefly to examine these questions.

Napoleon III. has solemnly declared that his object in this war is not conquest but the liberation of Italy. To attain that end, then, it appears to us that he has a right to attack his adversary in every vulnerable point. We are aware that an invasion of the eastern provinces might easily cause a dissolution of the Austrian empire, for Hungary and her sister states, even more deeply injured than Italy, are no less disaffected, and would no doubt hail with joy the presence of a deliverer. But should such an event come to pass, would the total dissolution of the empire of Austria be a great, or indeed any real, misfortune to England? We believe exactly the contrary.

Austria, though a vast, is by no means a strong or an homogeneous empire. Her strength lies in her army,* her fortresses, and her preparations for war, which may enable her to resist external attack for a certain time; but her existence, ever in danger from internal commotion, is rather a menace than a security to the balance of power in Europe, which would be far better guaranteed (even supposing France to obtain some augmentation of territory and influence) by the creation of a free and powerful state in the north of Italy, with fifteen or sixteen millions of inhabitants, by the reconstruction of an independent kingdom in

* The battle of Magenta may induce some doubt, however, as to the real efficiency of this boasted engine of her power.

the valley of the Danube, which would obviate in a great measure the peril to be apprehended from the falling to pieces of Turkey, and by the increased importance which would necessarily accrue to Prussia, were she the only first-rate power in Germany. Such a change in the map of Europe would, in our belief, be far more favourable to the real commercial and political interests of free and Protestant England, than the further maintenance of the artificial arrangements made in 1815.

We can understand that England should be opposed to another series of conquests, such as those of the first Napoleon in the beginning of the century; but there is a vast difference between this and active, or even passive, support of Austria. We cannot admit that any reasons of temporary expediency could justify one free nation in assisting to bind the chains of another, and we must believe any Englishman who shall be found advocating such a course, either directly or indirectly, to be under gross delusion as to the real character of the Austrian Government. Let Austria fight for her own preservation,—if she can maintain her ground against the Italians, backed up as they now are, they do not deserve freedom; but if the soldiers who have pillaged unresisting villages, who have ill-used defenceless peasants in every possible manner, and who are commanded by generals who do not blush to threaten whole towns with pillage and total destruction, and their inhabitants with instant death, should the latter not give instant information of the approach of French or Italian patrols, or of single emissaries, whether in uniform or in disguise, or should even a single individual give notice of the movements of the Austrians, or of any persons belonging to their army,* prove unable, as they have hitherto done, to withstand the attack of their adversaries, let Austria abide the issue, whatever it may be. If, encouraged by the example of Italy, Hungary seize this opportunity to regain her lost liberty; if Croatia and the other provinces rise to punish the ill-faith which lured them to their own suffering, let not man seek to obstruct the justice of God, which though often long de-

* See the proclamation issued by Baron Zobel, commanding the I and K 7th corps at Mortara, 24th May, 1859. Nor are other Austrian proclamations less remarkable. In his order, dated Gaslasco, 24th May, Count Gyulai gave his word of honour that any village, an inhabitant of which should commit any offence against the Imperial armies, should be punished by fire and sword; and in Milan itself, the Governor Andor Meleyerde Kelleme, published a list of eleven political crimes punishable by instant death, threats being included in the number. We may also cite the order of Marshal Lieutenant Urban, at Varese, demanding three millions of lire (100,000*l.*), from that small town, within twenty hours, and menacing the utmost severity in case of the very least resistance. Can a power, the chief generals of which issue and are ready to execute such orders, be considered by any one a fit ally for free and liberal England?

layed, sooner or later overtakes the evil-doer. Should England put forth her strength to save Austria from destruction, a day will come when she will repent, that having the choice of honourable neutrality, she preferred spending her millions and pouring out her blood in behalf of the oppressor instead of the oppressed. The third Napoleon is now enacting in Italy the part that England herself played in Spain half a century ago. She then freely gave both blood and treasure to secure the independence of a nation, which might be said to be nothing to her. Now that another is struggling for the same great cause on another field, let not jealousy of the influence to be thus acquired, or over-suspicion as to the motives that have prompted, or fear of the magnitude of the consequences that may ensue from this contest, lead her into a misconception as to the principle contended for or the aim to be attained. Let the English Government and Parliament give ear to the voice of the nation, as expressed by the Lord Mayor and the City of London in their address to the Queen: let England remain aloof in her sea-girt isle, and let the prayer of all her free children be that put up by the judges of a single combat in the middle ages—God defend the right!

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

ACCORDING to Dr. J. H. Newman,¹ knowledge is either natural or supernatural, and is derived from distinct fields of objects, as well as communicated by different instrumentalities. The field of natural knowledge is the world or universe, into relation with which we are brought by our senses and by our moral and intellectual faculties; the field of supernatural knowledge is "the more marvellous universe," of which God himself is the fulness, and which can only become known to us through other faculties specially derived from Him. This distinction is really founded upon a dualism which excludes God from the kingdom of nature and from the reason of man, and is supported by assuming the existence of faculties in some men not common to all, but peculiar to the chosen ones, and immediately bestowed by God himself. And the conclusion drawn from this separation of the kingdoms of Nature and Spirit is this, that the knowledge which belongs to the one kingdom can never really clash with that which belongs to the other. So that "theology and science, whether in their respective ideas, or again in their own actual fields on the whole, are incommunicable, incapable of collision, and needing at most to be connected, never to be reconciled." p. 225. And if this contrast be admitted between theology and science generally, it is especially marked between theology and physics—the science which is concerned about matter. For the physicist can only observe, record, classify, watch, anticipate, and, to a certain extent, elicit phenomena; he cannot penetrate into sources or causes, neither discover whence the world was, nor how long it shall last, nor as to matter, whether it is self-existent or created, whether it ever began to be or shall ever come to nought. Theology, on the other hand, is concerned, not with phenomena or results, but with the "cause and source of things"—the "Author of Nature." "It begins at the other end of knowledge, and is occupied, not with the finite but with the Infinite," not with matter but with mind, not with this world but with the supreme Creator, not with the body but with the soul and its life in a world to come. Physics and theology scarcely touch each other, and where they do touch "have no intercommunion, have no ground of difference or agreement, of jealousy or of sympathy," p. 231. It is, therefore, quite groundless for religious persons, under the teaching of the "Catholic" Church, to entertain any apprehension of the discoveries of science, as

¹ "Lectures and Essays on University Subjects." By John H. Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. London: Longmans. 1859.

if they could in any way be found to clash with revelation,—with matters of faith. But then,

“It is true that revelation has in one or two instances advanced beyond its chosen territory, which is the invisible world, in order to throw light upon the history of the material universe. Holy Scripture, it is perfectly true, does declare a few momentous facts, *so few that they may be counted*, of a physical character. It speaks of a formation out of chaos, which occupied six days; it speaks of the firmament; of the sun and moon being created for the sake of the earth; of the earth being immovable; of a great deluge; and of several other similar facts and events. It is true; nor is there any reason why we should not accept these statements in their letter, *whatever that letter actually means*; but at the same time we must recollect that *what* it means has seldom being determined in the case of these statements, or very partially, by any authoritative interpretation, and that, in the absence of that interpretation, there is perhaps some presumption in saying, that it means this, and does not mean that.”—(p. 237.)

Physics, therefore, and theology can scarcely clash because they occupy totally distinct fields, and where a collision might be apprehended, none such can really happen, until science has clearly ascertained its facts, and the Scriptural statements which appear in contradiction to them have been *authoritatively* interpreted. But though physics and theology cannot quarrel, physical philosophers and theologians may and do.

To those of us who cannot convince ourselves of the existence of any such authority as is supposed to reside in the Roman Catholic Church, nor even trace the logical process by which others have come to believe in it, this escape from a difficulty, under the silence of the infallible interpreter, may appear a subtilty and a subterfuge. Nevertheless, as we must allow that others may have sincerely so convinced themselves individual members of the Roman Church may seem to enjoy a greater practical freedom in their scientific conclusions than those Protestants who feel themselves tied down at all points to the mere letter of Scripture. And if the apparent clash of Scriptural declarations with scientifically ascertained mundane facts were really confined to the instances quoted by Dr. Newman, “which can be counted on the fingers,” many even among Protestants might be satisfied with something like the solution which he proposes, and be content to accept the results of scientific investigations as they emerge, without being compelled to affix any special meaning to a few Scriptural passages which might seem at variance with them.

Perhaps it should arouse some surprise that Dr. Newman should maintain, with respect to Theology and Physics, that they need no reconciliation, only connexion, and that he makes no reference on such a subject to the great mystery in his own church, that of Transubstantiation. For in the Eucharist, science plainly declares one thing and Roman theology another; and, not to pursue that subject polemically, it is strange that an eminent theologian should pass it by as not requiring reconciliation, when natural knowledge specifies a substance to be of wheaten grains, grown in a given field in the year 1858, and supernatural knowledge reveals it to be a body, born of a woman as

many years ago. To return, however, to the contradictions, real or apparent, between Scripture and science, they are by no means confined to the few astronomical or geological instances indicated by Dr. Newman. The whole range of the Scripture Miracles requires solution, if a Scriptural Theology is to be brought into unison or reconciled with modern science. It is not possible so to part off the doctrinal Theology of the New Testament especially, from the record of the facts out of which it arises, as to escape the necessity for inquiring what, after all, the facts were, really and substantially. Granting, for a moment, that the doctrine of the Trinity is a Scriptural one, it is one of few doctrines which can be said to lie wholly in the transcendental region, where there is neither proof nor disproof. Like doctrines are indeed those of the Atonement as popularly understood, of the Intercessory Mediation of Jesus Christ, of Sacramental efficacy, which, whether they be true or not, do not admit of verification, and, beyond supplying certain grounds of appeal, have little practical bearing. Others, however, are more closely connected with alleged physical facts, such as the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the Resurrection, the Ascension. Moreover, there is a great mass of miracle recorded in the New Testament, concerning which it cannot be said, that it so wholly belongs to the region of Nature and Physics as that the reality or unreality of the facts has no bearing upon the Christian Theology; nor, on the other hand, do the miraculous narratives so exclusively belong, at least on the face of them, to the region of supernatural and supersensual knowledge as that the materiality of the facts becomes unimportant. At least it does not as yet so appear to the English understanding. If, indeed, a person like Dr. Newman, who has penetrated deeply, not only polemically but experimentally, into the Protestant as well as into the Romish Theology, were to assure us that the contra-physical narratives of the New Testament need not, theologically, be accepted according to the letter, that they might be taken *symbolically*, that the interpretation of them was an open question which no sufficient authority had as yet determined, he would diffuse a sense of relief far beyond the limits of his present communion. No one could render a greater service to the cause of the Christian religion than he who should remove from it the stumbling-block of the contra-physical narratives contained in the Gospels. For the very facts which at some periods, and even recently, have been relied on as the most substantial evidences of the specially divine origin of Christianity, have now become the greatest obstacles to its reception.

There has hitherto appeared no work in England undertaking to supply an impartial discussion of the subject of miracles. There are not wanting books of an extreme character on different sides—on one side pointing out in a striking, but sometimes contemptuous and offensive manner, the objections to a literal acceptation of the miraculous narratives in the New Testament; on another, repeating worn-out platitudes with an equally contemptuous ignoring of the difficulties of sincere and thoughtful persons. To supply this want; and to attempt “a perfectly *impartial*, candid, and unpolemical discussion of the subject of *miracles*, imperatively demanded at the present day, in immediate

connexion with the vast progress of physical knowledge," is the object of Professor Powell's "Third Series of Essays."²

No one is better qualified to review the relation in which physical knowledge has stood to theology at different periods of human history, and no one is endowed with a more calm temper in which to approach the consideration of opinions prevailing in our own day. So far from the view expressed by Dr. Newman, of the entire separation of the fields of Physics and Theology having been generally received, they have always been esteemed to be most intimately connected. We cannot follow Professor Powell through his interesting historical sketch of the progress of physical science, with interspersed notices of its bearing upon theological questions at different periods, as we must reserve our space for another portion of the work. But we must commend the following observations to the serious reflection of religious persons who are alarmed at the increased cultivation of physical science among us, and especially at the growing conviction in the minds of educated persons that the laws of the divine universe do not suffer interruption:—

"Though there exists among us a very considerable amount of scepticism, and even positive and avowed disbelief in Christianity as a Divine Revelation, or in its peculiar doctrines in detail, that disbelief may be in all cases traced up to the influence, *not* of physical, but of *metaphysical* and *moral* speculation.

"And if we venture to look at all to individual examples, it may be confidently affirmed that scarcely one single instance, among ourselves at the present day, can be adduced of a physical philosopher who has published or avowed opinions hostile to the Christian doctrines, while several have written in defence and support of them. If such men feel the necessity for enlarged views of universal order, and discard the idea of *physical* interruptions, this has in no instance led to any rejection of the moral and spiritual teaching of the Gospel."—(pp. 214, 215.)

To a certain extent, indeed, Professor Powell appears to agree with Dr. Newman. He does not, it is true, allow, in one sense, that there is any *supernatural* truth, for the supernatural is only the offspring of ignorance and superstition. But neither can natural knowledge or natural theology do more than conduct us to the vestibule of the higher Theism. And the more exalted conceptions of a Creator, of a personal God, a moral Governor, must be derived from some other source. And Professor Powell especially instances, with respect to the idea of Creation, that physical science shows no trace of a beginning such as is implied in that theological term; and more than that, as the idea is not met with among the Greeks, so is it philosophically inconceivable, and Mr. Mansel's admission is quoted to that effect. But then Mr. Powell adds—

"The idea of creation is wholly one of *revelation*, accepted by *faith*; and, if guided by Christianity, the assertion of it will rest in the *general* expression, and will never degenerate into an admixture with the obsolete cosmogonies of

* "The Order of Nature considered in Reference to the Claims of Revelation." A Third Series of Essays. By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London: Longmans. 1859.

older dispensations. *By faith* we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God (Heb. xi. 3).”—(p. 257.)

To our apprehension, it rather appears that the Jewish mode of thought prevails throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that reference is made in it to the historical creation of Genesis. But a creation out of nothing is really inconceivable and can neither be concluded from scientific observation nor be the object of a revelation.

The greatest interest, however, will centre upon the third Essay in the present volume, especially considering the author's academical and clerical position. In it he examines “the rationalistic and other theories of miracles,” which have been proposed for the purpose of solving the difficulties of the miraculous narratives of the New Testament, of ascertaining their probable origin, and fixing their value. Solvents have been applied to certain portions of the Old Testament, such as to the relation of the sun and moon standing still, and the shadow going back on the sun-dial of Ahaz, with much more freedom than they have to the miraculous narratives of the New Testament: but they have not been altogether discouraged relatively to the New Testament, even by persons of orthodox reputation, with respect to some portions or details. Little, however, was attempted towards anything of a systematic reconciliation until the time of Semler, who may be considered the founder of the rationalistic school. His method was chiefly critical, and was ripened by Paulus into what is called, properly speaking, the naturalistic scheme. Controversial divines have been too prone to ascribe an irreligious motive to all speculators and critics who attempt such methods of conciliation. But, so little could any such motive be fairly attributed to Paulus, that his purpose was to vindicate the truth of the New Testament against the attack made upon it in the Wolfenbützel Fragments. Nevertheless, the solutions of Paulus, which undertake to find a natural basis for all the New Testament miracles, though they may occasionally suggest a true source of the narrative, and are generally plausible, yet are frequently, as Professor Powell justly describes them—

“Of a trivial, far-fetched, and laboured kind; and the immense multitude of coincidences and combinations of circumstances and extraordinary occurrences, which it thus becomes necessary to suppose concentrated in one short period, presents too complex a mass of hypotheses to furnish a real and satisfactory theory of the whole series of the evangelical miracles.”—(p. 333.)

Then follows an exposition of the hypothesis of Strauss, and the necessity is pointed out, of distinguishing between the destructive and constructive portions of his work, between his criticism in detail of the Gospel histories and his theory of myth. And it is explained to the English reader, who may have been much misled by tirades in Evangelical periodicals, that “a *myth* is a doctrine expressed in a narrative form, an abstract moral or spiritual truth dramatised in action and personification, where the object is to enforce faith, not in the parable, but in the moral” (p. 340). But these myths are not to be supposed to have been composed as fictions out of a set purpose, much less out of a deceptive one; on the contrary, to have been a spon-

taneous growth—and the important inquiry relative to the mythical theory of Strauss is this, whether there was time for the development of myth between the events reported and the composition of the fabulous narratives in which they are now handed down. Allowing the force of many of Strauss's criticisms, and the facility with which Messianic ideas might agglutinate themselves round the historical nucleus of the life of Jesus, Mr. Powell again considers the Straussian hypothesis to be unsatisfactory as supplying a solution *generally* of the miraculous narratives of the Gospels.

The next theory passed in review is that of Feuerbach, which would resolve the supernatural stories by referring them to the force of imagination; and it is difficult to say to what length in an individual case the exaggerating or distorting power of the imagination may not extend. But here, as before, it is felt that the one key will not fit all the complications of the records as they have come down to us, nor account for the details of the histories, scarcely account satisfactorily for the details of a few.

Ewald's Life of Christ is then briefly noticed; that distinguished biblicist, though his meaning is often enveloped in vague expressions—and he sometimes stops short when he appears on the point of some definite conclusion—has this advantage over other reconcoilers, that he does not stake everything upon one hypothesis; he adopts at some times solutions akin to those of the older rationalists; at others, and as his more peculiar principle, supposes an overpowering spiritual influence to have issued from Jesus. And a dominant spiritual nature may have exercised such a sway upon the minds and affections of the disciples as to have effected some of the results which are ascribed to their faith, and may account for the popular belief and record of many more. Still, the application of this solution can only have a limited range.

As little satisfaction is to be derived from the speculations of Neander; for the throwing the miracles of the New Testament into the background, and assigning them only a subordinate place in the scheme of the divine manifestation in Jesus, is not to solve the difficulty of reconciling them with the uniform order of natural laws. The question to the practical English mind is—*Did the events happen as related, or did they not?* Mr. Powell concludes, that we have not really the data requisite for a minute examination of the miracles; "we cannot recal the conditions or cross-examine the witnesses:" and he directs attention to a wise remark of Neander's, "*we deem it better to acknowledge a problem unsolved than to gain attempts at solution on the one side or the other, which will not satisfy a clear thinker*" (p. 372). It seems to us, that much of the difficulty in this case arises from a self-imposed necessity, a necessity for reconciling the observed order of the kosmos with the Gospel narratives presumed to be part of a divine scheme, or at least to claim to be part of a divine scheme. Now, in fact, they do not claim for themselves anything of the kind, or profess to be more than compilations of traditions. They are a *result* of Christianity during a certain period and under certain circumstances, they are not a part of Christianity itself. And we possess important evidence to show, that before the publication of these narratives, and

by the first Apostolic teachers, no stress was laid on miracles like those which form so large a portion of the Gospel histories. Thus St. Paul does not quote the present Gospels, which were not compiled when he wrote, nor any traditions like them:—

“He makes no reference to any of the Gospel miracles, except only those specially connected with the personal office and nature of Christ; and even these are never insisted on in their physical details, but solely in their spiritual and doctrinal application.

“Thus the resurrection of Christ is emphatically dwelt upon, not in its physical letter, but in its doctrinal spirit; not as a physiological phenomenon, but as the corner-stone of Christian faith and hope, the type of spiritual life here and the assurance of eternal life hereafter. . . . And in this spiritual sense has the Christian Church in all ages acknowledged these Divine mysteries and miracles, ‘not of sight, but of faith’—not expounded by science, but delivered in traditional formularies—celebrated in festivals and solemnities by sacred rites and symbols—embodied in the creations of art, and proclaimed by choral harmonies.”—(pp. 459, 460.)

Mr. Mansel has prefixed to the third edition of his *Bampton Lectures* an additional preface,² in which he adverts to some points touched on by different critics. A work of so much ambition as the lectures themselves, especially when somewhat peremptory in its tone, would naturally provoke controversy and from very opposite quarters. The purpose of the author was to assign limits to reason in matter of religion, without narrowing the range of faith. And his special difficulty lies in this, that he comprehends faith as a form of religious thought common to humanity, so that some at least of the limitations applied to the reason must apply to faith likewise. As a form of thought, faith requires the same distinct conception of its object which reason does; and if distinct conceptions of the divine are not possible to reason, they are not possible to faith. With other theologians this difficulty is often turned aside by the assumption that Christian faith is a divinely imparted grace, which gives an insight into things hidden from unassisted reason and from ordinary human credence. But by such an assumption the ground of a common principle of appeal as between the Christian advocate and the sceptic would be abandoned, and Mr. Mansel does not resort to any such violent method. The consequence is that his doctrine of limitation is a two-edged sword, which cuts both at reason and faith, though he does not appear to recognise that it does; for after saying in his second preface—

“It is obvious that, if there is any object whatever of which the human mind is unable to form a clear and distinct conception, the inability equally disqualifies us for proving or disproving a given doctrine in all cases in which such a conception is an indispensable condition of the argument,”—(p. 7.)

he adds in a line or two further on, respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, “Such mysteries clearly belong not to reason but to faith;” as if an object of faith need not to be clearly conceived as well as an object of demonstration; as if before we can say we believe, disbelieve, or sus-

² Preface to the third edition of Mansel's “*Bampton Lectures*.” London: John Murray. 1859.

pend judgment, we must not of necessity present to ourselves what it is that we so accept, or reject, or hesitate about. And he continues—

“The preliminary inquiry which distinguishes a reasonable from an unreasonable belief, must be directed not to the premises by which the *doctrine* can be proved or disproved as reasonable or unreasonable, but to the nature of the authority on which it rests as revealed or unrevealed.—(p. 7.)

It is true that we are no sufficient judges beforehand whether events are likely to happen, or to have happened, which yet we may upon sufficient evidence accept as having happened, any more than we are able before our knowledge is adequately advanced to appreciate truths which admit of actual demonstration. But in the one case, as much as in the other, the question must be put before us clearly—both before we can accept or reject upon evidence, and before we can weigh the steps in a demonstration. The clear putting of the question to be decided upon evidence, must precede the inquiry as to the nature and value of the evidence alleged. In this case, the clear putting of the supposed fact or doctrine must precede any inquiry as to the revelation on which it is alleged to rest, or as to what is meant by a revelation, or as to whether a revelation in the sense required is itself conceivable; in other words, first of all must come the ascertaining whether the doctrine or the fact proposed is conceivable by the reason; for things may be conceivable by the imagination which are not conceivable by the reason, as a Centaur, a Cerberus, a Chimera, a man half marble, as in the Arabian tale. And the existence of such monsters may even be vouched for by sacred tradition, by an authority claiming to be of the nature of a revelation. By the uninstructed mind such things are imagined as real, for the uninstructed mind does not as yet perceive the incongruities which they involve. As the reason becomes enlightened they are relegated to the region of poetry. But the first question for the reason is, whether these existences are conceivable without self-contradiction, and not until they were found to be conceivable could a further question even arise, whether the revelation, or tradition, which declared them as facts, were worthy of credit. Indeed until found conceivable, and the notions of them parted off from other notions, even a revelation concerning them would be non-significant. Hence the futility of the refuge which old-fashioned theologians provide for themselves when they plead, that mysteries impenetrable by reason are to be received by faith. For faith no more penetrates that which is hidden, the infinite or the absolute, than reason does, and reason acknowledges its weakness in the presence of the unknown as well as faith. Neither is there any service in the distinction sometimes drawn between that which is contrary to reason, and that which is above reason, for expressions which attempt to convey that which is above reason are simply unintelligible. If one should say, “*This is a round square,*” the proposition would be contrary to reason; but if he should say, “*It is a round square, but its roundness and squareness are different from what you understand by roundness and squareness,*” then his doctrine would be unintelligible, his words non-significant. So, if in delivering the doctrine of the

Trinity, theologians employ the word "persons" to express a threefold relation within the divine unity, they are naturally met with the objection that it is unreasonable, because inconceivable to suppose three consciousnesses in one consciousness; and if it is replied, we use the word "person" in a sense above reason, in a sense to which the definition of an individual consciousness does not apply, then is their doctrine mere sound, non-significant, as unmeaning to faith as it is to reason. It is further, as we understand them, a principal object of the lectures to show that reason and faith mutually limit each other; that reason cannot undertake to prove or disprove all things, especially Divine things, demonstratively; and that faith degenerates into credulity if it accepts, without examination of evidence, all things alike which are propounded to it. Now, if these faculties thus debate concerning how much in human thought properly falls to the share of each, each must alike have a clear conception of the matter in dispute, or a conception at least equally clear or equally indistinct. Thus the conclusions even of the demonstrative reason are to a certain extent hypothetical and only probable, because the conceptions with which the reason deals can only inadequately and uncertainly represent their objects.

"If we have not such a conception of the Divine nature as is sufficient for the *à priori* demonstration of religious truths, our rational conviction in any particular case must be regarded not as a *certainty*, but as a probability."—Pref. to third edition (p. 8).

And again—

"If the infinite can only be apprehended under finite symbols, and the authority of those symbols tested by finite evidences, there is always room for error, in consequence of the inadequacy of the conception to express completely the nature of the object."—(*ib.*)

When faith, therefore, receives a testimony concerning the Divine through the evidence of that which *claims* to be a revelation, there is compounded with the uncertainty which belongs to all human thought in consequence of the inadequate and hypothetical character attached to its symbols, a further uncertainty respecting the validity of the claim. Hence faith in a revelation, at least such a faith as Mr. Mansel seems to contemplate, cannot supplement the defects of our natural conceptions of divine things, but rather imports into them a new element of probability, that is, of uncertainty. And with respect to the regulative power ascribed to faith in matters of belief as well as of practice, it is not very intelligible how faith can determine itself. On evidence far short of demonstration we are often bound to *act*—but we cannot make the improbable appear probable, or receive the unproved as proved, by believing that we ought to do so. Possibly Mr. Mansel has no such meaning, yet he seems to think that it is our *duty* to believe in a certain way. He must perceive that this can only be true indirectly, that it is not our duty to *have* a right belief—which from our circumstances and capacities may not be in our power, but to *take pains in order that we may have* a right belief. As neither when a juror is weighing the probable evidence submitted

to him, is it his duty to come to a right conclusion, but to *endeavour* by attention and impartiality to come to a right one.

From the brief notices in this Preface, if from no other source, it would appear that the Bampton Lectures have not proved such a triumph for orthodoxy as at one time was expected; in demolishing the bugbear of the Philosophy of the Infinite they have opened many questions in a somewhat startling form for the orthodox—and on no point probably will they ultimately render more service to the cause of truth than in directing attention to a fresh examination of the evidences of Christianity. If Mr. Mansel should himself pursue that investigation, he will not, we are convinced, find the issue so simple as he appears to anticipate. It will not turn out merely to be an alternative, whether the historical Jesus is demonstrably by reason, or credibly by faith to be described in the terms of the ecclesiastical creeds, or to be denounced as an “impostor.” In the meantime, Mr. Mansel has cleared away some incumbrances from the ground preparatory to a fresh elaboration of the evidences; for if he has shown, that on philosophical and purely abstract principles it is not legitimate to take exception, *à priori*, to a supposed revelation on the ground of its *contents*, so on the other hand it will follow from what he has laid down, that, *à priori*, we are not justified in expecting a supernatural revelation, either at all, or at a particular juncture.

Although no human mind is capable of *à priori* judgment in such a sense as would imply a comprehension of all-being with the multifarious relations of its parts—there are principles or axioms, though they be but shadows of truths and incomplete, and themselves not altogether primary, but derivative and the result of observation, not altogether Catholic, or equally recognised, but temporary by reason of their imperfectness—which yet deserve the name of *à priori* principles relatively. Philosophy therefore has a fluctuating form, and the office of a history of Philosophy is to trace these fluctuations, and to note how they are dependent upon the circumstances of the human being; upon the state in which he finds himself and the energy which he puts forth; upon that which he inherits, combined with that which he gains, upon his preconceptions and upon his observations. And Dr. Ritter⁵ truly remarks, that philosophy, with all its pretensions of being the mistress and guide of human life, is itself a product. Other guides and leaders, as Church and State, instead of being pure causes are products of that which has gone before, and as well as philosophy are collective results, guides and leaders only to individuals. Philosophy attempts as far as possible to assign causes, to indicate ideas, at least to point out laws. But no philosophy has proved itself absolute, each becomes obsolete in its turn—is only hypothetical and dependent upon the advance of science which furnishes its material. Philosophy sometimes taking leaps in advance, and in the dark, or the twilight, makes happy anticipations, sometimes efforts which end in

⁵ “Die Christliche Philosophie nach ihrem Begriff, ihren äussern Verhältnissen und in ihrer Geschichte bis auf die neuesten Zeiten.” Von Dr. Heinrich Ritter. Erster Band. London: D. Nutt. 1858.

nothing. Christianity has both modified philosophy and been modified by it. It is not originally a philosophy, but it entered the world at a time when it was full of philosophical doctrines. The philosophies struggled for it, taking for granted, however, the facts related in its original records.

In lapse of time the facts of Christianity have become an immense aggregate; they are the facts of Christendom, of the life of a large portion of the civilized world. But in all the stages of this formation, the preconceptions belonging to each age have modified both its theology and its philosophy. Thus it cannot be doubted that Gnosticism had its root in the same problems which gave birth also to Christianity—namely, in an unrest and disquietude of heart respecting the power of evil, and in a yearning after some solution of its appearance, and after some promise of its overthrow. The answers attempted to these questions, concerning the origin and dominion of evil, fell necessarily into two principal forms and implied two different theories. The one answer rested upon a theory of a dualism apparently confirmed by observation of the course of the world. The other answer, to avoid a dualism, would represent the good principle as the source of all, and the evil as only secondary, originated, subordinate—the yearnings of the heart confirm this theory. Christianity as originally taught subordinated the principle of evil, but the stronger dualism of the East had many struggles with it under the form of Manichæism; and even ultimately modified it in the Augustinian and Calvinistic doctrine by the extent ascribed to human corruption, the range allowed to the kingdom of Satan, and the irrevocableness of damnation. A curious instance of the strange attempts made in the early Christian period to reconcile Biblical tradition with floating opinion concerning good and evil, is met with in the *Clementines*, not mentioned, we think, by Dr. Ritter, where, in a singular kind of Trinity, the Father is represented with his Son Jesus on his right hand, and Satan on his left. Moreover, the Christian doctrine was confirmed in a quasi-dualism, by its repugnance to Valentinianism. For it was common to Valentinianism, and the emanation doctrines generally, to represent all imperfect natures as outgoings in their several degrees from the one Source of All: thus the existence of the imperfect is accounted for as an outgoing from the perfect. But the highest good of such an imperfect nature must be that it should return to its native source, and be absorbed into its origin. In contrast with this, Christianity taught the expectation of the originally imperfect elevating itself and becoming assimilated to the perfect. Midway also between the dualistic doctrine and the doctrine of emanation and evolution, appears to be that which has long been the generally received Christian doctrine of a creation out of nothing. But that doctrine is nowhere clearly laid down in Scripture, and assumed its sharpness by a logical necessity between other doctrines. We have no means here of giving anything like an analysis or description of this portion of Dr. Ritter's truly noble work, and have merely touched upon a single specimen of the sort of matter, of which a rich supply is prepared for the theological student. A history of the genesis of doctrine, and of the changes to

which it has been subject, is especially valuable at the present time, when on the one hand it is maintained that Christian doctrine has been unchanged and is unchangeable, while on the other its origin is inquired into with a sifting and not always friendly scrutiny. This very dogma of a Creation out of nothing is now called in question by the closest thinkers. For, 1. A creation out of nothing is inconceivable. 2. There is no more trace of a beginning in fact than in thought, in observed existence than in speculation. 3. The absence of the doctrine in documents of Jewish origin is psychologically necessary, for the Jewish mind held quite aloof from all attempts to conceive absolute and unconditioned eternity, either *a parte ante*, or *a parte post*. 4. The presence of the doctrine in the patristic period is accounted for as a controversial consequence. 5. Its absence from the creeds is both an evidence that it was not considered essential in the primitive Church, and that it may fairly remain an open question with Christian people in time to come. But whether objectively true or not, the creation-doctrine retains its historical importance, as a key of theology, through the whole of the patristic and scholastic periods, and is connected with all the distinctions ultimately so sharply drawn between spirit and matter, the natural and the supernatural. The very foundations of modern science were laid by the schoolmen, who so distinguished between the realm of nature and of knowledge and the realm of grace and revelation. When nature plainly ceased to be sacred, it became lawful for man to interrogate her closely. The naturalist had no need thenceforward to be deterred from his researches by any fear of making a goddess bleed. But the results of modern science having been obtained, it may turn out that the distinctions which formerly rendered them possible to men are not tenable and must be modified.

Dr. Ritter brings down to the close of the scholastic period this portion of the most important work for the history of doctrine and philosophy which has appeared for many years.

We must not be very sanguine as to the discovery of any new facts which can throw light upon the origin of the Gospels, and must neither push old evidence or new to conclusions which it will not fairly sustain. And in no branch of the Gospel question is this caution more necessary than in that which is concerned about the original language of the first Gospel. This inquiry, says Mr. Roberts,⁶ meets the student at the very threshold of the New Testament, and is not only first in the order in which it occurs to him, but in many respects also in the importance which belongs to it. Authorities are nearly equally divided on the point, and there are, of course, theological considerations which tend to give a bias on either side to the decisions of critics. Mr. Roberts is not insensible to the bearing which a decision as to the original language of that Gospel must have upon the questions of the canon and of the inspiration of Scripture. But although the

⁶ "Inquiry into the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel, with Relative Discussions on the Language of Palestine in the time of Christ, and on the Origin of the Gospels. By the Rev. Alexander Roberts, M.A., Minister of the Presbyterian Church, St. John's Wood. London: S. Bagster and Sons. 1859.

conclusion to which he comes, in favour of the present Greek being the original work of St. Matthew, coincides with that which his views of inspiration and of the canon would require, he has conducted his examination with great coolness and impartiality, and generally with that respect for the opinions of others which is becoming a scholar.* Necessary to the establishment of the proper originality of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is a settlement of the question as to Greek having been the generally spoken language in Palestine at the period to which that Gospel relates. Mr. Roberts does not carry his conclusion on this part of the subject beyond the fact, that Aramaic and Greek were *concurrently* spoken at that time, the former as the vernacular of the common people, the latter as the language of the better educated classes. He thinks, indeed, that the fact of the books of the New Testament (leaving out of the question, for the present, the first Gospel) having been composed in Greek, although some of them, as for instance the Epistle to the Hebrews, written obviously from Jews to Jews, shows the Greek to have been more than concurrent with the Aramaic, to have been the prevalent language. And for literary purposes undoubtedly it was. But we cannot suppose it to have been equally prevalent or dominant with all classes alike, in the country as in the city. And when the verbal coincidences of the three first Gospels, especially in their reports of the words of Jesus, are relied on as proving that they record his *ipsissima verba*, and that these words must therefore have been Greek, the inference is carried beyond the warrant of the facts. For it can hardly be maintained, that *never* in the course of his ministry did Jesus address the common people in the vernacular, as when he "went through the villages teaching," or when he entered into the Synagogue and read and expounded.—(Is. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 17.) Nor can it be supposed, whatever extension and *prevalence* of the Greek language in Palestine may be conceded, that all words of other interlocutors which are given in Greek in the Gospels were uttered in Greek—such as addresses from poor lepers, exclamations from the populace, and the like. In the Acts of the Apostles it is expressly said on one occasion, that Paul employed the Hebrew tongue (Acts xxi. 40), although his speech is given in Greek. But it must naturally have been so, that those who recorded the events, or put the tradition in a literary form, would employ the language locally dominant, the language more universally diffused and more likely to be permanent. They would not make a patchwork of Aramaic and Greek, any more than an English missionary in India, though he would use at different times his own language or the native dialect, would hesitate to record his transactions in English only. The

* An exception, however, to this general tone of deference to those from whom he differs is to be met with in a note at page 144. Dr. Donaldson, in his "Christian Orthodoxy," drew a fair distinction between infallibility of Scripture and canonicity of Scripture. Whether the one always accompanies the other or not is a question to be argued by Biblical critics; at all events, the terms do not mutually imply each other; which Mr. Roberts, not perceiving or not allowing, stigmatizes Dr. Donaldson's work as "a clever but infidel and pernicious publication."

verbal correspondences in the three first Gospels are accounted for, because the composers of them thought in Greek—in the Greek then current—and intended to give an account of the same events or discourses, as handed down, although in many cases the traditions may have been delivered to them, or the words uttered, in Aramaic. And the coincidence in forms of expression, particularly in the record of words spoken, between the first and the second and third synoptics, leads to the conclusion that its Greek is not a translation, but is Greek as original as the Greek of the two others. But much more evidence than we at present possess is required as to the authorship of the synoptics before we can, with any certainty, conclude further, that discourses and expressions in which they concur were words actually spoken. There is no evidence as to any of the three, and as to the second and third it is not even pretended, that they were the work of eye and ear witnesses. And the discrepancy in the spoken words of Jesus, between the first and fourth Gospels, which are claimed to be the works of actual witnesses, more than neutralizes the inferences from the verbal coincidences of the first three.*

Mr. Roberts is quite justified in attributing little importance to the external evidence, such as it is, commencing with an Eusebian quotation of Papias, for the existence of an Aramaic Gospel by St. Matthew. If, however, any remains were to be discovered of a writing which could fairly lay claim to be considered an original Aramaic Gospel, a value would certainly be given to that vague tradition, which of itself, and as yet, it does not possess. Those who are disposed to be sanguine respecting the pretensions of Dr. Cureton's recently-published Syriac Gospels, as more nearly representing the original St. Matthew than the present Greek does, will find some very cogent reasons at pp. 122—132 for regarding them as obviously a translation, and a translation of no great critical utility.

With the sincerest purpose of being impartial for which we have already given Mr. Roberts credit, his prepossessions on the subject of inspiration may detract in some degree with the critical reader from the weight of what he has advanced. Thus he says:—

“It should be borne in mind that while we are not at liberty to call in the inspiration of the writers of Scripture to aid us in solving a difficulty which arises from some opinion of our own, it ought at the same time to be sufficient evidence to us of the unsoundness of any hypothesis, if it appears plainly inconsistent with the doctrine of inspiration. But this has been greatly forgotten by those who have speculated on the subject of the origin of the Gospels. They

* Mr. Roberts lays stress on such an expression as *δυσκόλως*, in the sense of “hardly” or “difficultly” (Matt. xix. 23; Mark x. 23; Luke xviii. 24), and infers from such an usage that the word must actually have been spoken by Jesus, observing, after Bishop Marsh, that “the adverb thus peculiarly made use of by all three Evangelists is found nowhere else, either in the New Testament, the Septuagint, or the Greek Apocryphal books.” But although the adverb does not elsewhere occur, the adjective *δύσκολα* does (Jer. xlix. 8), and in the sense of “difficulties,” and the adverb may very well have been so current, that it would occur to the several compilers alike, not by inspiration because it was the word actually spoken, but because it naturally arose to them as the expression of the required sentiment.

have devised and promulgated theories which are manifestly repugnant to all notion of the inspiration of the sacred writers. And yet the books of Scripture have been received by these theorists as, for the most part, genuine and authentic documents. Now, if there be one thing more evident than another in the New Testament, it is the claim which it puts forth to be recognised as an inspired book. And if the four Gospels are acknowledged as a genuine portion of the canon, they at once take rank with those sacred writings of which the Apostle Paul declares, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.'"—(p. 155.)

There are two things perfectly evident—1. That the New Testament never puts forth a claim to be considered *a* book—it nowhere defines its own canon—it is a *fascis* not a single rod: 2. That it makes no *claim*, in whole or in part, to be *inspired*: and of the Gospels in particular, the author of the third speaks of his undertaking as suggested by like undertakings on the part of many others; he thinks himself justified, as well as they, in "compiling his narrative" (*ἀναράξασθαι ἐκλήγησιν*), by reason of the pains he has taken and the opportunities he has had—referring obviously only to ordinary human pains and ordinary human opportunities. He does not claim to be inspired, to have had a revelation, nor even a knowledge of the facts at first hand. And if all the Gospels are to be set on an equal footing, no higher demand can be made for the others than the third makes for itself. Mr. Roberts, moreover, knows well that the text of St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 16) refers to the Old Testament, that there is no evidence that any of the Gospels were compiled at the time St. Paul wrote that Epistle, that it gives no definition of inspiration, and, as far as it describes the "profitableness" of the divinely-suggested Scripture, it limits it to "teaching (*ἐκδασκῆ*, not 'doctrine'), reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness." It is from no "disdain" or "haughtiness" that what Mr. Roberts calls *Rationalism* approaches the Gospels without a preconceived idea of their divine origin; and though no "reverence" can be too great for the Author of all good gifts, it may be misplaced—when that is unduly honoured, as specially, purely, and exclusively divine, which contains a mixture of human error, infirmity, and superstition. And Mr. Roberts is far too acute not to perceive, that though the non-originality of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew would be fatal, if it could be proved, to the opinion which he holds concerning the inspiration of the New Testament, its originality is perfectly consistent with conclusions on that subject very different from his own.

Dr. Tulloch is already well known to a select number of readers by his able treatise on "Theism," he will become more generally so by the singularly well-timed publication of some lectures delivered by him at Edinburgh a few months since.⁷ The professor is perfectly at home in the literature which belongs to his present undertaking, though he makes no unnecessary display of learning; his style is clear, full, and rich—and what is a rare excellence on any subject, but especially in

"Leaders of the Reformation—Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Knox." By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's, Author of "Theism" (Burnet Prize Treatise). Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

theology, he is a master of the highest kind of rhetoric, winning the assent of his hearers to truths against which they might be supposed to be prejudiced, by enlisting in his cause other truths which they cannot refuse to admit. Dr. Tulloch is capable of large historical views. Historians of the Reformation, like Merle d'Aubigné, have fixed attention on particular dogmas which emerged among the Reformers, and have represented the greatness of their work as if it consisted in giving prominence to those specialities—as if Luther was really great because he made a large polemical use of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, or Calvin because he held the indefectibility from grace of the elect. Dr. Tulloch brings forward unmistakably the fact, that the Reformers availed themselves only one-sidedly of the principle of the right of private judgment—perhaps hardly that; they set up an infallible Scripture,—that is, Scripture as infallibly interpreted by themselves against an infallible church—but they were not tolerant of dissent from themselves, nor could they imagine that that which they then esteemed to be truth might ever appear differently to truly God-fearing people in another age. It is really very grand, in our degenerate days, to hear a Professor of Theology in one of the Universities of Great Britain use such words as these:—

“The idea of free faith holding to very different dogmatic views, and yet equally Christian—the idea of spiritual life and goodness apart from theoretical orthodoxy—had not dawned in the sixteenth century, nor long afterwards. Heresy was not a mere divergence of intellectual apprehension, but a moral obliquity—a statutory offence—to be punished by the magistrate, to be expiated by death. It is the strangest and most saddening of all spectacles to contemplate the slow and painful process by which the human mind has emancipated itself from the dark delusion that intellectual error is a subject of moral offence and punishment. . . . It required the lapse of many years to make men begin to feel, and it may still require the lapse of many more to make them fully feel, that they cannot absolutely fix in their feeble symbols the truth of God; that it is ever bursting with its own free might the old bottles in which they would contain it; and that consequently, according to that very law of progress by which all things live, it is impossible to bind the conscience by any bonds but those of God's own wisdom (Word) in Scripture—a spiritual authority addressing a spiritual subject—a teacher, not of ‘the letter which killeth, but of the Spirit which giveth life.’”—(p. 88.)

We cannot afford space to notice anything further, except to commend the truly Catholic spirit, and the remarkable delicacy, as well as truth, with which Dr. Tulloch describes the peculiar characters exhibited by the Reformation in Scotland and in England.

Mr. Bohn has a new issue of a useful Greek Testament;⁸ but we do not see why advantage should not have been taken of the labours of New Testament critics since the time of Scholz. There is a glossary adapted for the learner, in which we have observed a few inaccuracies.

Messrs. Clark's subscribers are indebted to them for the standard character of the works which they introduce to the English reader.

⁸ “*Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*.” Griesbach's Text, with the various readings of Mill and Scholz, Marginal References to Parallels, and a Critical Introduction. Third Edition, Revised and Corrected. London: H. G. Bohn. 1859.

Dr. Kurtz's "History of the Covenant,"⁹ although we often differ from him immensely, is a repertory of learning for the student of the Pentateuch.

Our closer political acquaintance with Mohammedanism in various parts of the world during recent years must convince us that as a religion it will be long before it will break up or give way. Not only in the Turkish Empire, and in our own Indian dominions, has it exhibited its old persecuting spirit, but in various parts of Africa it manifests a missionary activity, not only making converts from Paganism as in the North, but in the South even perverting from Christianity the descendants of neglected European settlers. For those who take an interest in the clash of religions, and especially for such as have any proselyting design against Islamism, Dr. Muchleisen Arnold's "Ishmael"¹⁰ will supply much useful information. It comprises: 1. A history of Islamism, treating of its occasion, sources, and success. 2. A view of the Mohammedan controversy. The chief value of the work is to be found in this latter part. No one should embark contemptuously or unprepared in a religious controversy even with apparently the weakest antagonist—Protestant with Roman Catholic, or Christian with Mohammedan or Hindu.

A Burney prize essay, entitled "The Force of Habit," by Edward E. Bowen,¹¹ exhibits the powers of distinct observation and of clear expression to a degree which gives great promise in a young author. Perhaps the most interesting portion of the essay is that in which he points out *analogues* to the human force of habit, to be met with in natures inferior to that of man. There is an immense and rich mine, as yet almost wholly unwrought, in comparative psychology.

Dr. Jost has concluded in a third volume his standard "History of Judaism."¹² For learning, impartiality, and range, it leaves nothing to be desired. This last volume embraces three periods; from 1200 to 1550, or the Talmudic period, from 1550 to 1750, or that of the later Cabbala, lastly from 1750 to 1858, which may be called the period of emancipation. During the darker times of persecution and oppression, the Jewish people command our admiration, as much by the eminent intellects which emerge among them as by the constancy with which they endure suffering. Let us hope that as their freedom is now nearly complete in Christendom, the intellectual fruits of the times of their liberation may not be less rich than those of the years of

⁹ "History of the Old Covenant." From the German of J. H. Kurtz, D.D., Professor of Theology at Dorpat. Vol. I. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Ph.D. Vol. II. By James Martin, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1859.

¹⁰ "Ishmael; or, a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity." By the Rev. Dr. J. Muchleisen Arnold, formerly Church Missionary in Asia and Africa, and late Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, London. London: Rivingtons. 1859.

¹¹ "The Force of Habit considered as an Argument to prove the Moral Government of Man by God." By Edward E. Bowen, B.A., Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1859.

¹² "Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten." Von Dr. J. M. Jost. Dritte Abtheilung. Sechstes bis achttes Buch. London: D. Nutt. 1859.

their adversities. With respect to England, where they have long enjoyed the greatest practical freedom, and where, except in a slight matter of form, it is now complete, it is to be regretted that it has produced no great name among them, and that in this country the movements of the German Jews towards further developments, or modifications in doctrine and organization, have met with little response.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

THE author of a pamphlet on the Foreign Policy of France¹ attempts to furnish us with scientific bases for his political superstructure. Rejecting the doctrine of self-interest inaugurated under Louis Philippe, he proclaims the universal interdependence of all men and all peoples, as the supreme moral and spiritual fact, which determines duty and reconciles pretensions. All resembling phenomena are, he contends, subjected to identical laws, and consequently interconnected. All differing phenomena, moreover, if localized and associated in one object are equally interconnected. The degree of interdependence is proportional to the number of common attributes, increasing or decreasing directly with the increase or decrease of these attributes. Community of Faith, Race, Interest, and Affection are the four elements of international relationship. Under the first category it is at once the interest and duty of France to form an alliance with Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Holland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and the Danubian Principalities; under the second, again, all these countries are included as the legitimate allies of France, except Denmark and Holland; the third category superadds Germany, Sweden, and Norway; the fourth shows a similar result. With Great Britain, emancipated from aristocratic rule, France at a later period may cultivate relations of amity, on the ground of community of religion and partial community of race. With Russia, the destroyer of Poland, and the would-be confiscator of the Ottoman empire; with Austria, the oppressor of noble nationalities, and Prussia, the accomplice of Russia and Austria, no sincere or durable alliance is possible. If attacked by the princes of Europe, France will place herself at the head of the people of Europe, and supported by her natural allies, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Germany, &c., she will march to the holiest of crusades, that of the enfranchisement of the people, bearing the immortal banner of Right and Justice, inscribed with the brilliant device of Interdependence and Fraternity.

Three works on the historical development and political position of Italy attest the growing importance with which this ill-fated and beautiful Peninsula is invested in the eyes of literary men. Brock's "Italy"² is intended as an introduction to the history of that country,

¹ "De la Politique Rationnelle de la France à l'extérieur." Paris: F. Chamerot. 1859.

² "Italien in seiner neuzeitlichen nationalen Entwicklung und jetzigen politischen Lage." Zürich: Von F. K. Brock. 1859.

from the beginning of the first French Revolution to the most recent period. The author accuses Austria of having, by her oppressive and reactionary measures, facilitated the progress of Napoleonic ambition. It is Austrian despotism that has enabled the present ruler of the French to delude the Italians into a belief that they will enjoy a greater relative freedom under the ægis of France than under the dominion of Austria. Herr Brock has an inveterate antipathy to the New Buonapartism. Louis Napoleon he considers to have been rightly stigmatized as a disturber of the public peace, even before war had been openly proclaimed. But strongly as he condemns the selfish ambition of this prince, he pronounces the timid policy of the Prussian Cabinet still more reprehensible. He maintains that to understand aright the position of Italy, we must be impressed with the fact of its exceptional character. The Italian people has ever been in a state of unrest and fermentation. Effort has never been followed by enjoyment. Repose has never succeeded to exertion. In the mediæval period, Italy, under various republican governments, flourished, as no other nation then did. Hers was the highest intellectual culture, in art and science, a splendid commercial evolution, and partially, at least, a free political development. The decline of Italy began with the rise and progress of personal sovereignty. Her principal defect was her civil disunion. She was split up into a number of small and antipathetic states. Meanwhile, Europe generally was realizing a unity of nations. Feudal subdivisions were obliterated. Spain, France, England, and even Russia, have attained to this state of national identity and concentration. In two mediæval countries alone do we fail to recognise this unity: Germany and Italy. National independence, in particular, is the great want of Italy. Germans, French, and Austrians in vain have attempted to govern this country. Their government has resulted in their own misery, as well as in that of the Italians. The papal sovereignty is the great obstacle to Italian unity. Herr Brock quotes Machiavelli in confirmation of this opinion (*Discorsi*, lib. i. cap. 12). He maintains that the Italians are perfectly ripe for the abolition of the papacy. The papal government is effete. It is unable to protect itself. It flies before danger. It is incapable of reform. It does not live in the affections of the Italians, but in the bayonets of the French. He adduces numerous documents, some being the official reports of the Austrian police, some the testimony of unexceptionable persons, as the Duke of Broglie and Pellegrino Rossi, to show that the "Seat of St. Peter is the fountain of demoralization and corruption;" that the government of the Pope resembles those old tottering houses which are kept from falling by the more solid edifices which prop them up on both sides, that the temporal power will one day escape from its feeble hands, as happened yesterday and will happen to-morrow, if foreign support be withdrawn. The moral power of the papacy is gone; the papal exchequer is bankrupt; the papal system of education is a downright practical negation of the whole intellectual culture of our time. Goethe and Schiller are proscribed. The works of Milton, Leibnitz, Descartes, Malebranche, Locke, Kant, and Montesquieu are also prohibited. Such a state of things, our author

declares, cannot possibly continue. In another section of this historical introduction, he describes the condition of Italy at the beginning of the French Revolution and under the Napoleonic régime. Instead of the freedom which had been promised, Italy was directly or indirectly made dependent on the will of one man, who reigned through the kings, viceroys, and princes, among whom it was partitioned. Yet the same principles of government, the same laws, the same currency, the same weights and measures fostered the sentiment of Italian unity; and in the sense of an equality before the laws and of the abolition of the invidious privileges of the clergy and nobility, the middle classes of Italy recognised at least their *civil* emancipation. Our author shows how this sentiment of nationality was encouraged during the struggle with Napoleon by the Italian princes and Austrian generals; how all the promises of freedom and independence were forgotten as soon as the danger was withdrawn, and how the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna went far to make Italy what Metternich afterwards declared it to be, a geographical expression. From 1815 the supremacy of Austria was felt throughout the whole Peninsula. Its very triumph, however, imperilled its success. Popular animosity led to a reaction, and the reaction matured into insurrection. Herr Brock traces the progress of national discontent and resistance; recounts the events of 1848-49; characterizes the policy of Mazzini, whose influence he ascribes to the universal consciousness of oppression and misery, and condemns the ambitious aspirations and projects of Charles Albert. He insists that the "conspiracy" lies in the popular instinct, and is the product of the century; that the people of Rome and Venice went further than Mazzini and Manin, and that the insurgent combatants were bolder and more energetic than Garibaldi and Pepe. He believes in the ultimate freedom of Italy, and quotes Farini to support the view that "the Italian struggle is a holy war because it is a war of independence," and that "the foreign ruler is always a tyrant." A sequel to the present brochure is promised at its close.

The second pamphlet³ in our list is more strictly historical than the previous one. It describes the fortunes of the Italian people under the administration of Napoleon, and is designed as the basis of a new history of Italy. Italy, says the author, presents the mournful image of a lively, intellectual, and highly-gifted people, completely sacrificed to the attainment of a purely extrinsic object—the aggrandizement of the hierarchy at the time of the Crusades, and the contest with the Hohenstaufen. The Church had fulfilled her mission hitherto, on the whole, purely and nobly. The ambition of the clergy impaired its strength, and prepared the way for its decline. The hierarchy had to sustain three attacks. In the two first it conquered in Italy, in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, aided by the Guelfs and Jesuits, but with the loss of its moral and religious vitality. The third assault was fatal. Jesuitism robbed the church of its spiritual strength; the

³ "Geschichte des Italienischen Volkes unter der Napoleonischen Herrschaft." Leipzig: Von Dr. E. Ruth. 1859.

temporal powers placed themselves in opposition to the hierarchy; the aristocracy became sunk in sensual enjoyment. With the French Revolution, the church, humiliated and abandoned, lost all her influence. This sublime catastrophe roused the apathetic and sensual Italians—inspired them anew with the idea of freedom and independence, and made them feel deeply their own prostrate condition, and desire strongly to ameliorate it.

The first section of Dr. Ruth's essay contains some literary criticism, showing the correspondence between the poetical and historical phenomena of the different epochs. The second and last section has for its subject the period of the French Revolution, and is distributed into the several subdivisions of Piedmont, Lombardy, the States of the Church, Naples, and Sicily. The inefficiency and self-stultification of the Papacy, the misery of the people, the errors of despotism, and the weakness and selfishness of the nobility, are all exhibited in the brief, lucid, and unpretending narrative of Dr. Ruth.

The Abbé Michon, whose bold and original proposition to transfer the seat of Papal power from Rome to Jerusalem has conferred some celebrity on his name, has given us the results of his political and religious meditations on the condition and destiny of Italy, in an attractive volume, in which he combines philosophical reflection with the incidents of travel.* Visiting Monaco, Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, Naples, Rome, Bologna, Venice, and Milan, he writes of these different cities and towns in an earnest and lively spirit, describing their sites, buildings, agricultural prosperity, and religious and political state. Michon regards Genoa as the natural capital of Sardinia, mainly on the ground of historical associations. An unhappy necessity, that of geographical position, has compelled her to surrender her metropolitan privilege to Turin, which is but a great town, with broad streets, and which has neither the memories of the past nor magnificent buildings to recommend it. At Carrara he finds more than thirty studios, and about twenty mechanics who are employed in sawing the marble. Art in Italy is, says our Abbé, an exact thermometer of the intellectual and religious life of a people. He asserts that sculpture is reviving, and characterizes certain statues which he saw at Carrara and Rome as very remarkable. The principal works in progress, which were of an architectural character, were destined for the United States. Royalty now is unfavourable to art. A studio is a permanent professorial chair of liberal and patriotic ideas. The town of Carrara accordingly groans under the yoke of the Duke of Modena. The surveillance is strict—suspicion eager—incarceration frequent. The duke is a bad political economist. Formerly the duty on marble was proportioned to the cubic content; it is now proportioned to the weight. The demand in consequence is checked, and instead of increasing his own wealth and that of his subjects, he is impoverishing himself and his country, and killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Michon next visited Lucca, silent and gloomy, but rich in churches. It is, he says, one of

* "L'Italie politique et religieux, suivie de la Papauté a Jérusalem." Par l'Abbé J. H. Michon. Bruxelles et Leipzig. 1859.

the best cultivated countries in Europe—further, it is one of the best peopled. The marshes along the coast have been drained, and the malaria has disappeared. The increase of population, and the growing agricultural prosperity, are attributed to the general subdivision of property. At Corneto our author finds the universal nuisance, crinoline, in a state of rampant diffusiveness, and religion expiring of hierarchical paralysis. Naples appears to him like a besieged city. He sees everywhere barracks, cannons, soldiers, monks, and priests. One day he counted the priests whom he met in a single half-hour—they amounted to 120. The liberalism of Naples is moderate in its aspirations. It demands only better government. The mass of the people has no conception of political liberty or social ameliorations. It is the ox that is ill at ease unless it feels the chain which confines it. Under the blue heaven of Campania, and on the tranquil waters which were furrowed by his boat, he heard the lamentations of young and noble hearts over the miserable position of a country “to which God has given everything but a government.” At Naples he witnesses the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. Formerly St. Etienne, St. Pantaleon, St. Patrizia, St. Vitus, and St. John the Baptist, were equally privileged. They had all alike their bottles, presenting the same phenomena as that of St. Januarius; but the clergy, probably convinced that religion lost more than it gained by such exhibitions, has abandoned them all, retaining only that of the more popular saint. In 1702, Marshal d’Estrées conducted Philip V. to Naples. A numerous party in the church favoured his competitor, the Archduke Charles. The feast of St. Januarius arrived. A report was spread that the miracle *couldn’t* be performed, an omen which had a sinister impression on the people. On hearing it, Marshal d’Estrées sent for the Vicars, the Dean, and the Syndic of the cathedral. “I am told,” said he, “that this miracle can’t be performed. If things don’t go as they ought on the night following the feast, you will see the four corners of the town, and the house of every canon, on fire.” After this announcement, it was speedily found that the miracle *could* be performed. The Abbé next takes us to the Pontine Marshes. To drain them would be an easy task, if it were the malaria, and not liberty, that were really feared at Rome. To destroy the former, two conditions must be satisfied—the depression of the waters of the two principal rivers which traverse it to such a level as to allow of the cultivation of the soil, and the planting of trees, the organs with which nature absorbs the non-respirable part of the atmosphere. It is, according to Michon, the current or counter-current of the south-east winds which conveys the malaria; and these currents would be intercepted and inhaled by a sufficient number of forest trees. At Rome, the Austrian, or absolute party in the Sacred College, is predominant. The French, or liberal party, is represented only by the Pope himself, and four or five cardinals. The good intentions of Pius IX. are acknowledged, but are pronounced futile. Of what avail is it, ask the Roman people, that he is generous, affectionate, upright? Would to God he were wicked, and governed us well! The administration of Cardinal Antonelli is that of the sixteenth century; the Jesuits are

the declared enemies of all reform and all liberty. Yet every day the revolution advances. Compression, emigration, contact with foreigners, the anti-Austrian character of the French occupation, all contribute to mature it. The Abbé condemns all the Italian princes as hostile to reform, and sees salvation for Italy only in the sword. The triumph of Napoleon III. is the correct solution of the Italian question. *He* will restore life to the confederated peoples of Italy—life, political, industrial, commercial, even religious; for “temporal Rome may fall, spiritual Rome will never perish.” A reprint of “*La Papauté à Jérusalem*” (third edition) is annexed to the work now reviewed. It advocates the transfer of the Papal seat to Jerusalem, on political and religious grounds. Many who would joyfully send the Pope to Jericho, might be disposed to substitute the city with the same initial. In Jerusalem the Abbé Michon believes that the Papacy, resuming its purely spiritual character, would regain its old ascendancy; divested of its worldly pomp, re-establish its maternal dominion over the minds of its bitterest opponents; re-convert the heretical and divided West, and evangelize the oriental and especially the Mahometan world, whose religion of Islam is the religion of Abraham, and whose prophet, no longer denounced as the eldest son of Satan, must be regarded as the restorer of a severe and patriarchal monotheism.

Alphonse Esquiros conducts us from Italy, the misgoverned land of the arts, to Holland, the free country of noble utilities. “*La Vie Hollandaise*”⁵ is a life on the waters. The native soil of the Netherlander was reclaimed from the sea, “fished ashore,” as Marvel wittily says; and in it, as Butler, with equal humour affirms, “the people do not so much live as go aboard.” M. Esquiros commences his instructive and entertaining little work with an account of the formation of this floating territory, of its ancient and modern inundations, and the desiccation of the lake of Haarlem. The national character is as unique as the conformation of the country. The Belgian has lost his individuality, but the native of Holland preserves his original moral physiognomy unimpaired. There is nothing ideal about the inhabitants or their land. The country-houses, the garden-like landscape, the ornamental plantations, are charming; but there is an air of coldness over them all. Almost you fancy that no bird may sing there. The horizon is usually low and limited, and precludes the sentiment of an unknown Beyond. The Dutchman *made* his country; his country in turn helps to make him. The true productive genius of this people lies in its material constructiveness. Their first necessity was to acquire and conserve land. Everywhere the water was at once the enemy and the friend of the persevering Lowlander. To make canals, to form dykes, dams, quays; to build boats, to construct a navy, to acquire the empire of the sea, was his destiny and natural function. The Dutchman is active, persistent, and patient. The sameness of occupation or recreation never wearies man or child. Frugality, sobriety, and imperturbability distinguish this people, who sleep, work, and sport,

⁵ “*La Neerlande et la Vie Hollandaise*. Par Alphonse Esquiros. Paris. 1859.

with the waves and tides rolling above their heads. The abundance of water at command suggests and produces cleanliness. In Holland, a man brushes his wall as elsewhere he brushes his coat. Atmospheric peculiarities compel the incessant cleaning and polishing of all articles formed of wood or metal, in order to prevent mould or rust. Holland is the land of personal independence and religious liberty. Its Protestantism is extreme though not universal; avoiding all external manifestations of worship; so that every street has a sort of atheistic look about it. Holland is not, however, wanting in faith. The most religious of all countries, it regards religion as an affair between man and God. It suffered of old from the Inquisition; it fought for the liberty of thought, for the freedom of the soul. It liberated itself; it gave a liberator to England. It is the fatherland of Spinoza,* Leuwenhoek, Huyghens, Ruysch, Boerhaave, Valckenacr, Erasmus, and Grotius. It appropriates, says our author, all those who combat for the triumph of human reason. Leyden offered a home to Descartes; the Hague raised a statue to his memory. The sceptic Bayle lived there in peace, and even Spinoza escaped the fagot. The political institutions of this country were as free as its religious spirit. Liberty of election existed from the very first. The power of the middle classes was paramount; that of the nobles restricted and isolated. At the present time, the old municipal genius exists unimpaired under a monarchical form of government.

After describing the character of the people and social phenomena of the country, M. Esquiros details with considerable minuteness the operations of the turf-diggers, and gives us an animated account of the fisheries and the maritime population, including the whalers and the whale-fishery. The cinders, the smoke, and soot of the turf are used in various manufacturing and agricultural processes. The turf itself has been for centuries the sole means of procuring warmth accessible to three-fourths of the population. Already the supply is diminished, and its complete failure is anticipated within a hundred years. The herring fishery contributes largely to the prosperity of Holland. It furnishes upwards of fifty millions of herrings every year. "This fruit of the ocean" has never been found in the Mediterranean, and is supposed to have been unknown to the ancients. Belgium had the honour of inaugurating this fishery; but in the twelfth century, it passed from Flanders into Zealand. It was not, however, till 1380 that the herring became an important article of national commerce. In or about that year, William Beukelszoon discovered the method of preserving the herring in salt. The whale fishery in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, was in the hands of the Basques. From them the Dutch fishermen learned the art of harpooning the whale, and extracting the oil. The English subsequently entered into rivalry with them. Their success began to decline in 1770; the number of boats fell from 182 to 134, and during the war between Great

* An unedited work by this celebrated philosopher, discovered in a library at Amsterdam, is announced for publication by M. L. Brouwer.

Britain and America, to 60 or 70. In the Antarctic Seas the Americans have now 700 whalers; the Dutch not one.

The second volume of "*La Neerlande*" treats of pauperism, charitable institutions, literature, the universities, churches, societies of natural philosophy, zoological gardens, and the history and historians of Holland. The system of charity in Holland has two distinct branches—the preventive and the curative. The first includes institutions for the education and employment of the necessitous. In the second are comprised all such establishments as receive disgraced or abandoned children, or destitute old men and women, mostly supported by voluntary contributions enforced by public opinion and superintendence. The intellectual movement in Holland is in close alliance with the religious movement. Holland has three universities, two athenæums, and various Protestant societies, one of which called the "*Phylacterion*," has for its object the prevention of marriage with the members of the Roman Catholic communion. The University of Leyden possesses mainly a literary and scientific character. In that of Utrecht the religious element predominates. That of Groningen is liberal, æsthetic, and scientific. Its theologians want to unite two extremes, scarcely reconcilable, says our author—rationalism and supernaturalism. The voice of this philosophical school has its echo in the churches. At the head of this new Protestant movement are M. Meyboom, of Amsterdam, and M. Zaalberg, of the Hague, both ministers of religion. The orthodox endeavour to extract some definite confession of faith from their adversaries on the dogma of Christ's Divinity. Their opponents recognise in Jesus the most perfect type of humanity. If too closely pressed they evade the difficulty by scholastic distinctions. Some of them, it appears, believe in the Divinity but not the Deity of the son of Mary. There is a scientific association in the town of Groningen which has existed for fifty-four years. Founded for the propagation of the exact sciences, it addresses its teaching to the middle and working classes, admitting women, but only four times in the year. The favourite study appears to be natural history. Hooft, Wagenaar, and Bilderdijs are the three principal historians of Holland. Its greatest poet is Joost van Vondel, born, however, at Cologne, 17th November, 1587. He composed a vast number of tragedies, which affect or perhaps realize the ideal and sublime. Jacob Cats, of the same epoch, was the poet of fact, always treading on the earth, and minutely descriptive. Bilderdijs is the chief poet of the modern epoch. He had the ambition of being a prophet as well as a poet; of reconstituting a national church through poetic inspiration. His spirit is essentially Conservative. M. de Costa is still more a man of the past, hating the industrial movement of our own day, and denouncing political economy.

An entire chapter of the present work is dedicated to the position and history of the Jews in Holland, with a general glance at their past, present, and future, irrespectively of geographical circumscription. There are 64,000 Jews in the Low Countries, who have enjoyed for two centuries, comparative happiness though in a Christian land. Here, indeed, the Hebrew race has its representatives in every liberal career.

As Jewish disqualifications are abolished, this race will adapt its movement to that of modern society. Rigid to intolerance, it will give way before the modifying influences of a just and humane policy, appreciating the noble words of Mendelssohn that the best religious principles are those which best harmonize with the general interests of humanity. M. Esquiros concludes his work with a notice of the Dutch colonies and some reflections on the slaves of Surinam. In spite of the natural gentleness and careless disposition of the Ethiopian race, M. Van Hævell, he tells us, disproves by facts the opinion entertained by some travellers, that the negro prefers slavery to freedom. Transported from Africa to Surinam a number of blacks succeeded in eluding their masters' vigilance. They escaped into the forest, formed villages, and cultivated the soil. The example was contagious; desertion became frequent, and the Government interfered. The result of a long and ruinous war was the concession to the fugitive slaves of the interior part of the colony, and permission to visit Parimaribo for commercial purposes. The Government of Holland has made some ineffectual attempts to ameliorate the condition of the slaves of Surinam. The penal register attests that in the year ending 1851, five hundred slaves, men, women, and children of both sexes, were flogged by authority, on the demand of their owners. The whips are described as black with blood; the rods as tearing the flesh from every part of the body. The regulations of the colony, however, now prohibit the separation of the child from its mother, but the law is eluded, and the convenient fiction that a black child has no father is fatal to the integrity of the family life.

The duty of ameliorating the condition of the negro is now generally recognised. Mr. Nott,⁶ rebuking the officious zeal of European advisers, admits the evil of slavery and the imperious demand for a remedial code, but denies slave-holding to be in itself a crime, or immediate abolition to be the remedy. In his opinion a remedial code must aim at the following purposes. To provide for the slaves such advantages and securities as shall compensate their being held to labour; to provide for the masters better service with fewer fears and difficulties; to provide for the free blacks, and those becoming free, something better than the present condition of their class, and lastly, to satisfy the conscience and philanthropy of the country, by a joint mission of Christian love and duty, in which the South taking the indispensable lead, shall welcome with the whole heart the aid of the North. Such a remedial code, however, is not preparatory to emancipation but instead of it; and while offering to all the opportunity of acquiring full personal freedom, Mr. Nott apparently contemplates, if he does not desiderate, the permanency of the improved institution. We do not think that slavery, under any form or with any amount of revision, can be perpetuated without doing violence to that feeling of ideal right, which grows and exerts a prevailing influence as knowledge widens

⁶ "Slavery, and the Remedy." By Samuel Nott. Sixth Edition. Boston: Crooker and Brewster. New York: D. Appleton and Co. London: Trübner and Co. 1859.

and circumstance allows. The solution of the problem, whether it lie in immediate or gradual enfranchisement, in the removal to Africa of the black population, which Mr. Nott considers impossible, or in the surrender of appropriate territories, continental or insular, as the seats of independent negro sovereignty, will gain nothing from declamation or angry invective. There is more real value in "the principles and suggestions for a remedial code," even though they fall short of our type, than in all the indignant rhetoric of well-meaning but ill-informed European advisers.

If Dr. Charles Mackay⁷ be right in his anticipation that the negroes will ere long outnumber the whites, an awful future, should no "remedial code" be adopted, in all probability awaits the United States. In 1790, the total population was about four millions; in 1850, it was upwards of twenty-three millions, giving more than a five-fold increase. In 1790, the slaves amounted to 697,897, and in 1850, to 3,204,313, rather under a five-fold increase. But the slave increase was natural; the white has had artificial augmentations from Europe; Ireland and Liverpool alone supplying 1000 per day for the two or three years preceding 1850. Dr. Mackay accordingly predicts an ultimate numerical majority for the black race, with results which we may "guess and fear" for the white. He had many favourable opportunities of observing the operation of the domestic institution. His chapters on the aspects of slavery and pro-slavery philosophy are full of interesting detail. The negroes, in general, are well fed, and are not cruelly used; they have their holidays when they "luxuriate in corporeal and mental repose." "With faces upturned to the sun," says Mr. Fitz Hugh, "they can sleep at any hour." Dr. Mackay appears to admit the facts alleged by this philosophic advocate of slavery, a kind of rampant Carlyle who would enslave not only negroes, but the Irish and German emigrants, set them working in the cotton or sugar regions, or sell them by public auction. In the southern states there is no longer an apologetic but an aggressive theory of slavery. Slavery, say various writers in prose and verse, is no evil, but the proper condition of the masses of mankind. The apostle of the new science of the social religion of the South is the gentleman already indicated, Mr. George Fitz Hugh of Virginia. He has elaborated a system of slavery, writing in "grim earnest," justifying the institution by Biblical authority, physiological argument, and Philosopher Square's eternal fitness of things. Dr. Mackay, however, concedes that if the "corpulent" and comfortable hog-standard be accepted as the true ideal of human aspiration, the condition of the slaves in the southern states is superior to that of the free labourer in Europe.

In that sunny region—

"De Lord He lub de niggas well,
He know de niggas by de smell,
And when de niggas children cry,
De Lord He gib 'em 'possum pie."

⁷ "Life and Liberty in America," &c. By Charles Mackay. In 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.

Far less happy is the situation of the black in the more northern of the slave-holding states. There the negro labourer is unprofitable, and slaves are bred and sold like cattle. In the free states again the aristocracy of colour flourishes in all its virulence. They concede liberty, but deny equality to the black. The omnibus, the railway car, the theatre, and the church, are entirely, or in part, forbidden him. Dr. Mackay declares himself unconscious of any unpleasant effluvium from the impurer epidermis of the negro. At any rate in the South the proximity of the black creates no repugnance. Negro women are there the trusted nurses of white children, and the confidants of the wedded life of their young mistresses. In fact the southern slave-owners seem far superior in social kindness to the northern abolitionists. There are other differences besides this leading distinction between the slaves and the free states. The struggle between the North and the South, of which the negro is made the pretext, is, says Dr. Mackay, a struggle for political power and ascendancy, for the patronage of the republic and of the several commonwealths which compose it. The North seeks the scene of its future operations in regions not yet preoccupied: the South desires to annex territory already subdued and replenished as the only possible expedient for countervailing its more enterprising rival. A commercial and literary energy characterizes the North; yet the North is protectionist while the South favours a free-trade policy. With great respect for the American people, and entire faith that on "the American soil the highest destinies of civilization will be wrought out to their conclusions," Dr. Mackay brings additional testimony to show that with every democratic appliance, the Americans have not secured good or cheap government. He denounces the tyranny of opinion which forbids a man to exercise a right of judgment in antagonism to his party; he complains of the corruption and jobbery inherent in a system of change which creates opportunities for self-seeking, speculation, and possible devil-worship, for if your party "propose the devil himself for mayor of New York, or President of the Republic, you must support the devil by vote and interest or leave your party."

The law-makers there are more habitually law-breakers than in older communities, and in the Slave States especially there is a tendency "to supersede all other judgship by the decisions of that very famous and judicious judge whose instruments are the passions of the people, and whose name is Lynch." Naturally, there is little reverence for living worth in America, but for the noble dead, as is proved by the purchase of Mount Vernon, "the home and tomb of George Washington," all veneration is not yet extinct. This graceful tribute to a splendid memory is not, however, to be ascribed to the men but the women of America, and, notably, to Miss Pamela Cunningham, a lady of Richmond, weak in body but strong in mind. There are some isolated facts noted down in Dr. Mackay's book which are of interest. Among these is an official statement which gives the names of all the Indian tribes left within the limits of the Union, their place of location and their numbers. They amount to 314,622. The vine experiments of Mr. Longworth also are worthy of record. Out of 5000 indigenous

varieties of grape he selected eighty-three; out of the eighty-three he again selected twelve for the production of wine. About ten years ago he produced the sparkling Catawba wine, equal to any sparkling wines which Europe can boast. "Probably," says Dr. Mackay, "the clarets of France will never be rivalled in America, but French champagne, the queen of wines, must yield her sceptre and throne to one purer and brighter than she, who sits on the banks of the Ohio—the Catawba wine." There is much travelling incident, some statistical information, and abundance of picturesque description in Dr. Mackay's two volumes of *American Life and Liberty*. He does not write or pretend to write as a philosopher; but he exhibits good sense, kindly feeling, and freedom from prejudice and partisanship. An occasional disquisition gives dignity to his tale of travel, and humorous illustration relieves the graver portions of his book. Under the first head we may indicate the chapter on the decline of the Spanish race, and the political and social condition of the Spanish republics in America; under the second, we may cite the whimsical soliloquy of an inebriated misanthrope:

"Talking loudly to himself, but slowly and deliberately, he said, 'Damn everything, damn everybody! Yes, but there's time enough to damn everything; and it's not my business to go out of the way to do it. Besides, I have no authority to damn anything, and for that matter to damn anybody but myself, which I do most heartily, damn me.' And he passed on reeling."

In a pamphlet entitled "*Unpunished Cruelties on the High Seas*,"⁸ we are informed that English vessels arrive at New York and Orleans wherein "the life and health of some poor sailor had been endangered, without any possibility of bringing the offender to justice. American ships, too, are constantly discharging at the port of Liverpool, men who must go at once into hospital, and who have no legal protection whatever." In the river an assault is punishable; four miles from shore our law is powerless. Men are maimed, wounded, and even killed, and no redress can be obtained because the offence is not included in the Extradition Treaty, 6 and 7 Vict. c. 76. Though the American ships are frequently the scene of these cruelties, their actual perpetrators are not only not exclusively American but, in all probability, are not, as a rule, natives of the United States at all. As a remedy for this terrible abuse of power a Liverpool merchant suggests the revision of our international laws with America, making the seas that divide us safe for the poorest sailor of either nation by a common agreement on the part of England and the United States to protect the innocent and punish the guilty on those seas which equally belong to both. We commend the pamphlet to the active philanthropy of the country. It exposes, in forcible but unimpassioned language, an abuse that demands instant redress.

⁸ "*Unpunished Cruelties on the High Seas.*" A Letter to Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P. By a Liverpool Merchant. London: James Ridgway. 1859.

SCIENCE.

WE are glad to be able to announce the satisfactory, though tardy, completion of the most beautiful general series of physiological illustrations that has yet been given to the public.¹ This series was commenced in the first instance as a new edition of the well-known "*Icones Physiologicae*" of Professor Wagner; but it soon became apparent to Professor Ecker that the work of his predecessor, excellent as it was in its time, had been virtually superseded by the rapid advance which had been subsequently made in minute anatomy; and that, in order to do justice to the subject, it was requisite to go over nearly the whole ground afresh. This has involved a vast amount of labour, as may be inferred from the fact, that out of the 464 figures contained in the thirty-one admirably-engraved quarto plates, only thirty-seven are copied from other works, and of these only eight have been transferred from Professor Wagner's Atlas. The first three parts of Professor Ecker's work succeeded each other at no unreasonable interval; but a space of five years having since elapsed, without any further approach to its completion, we were beginning to doubt whether we should ever receive the portion still deficient; and the delay was the more vexatious, as, in common with other purchasers, we had been required to pay in advance the price of the entire series. Now that we have got our money's worth, we are disposed to look more leniently on the author's failure in regard to time, and to think rather of the merits of his production, of which it is scarcely possible to speak too highly. For although some few of the illustrations appear to us to be faulty, while others do not give all that is to be seen, yet, taking the series as a whole, it constitutes a most admirable iconography of those portions of the fabric of Man which are most intimately concerned in physiological phenomena, whilst additional illustrations are drawn from the structure of the lower animals, in cases in which they afford useful elucidation. The style of engraving is particularly suitable to the objects represented; being, whilst sufficiently clear and precise, free from that diagrammatic stiffness and formality which are too frequently the result of the attempt to obtain definition. The following enumeration of the subjects of the plates will give an idea of the purpose and scope of the work:—1, 2. Alimentary Canal; 3. Blood, Lymph, Chyle; 4. Blood-vascular System; 5. Lymph-vascular System; 6. Vascular Glands (Spleen, Thymus, &c.); 7. Liver; 8. Kidney; 9. Glands (Salivary, Mammary, &c.); 10. Respiratory Organs; 11. Ciliary Action, Larynx; 12. Muscle; 13. Histology of Peripheral Nervous System; 14, 15. Histology of Central Nervous System; 16. Organ of Hearing; 17. Skin; 18. Organs of Smell and Taste; 19. Eye (nervous apparatus); 20. Eye (accom-

¹ "*Icones Physiologicae. Erläuterungstafeln zur Physiologie und Entwicklungsgeschichte.* bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Alexander Ecker, Professor an der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau. Einunddreissig Tafeln mit 464 Figuren und 41 Holzschnitte. 4to. Leipzig. 1851-1859.

modation-apparatus); 21. Seminal Fluid; 22. Ovum; 23. Development of Frog; 24. Nervous System of Frog; 27. Development of Human Ovum; 28. Connexion between Mother and Offspring (placenta, &c.); 29. Development of Human Embryo (genital apparatus); 30. Development of Human Embryo (vascular system); 31. Development of Human Embryo (nervous system).

We had thought that the time was altogether passed for talking and writing of Botany as if that science included only the highest division of the Vegetable Kingdom, that of Phanerogamia or Flowering Plants: as well might the Zoologist restrict his subject to Vertebrate animals, and leave out of view the other great subdivisions of the animal kingdom. Every Botanist who is worthy of the name is now aware of the fundamental importance of studying the simpler forms of vegetation, as a basis for the right understanding of the more complicated; and no one can ignore them whilst framing definitions which are intended to apply to Plants in general, without the certainty of falling into grievous error. This is exactly what has happened to Mr. Dresser, who, whatever may be his qualifications for teaching Botany in its applications to Art, ventures rather out of his depth in attempting to expound Botany as a Science. Had he simply inserted the word "Phanerogamic" in his title, and made it clear that in all his definitions he speaks only of Flowering Plants, there would have been no such discordance between his promise and his performance as to call for remark; the general plan of the book² being well adapted to its special purpose, and its execution being very respectable. For the Art-student, it is obviously of the first importance to gain a full knowledge of the various parts of a plant—as of the root, stem, leaf, flower, &c.—and then of the modifications which these organs undergo, or of the various forms which they assume in different plants; and we quite agree with the author that the study of the internal structure of plants, and of the classification of vegetable objects, is best postponed, in the case of learners of this order, until an extensive acquaintance with external forms has been first acquired. On the other hand, for any one who desires to gain a really philosophical knowledge of Botany, it is clear to us that there is but one course; namely, to commence with the lowest forms of Vegetable life and with the earliest condition of the highest, and to follow the evolution of the simple cell, *pari passu*, from the most general to the most highly specialized form, in the ascending series of vegetable organisms, and in the progressive development of the parts of the most complex. We are glad to see that the subject of development is not altogether passed by in the work before us, Mr. Dresser having wisely combined, with the account of each organ, a notice of its first appearance or earliest form; then of the changes it undergoes as it

² "The Rudiments of Botany, Structural and Physiological, being an Introduction to the Study of the Vegetable Kingdom, and comprising the advantages of a full Glossary of Technical Terms." By Christopher Dresser, Lecturer on Botany, and Master of the Botanical Drawing Classes in the Department of Science and Art. London. 1859. 8vo, pp. 433. With 560 wood engravings.

advances in age ; and finally of its ultimate form and of the modifications under which this appears. And he has thus been enabled to keep before the mind of the student the facts that a plant in its most elementary form is extremely simple, and that all plants, however far extended, are nothing more than repetitions or aggregations of this simple unit.

The work is written in a series of short propositions, each containing one statement only, so as to admit of easy reference from one to the other. Under many propositions there are notes, of which some are merely explanatory, and are intended to help the student on his first reading of the book ; whilst others, containing further developments of the subjects of the text, are specially adapted to extend the knowledge of the more advanced student who may be bestowing a second perusal on the volume. This aphoristic method impairs the readable value of the book ; but it enables the student, by means of the copious index, to turn at once to any definition to which he may desire to refer, and it probably aids such students as chiefly aim at acquiring a technical knowledge of Vegetable Morphology, in gaining definite ideas of the objects described. In this they will be greatly assisted by the admirable series of beautiful wood-engravings with which the text is illustrated, a large proportion of them having been expressly drawn with reference to it. The entire omission of the Cryptogamia, however, strikes us as a marked deficiency even in an artistic point of view. The Ferns constitute so important a feature in our native vegetation, that no painter of rural scenery can leave them out of his foregrounds ; and they present a type so different from every other, and so beautiful in itself, as to afford much valuable material to the designer. And the humble Mosses that form the soft carpet of our woods, the Liverworts which clothe the faces of the rocks wherever their luxuriant spread is encouraged by the neighbourhood of a dropping rill, and the Lichens, which add so much variety of colour to the surface of dry rocks and walls and so much senile grace to the aspect of the aged tree, will all be represented much more truly by the artist, when he knows enough of their structure and mode of growth to comprehend what the Germans call their "idea," and thus looks at them with the clear eye of intelligence instead of with the dim vision of ignorance. On these grounds, no less than on that which we have already specified, we regret the entire omission of the Cryptogamia from Mr. Dresser's volume, and hope that he will take an early opportunity of completing it by the addition of a notice of their more important forms.

Notwithstanding the number of Text-books of Geology already before the public, we think that the widow of Hugh Miller was fully justified in the belief that the publication of the course of Lectures on Popular Geology³ which he delivered in Edinburgh not long before his

³ "Sketch-book of Popular Geology ; being a Series of Lectures delivered before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh," by Hugh Miller. With an Introductory Preface, giving a Resumé of the Progress of Geological Science within the last Two Years. By Mrs. Miller. Edinburgh. 1839. Post 8vo, pp. 358.

death, would serve a useful purpose, and be especially interesting to those who are familiar with the principal features of the country from which his illustrations are drawn. For in these lectures he had brought together the general results of the geological studies which he had pursued through various parts of his native Scotland; and the objection which he made to their publication at the time was that he had given in them so many of his best facts and broadest ideas,—so much, indeed, of what would be required to lighten the prior details of what he contemplated as his *maximum opus*, the “Geology of Scotland,”—that it would be undesirable to send them forth by themselves. These lectures are indeed in every way admirable specimens of their author’s best manner. Commencing with the historic period of Scotland’s existence, and showing how the remains of Roman art and the ruder implements of their predecessors enable us to reason back to the condition of the country and of its inhabitants, in periods of remote antiquity, he skilfully connects Geologic and Human history by bringing together evidence from a great variety of sources as to the changes of level which have occurred in the country since it has been tenanted by man; often producing very important modifications in the coast-line, and in some places adding what he calls a “flat marginal selvaige” of considerable extent, which constitutes with the old coast line a well-marked feature in the landscape. And upon this he makes one of his characteristically appropriate and suggestive remarks:

“Geology may be properly regarded as the *science* of landscape; it is to the landscape painter what anatomy is to the historic painter, or to the sculptor. In the singularly rich and variously compounded prospects of our country, there is scarce a single tract that cannot be resolved into some geological peculiarity in the country’s framework, or which does not bear witness otherwise and more directly than from any mere suggestion of the associative faculty, to some striking event in its physical history. Its landscapes are tablets roughened, like the tablets of Nineveh, with the records of the past; and their various features, whether of hill or valley, terrace or escarpment, form the bold and graceful characters in which the narrative is inscribed.”

It is in the same spirit that he goes back through the successive periods of geological time, from the glacial to the tertiary, secondary, palæozoic, and azoic; everywhere seizing upon the materials which lie obvious to every thoughtful observer, and building these up into the fabric of science with the masterly design of the able architect, and the skilful handling of the practised artisan,—the graceful suggestions of a poetic imagination being by no means passed by, but finding place wherever such ornaments could be appropriately introduced.

The book is adapted as well as any book could be to lead its reader to the study of geology in the best of all methods, that of observation guided by intelligence; and it will conduct him by the same path which its author himself followed with such remarkable sagacity and such singular success, when, unconscious of the results which had been evolved by the labours of his predecessors, he set himself to reason upon the phenomena exhibited by his sandstone quarry, and to search into the past history of the globe under the sure guidance of the clue afforded by observation of the changes it is even now undergoing.

One especial charm which these lectures have for us, is their entire freedom from those theological discussions and allusions which form so prominent a feature of most of their author's writings. In their composition he seems to have wisely determined to apply himself in the first instance to the exposition of Geology as a science; and to have reserved the question of its bearing on Scripture for separate discourses, which were delivered as the closing lectures of the course. These have been already published in "*The Testimony of the Rocks*;" and Mrs. Miller has, in our opinion, exercised a wise discretion in not reproducing them here, and in substituting as an Appendix a series of extracts from papers left by her husband, on various points of geological interest, which had not been incorporated in either of his published works. She has also added in a Preface a notice of some of the more important geological discoveries which have been made since the lectures were delivered; dwelling especially on the changes which have been brought about in the interpretation of the palæozoic geology of Scotland by the recent determination of Sir Roderick Murchison (based upon the evidence of fossils for the most part collected by Mr. C.W. Peach), that the supposed Old Red Conglomerate of the Western Highlands really belongs to the Silurian period, and on the discovery, now fully substantiated, of the imprint of the footsteps of large reptiles in the uppermost beds of the true Old Red Sandstone. The recent date of one of the most important results wrought out by modern Geological inquiry, has prevented her from including this in her summary; and we shall do our readers a service by a concise statement of the evidence, which now seems conclusive, in regard to the co-existence of man with those numerous species of mammals, most of them now extinct, which tenanted this portion of the globe in the "post-pleiocene," or "drift" period.

The belief in the recent introduction of the human race has been until lately so generally accepted amongst geologists, that it has seemed nothing short of the rankest heresy to attempt to disturb it. Cases have every now and then been adduced in which human bones or implements were discovered in the same beds with bones of extinct mammals; but these have been thought to be explicable by accidents which might have subsequently brought about an association not dependent on original contemporaneity of existence. A very remarkable case of this kind was made known about two years ago by M. de Perthes, who, in a work entitled "*Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes*," announced his discovery of flints obviously fashioned by the hand of man in gravel-pits, on hills 200 feet high, in the neighbourhood of Abbeville, associated with the remains of the extinct elephant, rhinoceros, bear, hyæna, stag, ox, and horse; the gravel beds being overlaid with thick beds of sand and loam containing the delicate shells of fresh-water mollusks. Even this case did not at once attract the attention it deserved, on account, perhaps, of the admixture of theory with the facts stated by M. de Perthes; but it happened that, in the course of last year, further evidence of the same kind was brought to light in the course of some explorations which have been carried on beneath the stalagmitic crust which forms the

floor of a cave newly opened at Brixham, in Devonshire. Strongly impressed with the facts there revealed, but still not feeling altogether satisfied that they might not admit of some other explanation, Mr. Prestwich, the geologist *par excellence* of the post-tertiary formations, and, therefore, the man of all others best qualified to pronounce authoritatively upon such a question, determined to examine for himself into the cases cited by M. de Perthes as occurring in the neighbourhood of Abbeville and Amiens; and he wisely associated with himself Mr. Evans, an antiquary, who had paid great attention to the subject of flint weapons. Ocular proof was obtained by these gentlemen of the existence of the flint implements *in situ*, and of the undisturbed condition of the gravel bed above and around them; and the idea of their having been buried at some period subsequent to the formation of the drift was entirely negatived by the absence of any traces of the holes which must have been dug for the purpose, none such being discoverable, though many hundreds of the implements had been found dispersed through the mass. The inference seems irresistible, therefore, that these implements were originally imbedded in the gravel with the remains of animals which are known to have tenanted Europe during the period of its formation; and the only reasonable doubt that can present itself as to man's contemporaneity with them, arises out of the question, whether these flints were really fashioned by the art of man, or whether they may have derived their peculiar configuration from natural causes. As to this point, however, we cannot think that doubt can exist in the mind of any intelligent person who carefully examines them, and who compares them with the forms into which flints are brought by natural fracture. They are much ruder in their shape than the Celtic stone weapons, and seem, from their geological position, to have been long anterior, the Celtic stone weapons being found in the superficial soil above the drift; so that it seems probable that they are the remains of a different race of men, who inhabited this region of the globe at a period anterior to its Celtic occupation.

Having been fully satisfied of these facts by his investigation of the Abbeville and Amiens cases, Mr. Prestwich turned his attention to the account given by Mr. Frere in the "Archæologia," of the occurrence of a similar case towards the end of the last century in our own country; a number of flint weapons having been discovered in conjunction with elephant remains, in a gravel-pit in Suffolk, at a depth of 11 or 12 feet from the surface, the gravel being overlaid by sand and brick-earth. Some of these weapons are preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, and others in the British Museum; and they are identical in form with those found in Normandy. Proceeding to this spot for the purpose of making a personal investigation of the circumstances, Mr. Prestwich was fortunate enough to meet with an old man who distinctly remembered the finding of the weapons more than sixty years since, and who was able to point out the spot from which they had been dug; and he further ascertained that similar implements have been since found from time to time in the same deposit of gravel, two having been dug out last winter. The

evidence of the Suffolk gravel-pit is, therefore, quite corroborative of that of the Abbeville and Amiens beds; and there can be little doubt that a careful scrutiny of the mammaliferous drifts elsewhere would bring to light similar evidences of man's existence at the period of their formation. So far from looking upon such cases as exceptional, and as furnishing difficulties to be explained away, geologists will now, it may be hoped, accept them as normal, and zealously seek for additional facts that may throw light upon the condition of these by far the earliest human inhabitants of our globe of whose existence we have any traces.

It is much to Hugh Miller's credit that he abstained from pronouncing dogmatically, in the lectures before us, against the higher antiquity of the human race; and we have been much struck with the cautious manner in which he expressed himself on this point. "We have no good grounds to believe," he says, "that man existed upon the earth, during what in Britain and that portion of the Continent which lies under the same lines of latitude, were the times of the boulder-clay and drift gravels." Had his life been prolonged a couple of years later, he would have been made acquainted with the facts of which we have given an outline; and we cannot doubt that, with the honesty which characterized him, he would have at once recognised their logical value, and admitted the inferences to which they seem so unequivocally to lead; and would have then set himself manfully to work anew at the problem he was always labouring to solve—the reconciliation of the facts of Geological Science with the Scriptural record of the Creation. How futile every such attempt must be—how vain a thing it is to set bounds to knowledge, and to say "hitherto shalt thou come, and no further"—is so fully exemplified in the past history of Geology, and especially in the case just cited, that it may be hoped that henceforth the attempt may be abandoned, and that men of science will pursue their inquiries untrammelled by the fancied necessity of squaring their doctrines in accordance with any foregone conclusion whatever. Every truly philosophic worker will abstain from building inferences upon *negative* data. Hugh Miller could affirm with perfect truth that there were then "no good grounds" to believe that man had co-existed with the extinct mammals of the drift; yet unmistakable grounds for such a belief have now been furnished. With such a fact before him, and with the analogous evidence of the existence of reptilian and of mammalian life at epochs long anterior to those at which they had been previously regarded as having made their first appearance in the Earth's history—will any geologist now venture to do more than repeat Hugh Miller's phrase in regard to the existence of man at any period anterior to the times of the boulder-clay and drift gravels, or positively to deny that he may have been contemporaneous with the extinct mammals either of the earlier Tertiaries, or of *any* antecedent formation?

For more than fifty years M. Biot has held a most distinguished position among the *savans* of France; and he has attained a deserved reputation, not merely on account of his attainments, labours, and discoveries in mathematics and physical science, but also for his clear-

ness and admirable method of exposition as a writer on scientific subjects, for his candour and sound judgment as a critic, and for his truthfulness and ability as a biographer. The collection of "Scientific and Literary Miscellanies"⁴ which he has now given to the world, embraces such of his writings, not too purely technical, as he has himself thought most worthy of republication; it embraces a great variety of subjects, scientific, literary, historical, and personal; and it will be doubtless studied with interest by many in this country as well as on the Continent, as probably the last production of one of that small but memorable band of scientific veterans (sadly thinned by the recent deaths of Humboldt and Robert Brown) whose labours contributed so largely to the advancement of science during the first third of the present century.

Those of our readers who are interested in meteorological theories will be glad to know that the views of Mr. Rowell, an intelligent and independent self-educated thinker, whose doctrines have been more than once discussed at the British Association, have now been put forth in a more complete form,⁵ with every desire on the part of the author that they should be fully and fairly canvassed. We will not take upon ourselves to pronounce upon their value, but we cannot refuse our testimony to the modesty with which they are propounded, and to the scientific knowledge which is adduced in their support.

We are glad to find that the peaceful pursuits of science have not been neglected in our Indian empire, notwithstanding that the din of arms and the cries of human suffering have drowned for a time its gentler utterances. In the new part of the "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India,"⁶ which has lately reached us, will be found a memoir "On the Geological Structure of a portion of the Khasi Hills, Bengal," by Dr. Oldham, the Director of the Indian Survey, and another "On the Geological Structure of the Nilghiri Hills, Madras," by Henry P. Blandford. Both these are of too technical a character to admit of our giving even an outline of their contents; but we may mention it as an example of the difficulties which attend the prosecution of inquiries of this kind in India, that at one of the stations at which Dr. Oldham spent three months, there fell in that period no fewer than *two hundred and seventy-six inches* of rain.

Having brought under the attention of our readers in our last volume the laborious treatise on "Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology," which has been recently completed by Dr. Hermann Schacht, we had not expected to be so soon called upon to notice another production from his pen;⁷ but we have great satisfaction in recommending the

⁴ "Mélanges Scientifiques et Littéraires." Par J. B. Biot, Membre de l'Académie Française. Tomes iii. 8vo. Paris. 1858.

⁵ "An Essay on the Cause of Rain and its Allied Phenomena." By G. A. Rowell, Honorary Member of the Ashmolean Society. Oxford. 1859. 8vo, pp. 165.

⁶ "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India." Vol. I. Part II. Published by the Government. Calcutta. 1858.

⁷ "Grundriss der Anatomie und Physiologie der Gewächse. Zum Gebrauch beim Unterricht und sein Selbststudium für Mediciner, Pharmaceuten, Hand-und

compendious treatise he has since issued, as admirably suited to impart a scientific acquaintance with the subject to those who do not care to go into its minutiae, and who seek only to master the general structure of plants and the principal facts in the history of their growth and development.

Dr. Massy's little work⁸ is scarcely what its title would lead us to suppose; for it is really a treatise on Homœopathy *versus* Allopathy, written in the usual style of such productions. Though Homœopathy may rightly claim to be accounted "mild" medicine, it is unfair to designate Allopathy as "severe;" and the large class of so-called allopathic practitioners who put their chief trust in the curative powers of nature is altogether ignored. What is most wanted for the establishment of Homœopathy as a scientific doctrine, is not that kind of comparison which Homœopathic writers are always drawing between their own practice and that of their "regular" opponents; but explicit proof that their system of treatment has any efficiency whatever, beyond that which it derives from the regulated regimen of the patient, and from that expectation of benefit which (as all experience shows) is a large element in the success of *any* method of treatment. It is difficult to experiment satisfactorily upon such a point; but to those who seek for positive evidence of the therapeutic value of infinitesimal doses, nothing short of a careful comparison of a wide range of results of the Homœopathic as compared with the simply Natural treatment can have the least value. We believe that the materials for such a comparison are to be found in the hospitals of Vienna; and it does not say much for the system, that these materials have not been made available to its support.

It would be scarcely possible to draw a more remarkable contrast than between the hypothetical dynamization asserted by the followers of Hahnemann to be imparted by friction to infinitesimal doses of medicines (the proof of whose potency is only to be obtained by watching their effects on the living body under circumstances peculiarly liable to induce fallacious results), and the agency of the Electric force, which, whilst capable of excitement by the very same means, possesses an obvious power both over inorganic matters and over the living body, the conditions of whose action can be determined with precision, and which will doubtless be turned to most valuable account in the treatment of disease, when the nature of the departure from the normal state in each class of cases shall have been sufficiently elucidated. The researches of Matteucci, Du Bois-Reymond, and others have recently added so much to our knowledge of the physiological action of Electricity, that it is not unreasonable to hope that a foundation will ere long be laid for its rational employment in medical practice. Hitherto, it must be confessed, the successful results which have seemed to be derived from its use have been but very few in comparison

Forstwirthe, so wie für Studierende der Naturwissenschaften überhaupt." Von Dr. Hermann Schacht. Mit 349 mikroskopischen Abbildungen auf 159 in den Text gedruckten Holzschnitten. Berlin. 1859. 8vo, pp. 208.

⁸ "Mild Medicine in Contradistinction to Severe Medicine." By R. Tuthill Massy, M.D., L.R.C.S.I., &c. London. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 118.

with the multitude of failures ; and a not unreasonable prejudice exists against its remedial value among a large proportion of the medical profession, who see it practised by empirics almost universally ignorant of its effects on the healthy body, and destitute of any principle to guide them in the application of it to the treatment of disease. It is of the more importance, therefore, that the inquiry should be systematically taken up by men who are qualified, both by medical and by physical studies, to investigate it aright ; and in the work⁹ before us Dr. Althaus gives abundant evidence of his qualifications in both these respects, and of his desire to investigate the therapeutic value of Electricity by a judicious and carefully-devised system of experimentation. Of its general tone and spirit we can speak most favourably ; for it is as complete a contrast to the preceding, in these respects, as it is in its subject.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

HISTORICAL epitomes are seldom of much use, except as chronological registers. "To swell the number of bare outlines or skeletons of mediæval history" was not, however, the design of Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, when he undertook to supply a record of the political and social characteristics of the Middle Ages.¹ He had hoped, indeed, to have been able to condense the history of this period in one volume, similar to his Manual, containing the history of antiquity, of which the present work is to be regarded as a continuation ; but he found that the mass of material and the interest of the subject "demanded a fuller and more detailed treatment." Accordingly he has divided the history of the Middle Ages into two great periods, the first extending from the overthrow of the Western Empire to the Crusades A.D. 476-1096, and the second from the beginning of the Crusades, to the Protestant Reformation. Each of these periods occupies a volume. The first volume, comprising a universal history of 620 years, is now given to the public. The second will follow in a short time. In preparing this excellent condensation of the events of Catholic and Feudal times, Dr. L. Schmitz has not only consulted the best modern works, but has availed himself of contemporary authorities, when accessible. His epochal subdivisions appear to us well chosen, but the Protestant Reformation cannot, we think, notwithstanding its canonical repute, be regarded as the *beginning* of the new era in Europe. Social phenomena are so closely interdependent, that it is not possible to fix with precision the epoch at which one phasis terminates and another begins ; but numerous organic changes, political, industrial, and philosophical,

⁹ "A Treatise on Medical Electricity, Theoretical and Practical ; and its Use in the Treatment of Paralysis, Neuralgia, and other Diseases." By J. Althaus, M.D. London. 1859. 8vo, pp. 352.

¹ "A History of the Middle Ages." By Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. In 2 vols. London: Rivingtons. 1859.

indicate the early part of the fourteenth century as the true era of the *commencement* of the decline of mediæval institutions. While Dr. L. Schmitz admits that a portion of the period commonly designated the dark ages is characterized by a profound ignorance of some of the most vital principles of human progress and happiness, he protests against the ungrateful presumption which treats that period as one of utter darkness, or regards it with contempt or indifference. It was, he rightly says, a period in which new and intrusive elements, while they could not but destroy much that was ancient and valuable, had to pass through a long process, in which they were either assimilated to the ancient elements, or ultimately came forth as distinct nationalities, with new institutions and ideas. In fact, the whole of the mediæval period was the season of planting and maturing the fruits which were reaped in the beginning of the sixteenth century. During these ages Feudalism grew up to cement afresh the old social relations, Catholicism arose to give moral discipline and political unity to Europe: Monasticism elaborated thought, protected weakness, and promoted agriculture. The Romance languages were the growth of this period; the Crusades made whole nations thrill with the sentiment of a common life; a magnificent architecture covered the land with noble castles and palaces, or imposing cathedrals and churches. Our Parliamentary and municipal government, and all our civil and social institutions have their origin in the Middle Ages. The destructive as well as constructive character of these times; the evil as well as the good; the barbarism and ferocity as well as the chivalry and piety of our mediæval ancestors, are not unsatisfactorily exhibited by Dr. Schmitz in this valuable manual. The pages in which the career of Charlemagne, that "rock in the broad ocean," is related, and those which describe the rise and progress of Mahomedanism, and appreciate the civilization of its professors, are replete with interesting fact. The historian is tolerant and liberal in his views; and willingly recognises moral energy or intellectual power in Catholic as in Protestant, in Moslem as in Christian.

A narrative of the struggle between the Parliament of France and the Fronde, combined with a biography of Mathieu Molé, who led one of the two opposing parties of Parliament as Condé did the other, has been drawn up by the Baron de Barante.² Michelet designates the Fronde as the most ridiculous of revolutions, and defines it as a revolt of the lawyers against the law. It broke out in the year of the treaty of Westphalia, 1648, the year which terminated a European war, and added Alsace to France. The Parliament of Paris was composed of lawyers; timid, tractable, and submissive in general, it became bold and defiant on the death of Richelieu. Cardinal Mazarin succeeded this great minister, inheriting his difficulties as well as his high position. The misery of the people was extreme. It was impossible to augment the revenue by taxation. Mazarin had recourse to casual expedients. Four years' payment was withdrawn from the royal Companies by

² "Le Parlement et la Fronde. La Vie de Mathieu Molé." Par le Baron de Barante. Paris: Didier et C^{ie}. 1859.

Emeri, the superintendent of finance. An exemption was offered to the Parliament, but it declined this grace, and refused to register the edict. It then declared its unison with the other Companies, those of the Grand Council, Chamber of Accounts, and Court of Aids. Discussions and remonstrances on the Royal Declaration followed. The Queen Regent and the ministers lost patience, and as the Parliament was returning from the church of Notre Dame, where a Te Deum had been chaunted for the victory of Lens, they had Broussel and de Blancmesnil (the President) arrested, and three other members of Parliament banished. Broussel was a favourite with the people. A mob collected before his door. The streets were in an uproar. Stones were flung. Marshal de la Meillarde and his guards were unable to preserve the peace. Two or three persons were killed, and the tumult was not appeased till night. M. Molé, the First President, had an interview with the Queen. "I know," said this fearless woman, "that there is a disturbance in the city; but you shall answer for it, Messieurs du Parlement. Retirez." Molé and twenty others with him a second time approached the Queen. On bended knee and with tears in their eyes, they besought her to release Broussel, or at least to deliberate on the means for averting a great public calamity. The Parliament proceeded at last to the customary place of discussion. At every ten steps they heard the people demanding the liberation of Broussel. They had passed two barricades, when Molé was seized by one of the insurgents, who presented a pistol, bidding him return to the Palais Royal, and not leave it till Broussel was liberated. "You are very impudent," said the President. "Turn traitor," said the man, plucking him by the beard, "and bring us Broussel or Mazarin." Molé's reply was a menace of punishment. The civil war began. The people sided with the Parliament. The anti-court party professed to be well-affected to the Queen, and declared that their opposition was directed against the Cardinal Mazarin only. He was the object of all their accusations; the mark at which they slung all their invectives. Hence their sobriquet of Frondeurs. The Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Nemours, the Prince of Conti, the Duke de Vendôme, and Marshal Turenne were their leaders. On the day of the barricades, the people of Paris attacked the troops, and obliged the Queen to liberate the two members. A kind of truce followed; but the Parliament continuing refractory, and the people tumultuous, the Queen withdrew from Paris to St. Germain, taking with her her son, and commissioning the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé to reduce Paris by blockade. The Parliament declared Cardinal Mazarin a public enemy, and outlawed him. It levied troops, moreover, but the presence of the Spaniards, who had entered France to take advantage of this crisis, was the occasion of a momentary reconciliation. The Queen, King, and minister returned to Paris in August 1649. In 1650 Condé's pretensions became insupportable, and the Queen had him arrested. He had already bargained with the party of the Fronde. Turenne, who was about to join the Spaniards, gave out that he contended for his deliverance. Mazarin, finding the cause of the Princes and the Frondeurs supported by Spain, was compelled to yield. In

1654 he gained over Turenne. In the following year the Parisians themselves obliged the king to return. The Frondeurs crowded the ante-chambers of Mazarin. Condé and the Spaniards were defeated by Turenne, who was now in command of the royal army. The Fronde, says Michlet, had ruined the Parliament by forcing it to acknowledge them, and the success of the Fronde over the Parliament terminated in the complete and final triumph of royalty.

Mathieu Molé is regarded by his admiring biographer as a man of rare virtue and noble intellect, as the type and model of that Parliamentary spirit which for more than two centuries had defended France against the arbitrary acts of an absolute government. He was forty years in public life. As First President, he was prudent and impartial, now vindicating the royal power and social order, now maintaining the prerogatives of Parliament and the authority of the laws. Montesquieu praises him for his unexampled heroism; de Retz testifies to his courage and many virtues; Cardinal Richelieu, in whose administration he had discharged the duties of Procurer-General of the Parliament, respected and valued him. It is said of him that he never betrayed his duty to the Queen, the honour of Parliament, or the interests of the people, while he moderated the ardour and baffled the intrigues of faction. Mathieu Molé was born in 1584, of a family not without historical renown. In 1429, when Jeanne d'Arc presented herself before the town of Troyes, William Molé was one of the leaders of the anti-English party there who persuaded the garrison to treat with the besieging forces, the negotiation ending in the honourable retirement of the former. The posterity of W. Molé formed many a noble alliance during the next two hundred years. In 1502, Edward Molé was named President of the Parliament. His son, the subject of our biography, was born in 1584. In the twenty-second year of his age, he was made *conseiller*; four years after, he was appointed *Président aux Requêtes*, and *Procurer-Général* in 1614. In 1611, the office of First President of the Parliament was vacated by the death of Lejay. Ten months after Molé succeeded him. Subsequently, he was made Keeper of the Seals, but finding the functions of his double position incompatible, he was permitted to resign (1653), and during the few years of life that yet remained to him enjoyed the repose of a private and undistinguished existence; his sole luxury being a splendid library. He died three years after his retirement.

The fourth volume of Mr. Knight's "Popular History of England"³ concludes the period from the earliest time to the Revolution of 1688. The fifth and lately issued volume commences the second and more modern division, dating from the restoration of English liberty and terminating with that epoch in the reign of Queen Victoria "which includes the great change in the commercial policy of the country which was the crowning glory of a period of wonderful material development." For the general characteristics of this meritorious narrative of our national life and development, we refer our readers to

³ "The Popular History of England." By C. Knight. Vol. V. Bradbury and Evans. 1859.

previous notices in the "Westminster Review," contenting ourselves with the remark that the recent instalment indicates the same literary grace, the same quiet enthusiasm, and the same catholic sympathy which have been commended in the preceding portions. The volume now before us contains thirty chapters. Of these twenty-one are historical and nine descriptive of the social, industrial, political, and intellectual condition of the people. The historical narrative comprises the interval of time between 1689 and 1744, from the proclamation which announced that William and Mary were king and queen of these realms till the death of Anne and the succession of the "elderly foreign gentleman who spoke no English." The battle of the Boyne; the Act of Settlement; the impeachment of Somers; the Peace of Ryswick; the Treaty of Utrecht; the campaigns of Marlborough and Peterborough; the Jacobite plots and attempted invasion; the trial of Sacheverel and the dismissal of Oxford are described or discussed with Mr. Knight's usual felicity of expression and freshness of feeling. He introduces us to all the great men of the day,—the brilliant and intriguing Bolingbroke; the matchless satirist and unwearied pamphleteer, Swift; the sturdy, deep-thinking, and inventive De Foe; the gentle humorist, Addison; and the wittiest and most elaborate of poetic artists, Pope. Dutch William himself is pronounced by Mr. Knight to have been for thirteen years well nigh the sole "representative of what was heroic in England." Physically, however, he was not of heroic mould. He had a thin and weak body and was asthmatic. This man with the "large front and bright eye," with the "amazing memory and slow speech," with a frigid demeanour and solemn manner, used his talents, says our historian, not for display, but for service, disarmed the hostility of factions by his seeming imperturbability; in war carried the hearts of all along with him by his fire and his daring; and in negotiation accomplished the greatest objects by his perseverance and, above all, by his truthfulness. The circumstances attending the Massacre of Glencoe, for which some historians have made William alone responsible, are related with precision. Mr. Knight assumes that the king *did* read the order for the extirpation of Mac Ian and "that tribe" before signing it, and avers that the word extirpation meant a complete suppression of a lawless community, but not their indiscriminate slaughter. William, he says, acceded to the one exception to his general clemency urged on him by Dalrymple, Argyle, and Breadalbane, intending the clan to be rooted out, *i.e.*, broken up and removed, but not to be butchered. In this instance, William was wholly under the guidance of his Scotch ministers, acting in the spirit of all Scotch statesmen towards the Highland clans. The slaughter was devised by Scottish statesmen of the Lowlands, and carried through by Scottish captains of the Highlands. The military execution was a device of the crafty and ferocious spirit of clan hostility. Glencoe, moreover, was not the last of the Highland massacres "sanctioned by no intervention of King William, but by the old letters of 'fire and sword' granted by the Privy Council of Scotland. In the nine chapters elucidatory of England's social condition, and the progress of the liberal arts and sciences, many emphatic and informing facts are recorded. At

the beginning of the eighteenth century the enclosed land of England was estimated at half the area of the kingdom. Ten thousand square miles of land, now under cultivation, were then heath, morass, and forest. On this vast tract squatted the vagrants, or cottagers, as they were called, enjoying an annual income of *£*10s. per family. The agricultural labourer was better off, the yearly revenue of a labouring man's family being *£*15. Wheat was then forty shillings a quarter; One-fifth of the whole population were paupers. The income of "eminent clergymen" was little more than one-fourth that of a gentleman, the "lesser clergyman's" pecuniary means were a little above those of a farmer; while some of the clergy had a pittance not higher than that of the common seaman or outdoor labourer. For the poor there was little or no education. Geography and history were not among the usual studies of the children of the nobility, who were instructed mainly in dancing, fencing, and riding. Science, however, was cultivated, art encouraged, and literature patronized in the first half of the eighteenth century. The influence and objects of the essayists, and the two great writers of fiction of that period; the genius of Wren and Vanbrugh, as architects; of Gibbons, as sculptor; and of Kneller, Thornhill, and Hogarth, as painters, are appreciated in the closing chapters of this volume of Mr. Knight's history. The book abounds in illustrations of coins, medals, state insignia, costume, and art.

Mr. Wilson, an American tourist, and the author of the "Religion of Mexico," has put forth a new history of the Spanish Conquest, in which the matured thoughts of the author on this subject are presented to us.⁴ Mr. Wilson denies the trustworthiness of the chronicles which furnished the late Mr. Prescott with the materials for his admired narrative of the Conquest. He claims no merit for personal sagacity, and makes no pretensions to originality. The Hon. Lewis Cass, in the "North American Review," had pointed out the inconsistencies and fables of the Spanish historians even before Prescott wrote his history. Mr. Albert Gallatin, too, had preceded him "in his complete exposure of one great imposture, the pretended Aztec picture-writing." It is Mr. Wilson's distinction to have embodied into a system the isolated branches of the subject, which have been successfully investigated by others. The final result of this new historical construction is given in the present volume. Fresh from the burning pages of Prescott, says Mr. Wilson, we stepped on the shore of Mexico only to find how the dreamland of our heated brain differed from the Mexico of reality. The first glance at the semi-sterile plateau of Tlascala, suggested doubt. No agricultural skill could have forced from the ungrateful soil a tithe of the produce necessary to support the millions who are said to have held sway there. Where, too, was the "Vallum" of Cortez? Where the solid wall of miles in length? The aspect of Cholula shook his faith into a heap of dust. He hastened to the "great pyramid." Before him was a large cone, such as still exist in Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana. From that moment

⁴ "A New History of the Conquest of Mexico, &c." By Robert Anderson Wilson, Counsellor-at-Law. London: Trübner and Co. 1859.

all credence in the relations of previous historiographers was annihilated. Further inquiry ensued, terminating in a new theory to account for the pre-existence of Mexican civilization, and in the entire rejection of a mass of foreign material apparently borrowed from fables of the Moorish era, for effect in Spain. The chief positions, or conclusions, of our sceptical historian may be thus abbreviated. The Aztec picture-writings are Spanish fabrications. They do not purport to be originals, but are confessedly transcripts by the Monk Pietro from Indian records. Their continuation for thirty-two years *after* the Conquest, the contradictions and absurdities which they present, and the entire absence of evidence in favour of their genuineness, induce Mr. Wilson to regard the whole story as one of Zumarraga's pious frauds. The narrative of Bernal Diaz de Castillo, written fifty years after the war, is a "history conformed to the interests of the Church," and Bernal Diaz himself is denounced as a myth. This narrative, like the Aztec picture-writings, appeared in the second generation succeeding the Conquest. The despatches of Cortez are our only written authority. They consist of two parts, one an accurate detail of adventures consistent with the topography of the region in which they occurred; the other a mass of mythical material. Mr. Wilson considers that the removal of this element secures both the hero and the war a more commanding position than has hitherto been assigned them. Passing on to a critical survey of the extinct empire of central America, our author indicates the numerous points of resemblance between the architecture of these perished cities of an unknown antiquity and that of the Egyptians. Yet notwithstanding the striking analogies enunciated by him, he decides that the ancient inhabitants were not Egyptian. Their mode of sepulture was different; their methods of worship different; the structure of their pyramids different. The *cultus* of primeval America suggests a Phœnician origin for its population. In the Palenque statue he desires to find the Phœnician Hercules; in the figure of a female holding a child, he recognises the Astarte of the Sidonian medals. This empire beyond the seas was founded, he tells us, by emigrants, who crossed the ocean in ships propelled by sails, similar to those represented in the tombs of the Pharaohs. The character and career of Cortez are subjected to a severe examination. Mr. Wilson accepts him as an authority in his description of marches and countermarches, refusing to believe his statements when he descants on the number of his enemies or the magnificence of his victories. Had Cortez stated the simple truth, he could hardly have been comprehended. He purposely exaggerates. When he discourses of the court and capital of Montezuma, he describes Grenada. The palaces which he burnt never existed. Instead of 150,000 allies, he had perhaps 500; the charge of addiction to human sacrifice, brought against the Indians, is unfounded; the imputation of cannibalism is a monstrous libel. Such tales were fabricated to justify the conqueror's career, and give to his policy of extermination the character of a Holy War. The fabled empire of Montezuma, before the disenchanting criticism of Mr. Wilson is reduced to a confederacy resembling that of the Iroquois and Hurons. No such government as Cortez pretends to have found,

could have existed without ample means of intercommunication, without a currency, without a literature, without a written law. None of these are asserted to have been discovered. Moreover, Mexico has no buildings, or fragments of buildings, anterior to the Conquest, excepting those claimed as Phœnician. The Spanish expedition was, however, a remarkable one, and Cortez was a man who would have been distinguished in any age.

“He warred at the same time against the policy of his own government, the council of the Indies, its pet governor of Cuba, and the protector of the Indians, and triumphed over all when he vanquished his savage foes.”

Such is a brief presentment of Mr. Wilson's historical views, constructive as well as destructive. It requires a special and minute knowledge of the related circumstances and literary phenomena to estimate their value aright. The ancient documents on which his predecessors have relied, are the Indian picture-writings, or rather the transcripts of them, the history of Bernal Diaz, that of Gomara, and the narrative of Cortez. With regard to the Indian picture-writings, the critical examination of Mr. Gallatin has, we think, irretrievably damaged, if not destroyed, their credit. Their genuineness is not only not proven, but there seems some reason for believing them to be fabrications. “Bernal Diaz” wrote his history fifty years after the Conquest. Gomara was the chaplain of Cortez, and the principal historiographer of his victorious career. In their writings, as in the despatches of Cortez, there are instances of gross exaggeration, and incredible statements abound. Carelessness, inaccuracy, a love of the marvellous, a tendency to magnify and multiply effects, justify a severe and searching inquiry and predispose the mind to doubt. Mr. Wilson, however, is more than sceptical. He pronounces the history of Diaz a fiction; that of Gomara a romance; the despatches of Cortez credit-worthy only when he describes strategic operations. By him we are called on to regard the narrative of the Conquest as essentially and designedly mendacious. Cortez was a systematic liar. Gomara equalled him in that bad renown. “Diaz” is a mythical personage, and the candour and simplicity of the book which bears his name are purely fictitious. Future historians may ratify Mr. Wilson's judgment, or reverse the sweeping sentence of condemnation which he passes on the chroniclers of the Conquest. We do not assert that Mr. Wilson's extreme Protestantism prepossesses his conclusions; but we should be more disposed to consider his inquiry impartial, if we found him less hostile to those whose natural tastes or instincts lead them to prefer a sensuous and ceremonial religion to the undecorated *cultus* of his own refined, if frigid, spiritualism. In Mr. Wilson's judgment all devotees lack moral principle; and he has yet to find one “with rope and sandals and lacerated body who is not a liar by instinct, and a scamp in practice.” “Educated in a system of godliness,” Mr. Wilson is “at every step in conflict with the monk and the popular historian.” Dr. Robertson excites his contempt scarcely less than Gomara. Mr. Wilson, however, has himself a large fund of credulity. Identifying Hercules with Rameses V., he thinks that the attempt to establish Samson as the

Rousseau: his Life and Writings.

citizens, subjects. To indemnify man for the loss of this natural liberty, he is invested with civil liberty; while forcible or casual appropriation is succeeded by the legal institution of property. The association is supreme. The sovereignty resides in the body of the people, and is inalienable and indivisible. Duty and interest become reciprocal and obligatory; but as the individual and collective interest may conflict, there is a tacit understanding that the recusant to the general will is to be summarily coerced. There is, however, a rule for the reconciliation of interests, viz., to oppose the interests of the aggregate to the interest of every individual that forms a constituent part of it. Thus the collective will is guaranteed from error. And thus in the ideal republic of reform, as in the maxim of English jurisprudence, the king can do no wrong.

Such is a brief presentment of this famous theory of government. Its metaphysical origin cannot be concealed. It reposes on abstractions. It ignores or disdains facts. History knows nothing of a social contract, a state of Nature, a collective infallible will. Coleridge well remarks that in the

“Distinction established by Rousseau himself between the *volonté de tous* and the *volonté generale*, the falsehood or nothingness of the whole system becomes apparent. For it follows as an inevitable consequence that all which is said in the *contrat social* of that sovereign will to which the right of universal legislation appertains, applies to no one human being, to no society or assemblage of human beings, and least of all to the mixed multitude that makes up the people; but entirely and exclusively to reason itself.”*

A coercive authority, as we have seen, resides in Rousseau's ideal sovereign and lawmaker. To secure entire personal independence to every citizen, the refractory members of the body politic are to be reduced into obedience to the general will. How far the practice would accord with the theory, or how far metaphysical liberty is equivalent to positive liberty, will be inferred from the right of the sovereign to punish dissent from the religion of the State. Rousseau lays it down as a first principle that a public profession of faith is indispensable to the well-being of society. The State creed consists of three articles. The existence of a Supreme Being; a retributive immortality; and the sanctity of the social contract, and the laws. A public recognition of these dogmas imposes practical obedience. Conduct inconsistent with belief in them is punishable by death. For those anti-social characters who refuse subscription, the milder penalty of banishment is decreed.

It was in perfect consistency with this theory, that in the re-

* “The Friend,” vol. i. p. 265. 1837.

town, and some "peculiarly interesting," relating to the Zemindar settlement.

The family of Cornwallys or Cornwaleys was of some importance in Ireland in early times. A younger son, Thomas, established himself in London and was sheriff of the city in 1373. He purchased landed property in Suffolk. To the estates thus acquired his son John added Brome, near Eyc, which became the principal family seat. In 1553, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, the sixth in descent, took the principal part in suppressing the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt. For this service he was made a Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Household; but, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he, being a Roman Catholic, was deprived of his office. He had also been Governor of the town of Calais, and a suspicion of having betrayed his post, gave rise to more than one lampoon, to the following effect:—Who built Brome Hall?—Sir Thomas Cornwallis. How did he build it?—By selling of Calais. His grandson, Frederick, created a baronet May 4, 1627, espoused the king's side in the Civil War. In 1661 he became Baron Cornwallis of Eyc. Charles, the fifth Lord, was made Earl Cornwallis and Viscount Brome, 1753. His sixth child, but eldest son, the subject of Mr. Ross's memorial volumes, was born in Grosvenor Square, December 31, 1738. At an early age he went to Eton. His first commission, as ensign in the First Guards, now the Grenadiers, bears date December 8, 1756. Shortly after Lord Brome joined the army in Germany, and continuing for some time on Lord Granby's staff was present at the various actions, including Minden, in which his chief was engaged. In June, 1760, he was elected member for Eye, and represented that borough till he succeeded to the earldom, June 23, 1762. About thirteen years afterwards the American revolt occurred. Seven regiments of infantry were assembled at Cork under Lord Cornwallis, on whom was conferred the local rank of lieutenant-general in America. His good services during the first campaign were commended by Sir William Howe, particularly the ability and conduct he displayed in the pursuit of the enemy from Fort Lee to Trenton—a distance exceeding eighty miles. On September 11, 1777, Lord Cornwallis was detached with a strong corps to turn the enemy's flank. He overtook them on the Brandywine, and, though with inferior numbers, charged with great impetuosity. So totally was the American force routed, that had Sir W. Howe promptly advanced, Washington's retreat to Philadelphia might have been intercepted. But so slow were the operations of the British, that they did not move till the 27th. On Lord Cornwallis's return to England, the affairs of America occupied much of the attention of Parliament. The conduct of the war was investigated, and he was examined, but "would only state generally that he had a high respect for Sir William's military talents." At this time the British rank and file at New York amounted to 37,512, with 3,362 in other posts. The American army was never estimated by the witnesses at more than 16,000. The ministers were unable to make good any serious charge against Sir William Howe; the committee adjourned *sine die*, never to meet again, and Lord Cornwallis soon after sailed from England, arriving at New York early in

August, 1799. When the British forces advanced into the interior of the country, the command devolved on Lord Cornwallis. Moving towards Rugeley Mills on the evening of the 15th of August, 1780, he encountered the army of General Gates. The two armies met before daybreak. The contest was long and obstinate, terminating in the total defeat of the American force. Lord Cornwallis tells us that for the tenderness and attention shown to the wounded and prisoners of the enemy's army, taken on this occasion, he received the acknowledgments of General Gates and the principal officers, and complains bitterly of the horrid outrages and cruelties inflicted, the shocking tortures and inhuman murders committed by the enemy. The conduct of the militia, too, gave serious annoyance to Lord Cornwallis. One regiment, after taking the oath of allegiance, marched off in a body. A detachment, intrusted with the care of the sick, delivered them with their own officers to the rebels, who were guilty of the most atrocious cruelties towards the Royalists. The campaign of 1780 was on the whole favourable to the royal forces. While nothing had been lost in the North considerable progress had been made in the South. Charlestown had been taken, South Carolina was occupied, and the province of Georgia was in a state of tranquillity. A terrible reverse occurred in the following year. The campaign opened with the defeat at Cowpens, sustained by Colonel Tarleton—a defeat that crippled Lord Cornwallis's movements during the remainder of the war. The victory at Guilford, in which Lord Cornwallis routed the army and took the cannon of General Greene, however glorious to the British arms, was productive of little real advantage. A sad want of unanimity existed between the two generals. Sir Henry Clinton, jealous and irritated, entirely disapproved of his coadjutor's operations, whose plans appear to have been preferred by the Government at home to those of his military superior. Lord Cornwallis, however, in obedience to the spirit of his Excellency's orders, prepared to take measures to seize and fortify York and Gloucester. The arrival of the French troops and of General Washington rendered the situation of the British very critical, and in a council of war it was determined that a direct movement of the fleet and army to the Chesapeake was the only probable means of affording relief. In Mr. Brodrick's letter to Mr. Townshend Lord Cornwallis's contingent failure is attributed to Sir Henry Clinton's needless apprehensions, the omitted interception of Washington's army when ten thousand men could have been spared from New York, and the frustrated independent action of the second officer in command.

The desired move to York River was not effected; Cornwallis's two advanced redoubts were carried by storm; and failing in his attempt to escape by crossing to Gloucester, he was compelled to propose a capitulation. A successful defence he considered as "perhaps impossible," alleging the impracticabilities of an entrenched camp, subject in most places to enfilade, and the general disadvantageousness of the ground. His force, moreover, was reduced to 3,200 fit for duty, with 600 at Gloucester, including cavalry, while the enemy's army consisted of 21,000 men, with an immense train of heavy artillery

amply furnished with ammunition and perfectly well manned. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis practically put an end to the American war; after the resignation of Lord North the speedy termination of hostilities was considered so certain that a kind of tacit armistice took place, and Rodney's victory of the 12th April, only accelerated peace by extinguishing French hopes of permanent advantage in the West Indian Islands. A pamphlet controversy with Sir Henry Clinton followed the capitulation, after Lord Cornwallis's return to England. His political views now became modified, and on the defeat of the Whig ministry he resigned the constablership of the Tower, subsequently reaccepting it and declining Mr. Pitt's offer of the Governor-Generalship of India. India, however, was his ultimate destination, and in 1786 he entered on his administration. Increased powers had recently been conferred on the Governor-General, and no powers, says Mr. Ross, could be too great, if we consider the rapacity, corruption, oppression, and ignorance of the Company's servants. When Lord Cornwallis assumed the functions of Indian rule the territories of the Company were limited in extent. They had but recently emerged from the dependent position of merchants whose trade with the natives was sanctioned by the sovereign princes. Of the three Presidencies, Bengal was the only one that could raise an income adequate to its expenditure. Between Bombay and the Province of Bengal was interposed a large region governed by its own princes. The Mohamedan rulers still owned the nominal supremacy of Shah Alem, the feeble representative of the mighty Timour. The principal chiefs of the Maratha confederacy were five. On the coasts of the Carnatic and Malabar and in the south of the peninsula various rajahs and nabobs possessed considerable territories. Of all these princes, Tippoo was the most important and the most hostile to the English. With Lord Cornwallis's arrival in India the Company ceased to be feudatories of the Mogul, and the Governor-General claimed at least equality with every ruler. The ninth and tenth chapters of the "Correspondence" relate to the prosecutions of the seven most culpable agents of the Company for speculation, the frauds being chiefly in the purchase of silk; to a money settlement with the Nabob of Oude; the Tanjore succession; financial arrangements; alliance with the Maratha princes; the Company's recruiting service; and changes in the Supreme Council. During the year 1789 the tranquillity of India was undisturbed. Improvements in the military establishments were recommended and adopted by Lord Cornwallis, and a satisfactory settlement of Behar was almost completed. The attack on the lines of Travancore by Tippoo compelled Lord Cornwallis to turn his attention from financial reform to the approaching war. The Rajah of Travancore was an ally of the British, and a regard to good faith and national honour required that they should co-operate with him in the defence of his country against their common enemy. The Governor-General took no active part in the campaign of 1790, but on 29th January 1791 he assumed the command at Vellout. The siege of Bangalore, that of Coimbatore, the convention with the Marathas and the defeat of Tippoo, with a general account of the campaigns, will be found in the thirteenth

chapter of the work. In the following year Lord Cornwallis stormed the lines of Seringapatam, commanding the centre column in person. In the course of the night Tippoo evacuated all his posts to the north of the Caveri, and the siege immediately commenced. A negotiation ensued. Tippoo agreed to surrender one half of his dominions to be divided amongst the allies; the treaty was signed and peace concluded. Lord Cornwallis now undertook to revise the whole revenue system of India. In respecting the so-called rights and privileges of the Zemindars he received the unqualified approbation of Lord Wellesley. In the opinion, however, of the historian of British India, the improvement of the country was sacrificed to aristocratical prepossession. The Zemindar was not the hereditary proprietor but a district collector of rents. The new landed aristocracy, says Mr. J. S. Mill, disappointed every expectation; the whole land of Bengal had to be sequestered and sold; in one generation the ancient Zemindars had ceased to exist, and were succeeded by the drossy descendants of Calcutta money dealers. The Bengal provinces however flourished, and the revenue increased, in spite of the ill-advised character and total failure of the Zemindar measure, as such. For it had one redeeming point. In making the ryots tenants of this spurious proprietary it procured them the primary condition of successful cultivation, security of tenure. In other parts of India, if the evil has been omitted, the good also has been left undone;⁶ and Lord Cornwallis is certainly entitled to the credit of having effected a settlement which has resulted in "a wonderful extension of cultivation," and of having made, what seemed at the time, a good bargain for the Government. The judicial department next occupied his attention, including the establishment of a new police for Calcutta, and the reform of the Civil and Criminal Courts.

On his return to England in 1794, Lord Cornwallis found an English army, under the command of the Duke of York, engaged with the Austrians, Prussians, and Dutch, in the defence of Flanders. He proceeded to the seat of war. The campaign of the Duke proved unfortunate; the divided command necessitated failure; and a virtual generalship of the forces was proposed in favour of Lord Cornwallis, but subsequently relinquished. In 1795, he became Master-General of the Ordnance, in 1798 he accepted the offices of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief, having a second time resigned the appointment of Governor-General of India. The social condition of Ireland in 1798 was most alarming. On the withdrawal of the regular troops, the Volunteer Corps was formed. Ultimately delegates from each corps, calling themselves a Convention, assembled in Dublin, where they assumed a Parliamentary character, with reform, says Mr. Ross, for their nominal object and military intimidation for their avowed means. A system of agitation succeeded; the Society of United Irishmen was established, Republican principles were cherished, and the independence of Ireland, and separation from Great Britain, were the aspiration

⁶ See "*Principles of Political Economy.*" By J. S. Mill Second edition Vol. I. 390-395.

and aim of the revolutionary party. A correspondence with the French Directory seems to have issued in the attempted invasion of Hoche. The outrages committed by "a lawless banditti," calling themselves Defenders, produced the Insurrection Act. A rising was projected; martial law proclaimed; a misapprehension, it is alleged, led to the first effusion of blood, followed by the accession of the Catholics of Wexford, and the attack upon Wicklow of 30,000 men, under these circumstances the civil and military authority in Ireland was concentrated in Lord Cornwallis. The letters which he wrote at this period prove that he was at once determined to crush the rebellion and punish the ringleaders, and anxious to repress the spirit of vengeance. He attributes the insurrection not to Catholicism, but Jacobinism. He accuses the rebels of combined outrages, burnings, and murders, but he complains bitterly of the Yeomanry, who having saved the country, "now take the lead in rapine and murder;" of the Irish Militia, who followed them closely in every kind of atrocity, and of the Fencibles, "although much behindhand with the others." The Yeomanry, he writes, are in the style of the loyalists in America, only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand times more ferocious—an attestation which may be compared with a previous deposition to the conduct of the popular party in America. Lord Cornwallis (vol. iii. p. 89) defends himself against the charge of undue lenity. His lenity, it appears, consisted in "putting a stop to the burning of houses and murder of the inhabitants by the Yeomen, or any other persons who delighted in that amusement, to the flogging for the purpose of extorting confession, and to the free quarters, which comprehended universal rape and robbery." The letters in the third volume relate chiefly to the disturbed state of Ireland, after the suppression of the Rebellion, to the plan of Union and its modifications; the Maynooth Bill and the Peace of Amiens. Lord Cornwallis in common with Mr. Pitt and Viscount Castlereagh considered the removal of the Catholic disabilities very necessary, and strongly condemned the old system of proscription and exclusion in Ireland. On Lord Cornwallis's return to England the country rang with rumours of invasion by Buonaparte. Indian affairs again claimed attention, and at the age of sixty-six, and for a third time, Lord Cornwallis accepted the Governor-Generalship. The system of conquest inaugurated by Lord Wellesley, threatened to involve the Company in expensive warfare. To establish a more pacific policy was the object of the nomination of Lord Cornwallis as his successor. On his arrival in Calcutta, he determined to proceed to the Upper Provinces to terminate the war. His views on the re-establishment of peace, and the concessions he was prepared to make may be found in the despatch of September 19, 1805. His bodily and mental exertions soon proved too much for his enfeebled frame, and he died in October of the same year, a few days after reaching Ghazipore. The eulogium pronounced on him by Sir John Malcolm for patriotism, dignified simplicity of character, soundness of understanding and strength of judgment, seems not undeserved. His letters testify to a rare tranquillity of mind, an unusual kindness of disposition, and an admirable sagacity and directness of purpose. They are

very well written, and will be read with interest, not only for their historical elucidations, but for the incidental notices of men and manners. Mr. Ross has fulfilled his editorial function judiciously. The foot notes are always informing, sometimes amusing. The Index is rich in references.

Five years ago the Historical Society of Pennsylvania established a Publication Fund. The first volume published under the new system was the "History of Braddock's Expedition." Four volumes, designed to be reprinted, had been previously issued. The sixth volume of *Memoirs* is now before us.⁷ It contains six essays of some importance to the student of American history. The first and second relate to the Society of the Cincinnati, an Order formed by some gallant officers of the Transatlantic Republic in 1783, when they met together on the banks of the Hudson. This Society was in part eleemosynary, and in part chivalrous and patriotic. It was intended to associate old companions in arms; to support the indigent widows and orphans of deceased members, and confer appropriate honours on the officers of the French army and navy, the "noble allies" of the American people. The name of the Roman dictator was selected as symbolical of virtuous citizenship. The third paper refers to the insurrection of 1794 in the western counties of Pennsylvania. The fourth, on "the Wampum Belt delivered to Penn by the Indians at the great treaty under the elm tree," comprises Letters to the Indians, a plan for the union of the English colonies, and one for the confederation of the European States by the Quaker hero. The fifth on the Acadian exiles corrects a misstatement, printed in an annotated edition of Longfellow's poems, published in London 1853, and derived from Judge Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*. In the sixth, the case of Major André is reconsidered, and Lord Mahon's representations controverted. The English historian pronounces the death-warrant of André by "far the greatest and perhaps the only blot in Washington's most noble career," attributing it to his strong and angry passions. In this reference it is interesting to compare the verdict of Lord Mahon with an explanatory paragraph in the "Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis," vol. i. p. 144. To avenge Huddy, who had committed many atrocious murders, and was hanged, without a formal trial, within sight of the American camp, Washington determined to execute one of the captains who had been taken at York town. The victim was to be selected by drawing lots. The lot fell on Asgill. The English Government protested in vain "against an act of such gross injustice and inhumanity." Fortunately the Comte de Vergennes, to whom Lady Asgill had written for his good offices, prevailed on Washington to abandon his intention. Whatever be the value of this illustration, the strictures on Lord Mahon, and the vindication of Washington, contained in the last section of these Contributions, will be found ably and temperately written, while the materials for independent decision are impartially presented.

James Deacon Hume⁸ was a sort of free-trade hero, consulted,

⁷ "Contributions to American History." Philadelphia. 1858.

⁸ "The Life of James Deacon Hume." By Charles Badham. London: Smith Elder, and Co. 1859.

quoted, appealed to as an authority, and purchasing the gratitude of Englishmen by his splendid abilities for hard, earnest, and useful work. Like his greater namesake, David Hume, the true author, according to Lord Brougham, of the modern economical doctrines, he was descended from an ancient Border family, the Homes. He was born April 28, 1774, in the parish of Newington, in Surrey. His father, James Hume, was selected by Mr. Pitt to fill the office of secretaryship of the Customs. While holding an inferior appointment he removed to Bideford, in North Devon. Here the young Deacon nearly lost his life. Having to cross the long bridge over the Torridge, in his way to school, and being determined to outdo the other boys in their feats of perilous adventure, he climbed one day to the top of the parapet, and hung by his hands over the water. When he was nearly tired of holding on, he was rescued from his situation of extreme danger by a stout washerwoman, who not only saved his life, but gave him at the same time a sound beating, in order to teach him not to risk it again in such ill-advised enterprises. Educated at Westminster school, at sixteen he was removed to the long room of the Custom House. Drinking was then a prevailing vice. At first young Deacon Hume failed not to follow the common example, but speedily disgusted with the practice, he made a resolution never to touch wine. This resolution he kept throughout his youth. As a young man he was full of energy, "fond of field sports, a bold rider and of a high spirit." He obtained speedy promotion in the Custom House, being distinguished at a very early period for his sound views of commercial policy. On June 4, 1798, he married Frances Elizabeth, widow of Charles Ashwell, Esq., a lady of renowned beauty.

In the autumn of 1820, Mr. Deacon Hume first entertained the idea of consolidating the laws of the Customs. For the space of nearly three years, night and day, he worked at his arduous task of simplification. The Custom laws, which had been gradually accumulating from the reign of Edward I., amounted to no fewer than 1500 statutes. Mr. Hume comprised them all in one single volume, a feat of statutory consolidation which Sir James Stephen has pronounced to be a masterpiece of legislative skill, while Mr. Stapleton, graphically describes the ten acts which form the volume, as a sort of Code Napoleon. The office of Comptroller of the Customs held by Mr. Hume for thirty-eight years, was resigned by that gentleman in 1828, when he became Joint Secretary to the Board of Trade. The Fauntleroy forgeries, amounting to 353,000*l.*, were discovered by Mr. Hume in 1824. Co-trustee with Fauntleroy and Goodechild, for the property of eight orphan children, Mr. Hume found, on giving some necessary directions at the Bank of England, that his name had been forged to a letter of attorney for the sale of 10,000*l.*, and that the stock had been sold out. Inquiry was made, and no doubt was left as to the criminal.

The particulars connected with the detection and trial are recounted in a somewhat episodic form by Mr. Badham. He next details the various intellectual incidents of the uneventful life of his hero. Mr. Hume took an important, sometimes a leading, part in all investigations relating to the corn laws, the currency, the silk and the timber

duties. In 1840 he retired from the Board of Trade, and leaving Putney, went to reside at Reigate. A pension of 1500*l.* a year was the merited reward of his valuable services. At the request of Sir Robert Peel, he continued till the time of his death to afford the Government the benefit of his counsel and experience. He died at Reigate, January 12, 1842. Mr. Hume's public labours were such as to entitle him to a foremost place among the champions of commercial liberty. His intellect was vigorous, acute, and original; his reasoning eminently concise, and his expression singularly lucid and nervous. Mr. Hume has no special claims to authorship, but he wrote a great variety of papers; his MSS., however, have never been collected, and thus the literary contributions published in the "Life," if they break up the continuity of the narrative, will have a peculiar interest for his admirers. The concluding pages of Mr. Badham's biography exhibit the striking personal traits, and bring out the admirable moral qualities of its subject.

BELLES LETTRES AND ART.

OF the various translations of *the Divine Comedy*¹ which are current, the version of the "Inferno," by Mr. Thomas, may compare with the best. He has rendered his text into English with as much fidelity as the great differences in the idioms of the two languages will allow, and with a spirit which it is difficult to preserve when the triple rhyme of the original is copied. Cary's translation in blank verse permitted more freedom in the version; and we should expect to find it superior in strength and dignity of expression to those by Cayley, Dayman, and lastly by Mr. Thomas, which preserve the rhyme of the Italian original, a form of versification not harmonious to other than Italian ears, and with reverence be it written, scarcely suitable to the gravity of the topics, and the grim horror of the details, in which Dante delights to indulge.

The bitterness and wrath of the exile, if they gave vigour to the verse and edge to the satire, would not always allow him to be just, and therein he is inferior to Milton, who, no inconsiderable actor, retired from the most eventful contest of modern times, which resulted in securing a standing-place on this earth for civil liberty and right of conscience; and while enduring the obloquy and neglect which followed the adherent of the Commonwealth into obscurity, solaced himself by the composition of a poem, in which there is no trace of earthly rancour or personal bitterness.

The version of the early stanzas of the first canto of the "Inferno," is as good an example of Mr. Thomas's skill in translation as the whole

¹ "The Trilogy of Dante, Inferno, or Vision of Hell." With notes and illustrations, by the Rev. John W. Thomas. London: Bohn. 1859.

poem affords, and is much superior to Wright's or Cayley's. We sub-join the original, for the purpose of comparison.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi trovai per una selva oscura,
Che la diritta via era smarrita.

Ahi quanto a dir qual era e cosa dura,
Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte
Che nel pensier rinnova la paura!
Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte:
Ma per trattar del ben ch'ì vi trovai,
Diro dell' alte cose, ch' io v'ho scorte.

I' non so ben ridir com' io v'entrai;
Tant' era pien di sonno in su quel punto
Che la verace via abbandonai.

Ma poi ch'io fin al piè d'un colle giunto.

Là ove terminava quella valle,
Che m'avea di paura il cor compunto,
Guarda in alto, e vidi le sue spalle.
Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta,
Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.

Allor fu la paura un poco queta
Che nel lago del cor m'era durata
La notte, ch'ì passai con tanta pietà
E come quei, che con lena affannata
Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,
Si volge all' aqua perigliosa, e guata;
Così l'animo mio che ancor fuggiva,
Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo
Che non lasciò giammai persona viva.

In the mid journey of Life's road, I found
Myself within a wood obscure, astray.
Of path direct, no trace appeared around.
Ah, 'tis indeed no easy task to say
How savage, rough, and horrid was that wood,
The thought of which still fills me with dismay,
And seemed the bitterness of death renewed.
Of other things I'll speak, which these I found
To show more clearly the resulting good.
I scarce knew how I entered on that ground;
For when I quitted the true path, I fell
At once into a slumber so profound!
But when I reached the mountain's foot, whose swell
Closed up the valley, which with such a load
Of anguish and of fear my heart could quell,
I looked on high, and saw its shoulders broad,
Clothed with the rays which day's bright planet cast,
Which leads mankind aright through every road.
Then was the terror somewhat stilled at last,
Which did within my caverned heart remain,
The night which I in such distress had passed;

And as the shipwrecked seaman, who doth gain
 Though with exhausted strength the welcome shore,
 Turns round and gazes on the dangerous main,
 Even so my soul, its flight not giving o'er,
 Turned back, no pass of peril to survey,
 Which never living person left before.

The numerous notes cannot fail to be useful to such as may use this translation, though perhaps they allow for a greater amount of ignorance than is likely to be the lot of readers of Dante.

If Mr. Farrar is a fair specimen of the fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, they must form a remarkably accomplished and amiable, as well as learned body. The author of "*Eric*" has a right to courteous consideration, and these "*Lyrics of Life*,"² breathe the same amiable and manly spirit which characterize the novel.

The Love Poems are not so much to our taste as those of childhood, and we cannot conceive how they could be inspired within the grim shadow of the Master of Trinity. The "*Lesson of Life*" seems to us to combine the genius and the piety of Bishop Heber.

Lord and Father, great and holy,
 Fearing nought, we come to Thee;
 Fearing nought, though weak and lowly,
 For Thy love has made us free.
 By the blue sky bending o'er us,
 By the green earth's flowery zone,
 Teach us, Lord, the angel chorus—
 "Thou art Love, and Love alone."

Father, Lord of bright creation,
 Holy, blest, eternal Son,
 Spirit, fount of inspiration,
 Glorious Godhead, three in one,
 With the notes, high ascending,
 Choir around the jasper throne—
 May Thy sons the song be blending—
 "Thou art Love, and Love alone."

Though the worlds in flame should perish,
 Suns and stars in ruins fall,
 Trust of Thee our hearts should cherish,
 Thou to us be all in all;
 And though Heavens Thy name are praising,
 Seraphs hymn no sweeter tone
 Than the strain our hearts are raising—
 "Thou art Love, and Love alone."

There are one or two little bits from the Greek, worthy of the anthology, and we wish there had been more of them.

Chaucer so much more praised than read in England, finds favour it appears with a small section of the French literary public, and the present republication in modern French verse of a forgotten romaunt by

² "*Lyrics of Life*. By Frederick W. Farrar. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan and Co. Cambridge. 1859.

a forgotten writer of the thirteenth century, is due to the zeal of M. de Chatelain,³ seeking to discover the source from which Chaucer derived the hint, and something more than the hint for his unfinished "Squier's Tale," wherein

is left half told,
The story of Cambuscan bold.

Le Roy, the author of this tale, the manuscript of which is said to have been lately found in the library of the Arsenal at Paris, from which marvellous repository, French literati, despairing of novelty and seeking to resuscitate a slumbering antiquity, contrive to find whatever they want, was a native of Brabant, born in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, and derived his surname from being the king or chief of the Duke's Minstrels, with whom he remained till his death in 1261. Adénès then attached himself to Guy, Count of Flanders, accompanying him to Italy in 1270, where he remained a year, and finally died in his service, about 1296. He has left four romances, the last being "Cleomades," none of them possessing poetical merit, and all debased by a servility in striking contrast to the manliness and independence of Chaucer. M. de Chatelain considers that Chaucer borrowed from this romance the materials for his unfinished story, and claims credit for having solved a literary enigma which has baffled the ingenuity of former commentators. "Cleomades" is a childish fairy tale of that kind, in default of something better to beguile the wearisome leisure of an illiterate age, to which the ladies of courts and castles were wont to listen, as those of more modern date attend the ministrations of fashionable preachers who have succeeded the ancient minstrels, and romancers in the esteem of the sex.

Cleomades is the son of Marchabas, King of Sardinia, and his wife, Ectrive, Queen of Spain, and after passing a boyhood of marvellous promise, is recalled from a continental tour, by an express from his father, requiring his presence at the approaching marriage of his three sisters to their three royal suitors, Melicandus, King of Barbary, Bardigans, King of Armenia, and Croppart, King of Hungary. After the fashion of Eastern Kings and suitors, they bring costly presents to the feet of the royal parents to further their pretensions to the daughters; the advice and opinions of Cleomades are, however, to be taken; the two first suitors had the good fortune to satisfy his fastidious taste, and their presents were graciously received: but Croppart, who seems to have been humpbacked and otherwise ill-favoured, brings a gift which seems scarcely calculated to make his deformity less conspicuous, being nothing better than an awkward looking wooden horse, which, in conjunction with his own ungainly figure, so disgusted Cleomades, that he tells the Hungarian monarch in the plainest language, that he and his present are alike unacceptable, that he must look elsewhere for a wife, and that as to the magical

³ "Cleomades, Conte traduit en vers Français Modernes, du vieux langage," &c. Par le Chevalier de Chatelain. Basil Montagu Pickering. 1859.

qualities ascribed by him to his wooden quadruped, he, Cleomades, believes them to be merely apocryphal. Croppart keeps his temper like a philosopher who has not a theory to support, and suggests the simple expedient of mounting the horse and trying what he can do. Cleomades, after hesitation, vaults contemptuously upon what he considers no better than a monstrous rocking-horse, and as the thing refuses to move, upbraids the Hungarian from his undignified elevation, as a detected humbug. "Turn the peg in his forehead," rejoins the slandered one, and the horse ascends into mid air with alarming velocity. Cleomades had not learnt how to bring him down again, but by experimenting on the horse's ears, each of which contains a small peg in its interior, finds that by twisting the left, the horse descends gently earthward, and deposits him on the ground without a shock; but before this discovery was made, many degrees of latitude had been passed; the young man finds himself in a strange and undescribed part of the world, to this day wanting in the best maps, and his adventures in the new country constitute the bulk of the romance.

In the course of his translation, M. de Chatelain introduces numerous and somewhat unjustifiable interpolations, but his author's propensity to praise potentates and their powerful satellites, is peculiarly distasteful to the modern Frenchman. Subjoined is a sample of one of these interpolations, which looks better fitted for the meridian of Washington than of Paris, though to be sure the book is printed in London. Apropos to a choice little bit of adulation which Adénès had just perpetrated, M. de Chatelain writes:•

Suivant Mons. Adénès,
Le menestrel devait voiler, c'était logique
Toute action honteuse et satanique
Si Princes, ducs, Rois ou bien Empereurs
Daignaient s'en rendre les auteurs
Il devait seulement de leurs faits heroiques
Enregister, eussent les statistiques
Pour imposer dans des vingt mille vers
Leur joug honteux au stupide univers.

This last seems to be penned for the especial benefit of the *Moniteur*.

If it is Mr. Kingsley's ambition to dissipate for his readers the *ennui* of an idle hour, he may congratulate himself on having succeeded in his "Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn."⁴ He has not entered the penetralia of Human Nature like the author of "Adam Bede," though he leans to that writer's amiable optimism, but his objective perspicacity is undeniable. The early love-making in the first volume is a little melodramatic; the monotonous scenery and the dreadfully monotonous existence at the Antipodes, before the gold discoveries, are much too highly coloured; but the descriptive powers of the author, which are very considerable, lend a pleasant variety and sparkle to his volumes. The indispensable amatory episode in the third volume is not very skillfully introduced, though in its tranquil

⁴ "Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn." By Henry Kingsley. 2 vols. Macmillan and Co. 1859.

and happy progress, it offers an agreeable contrast to the unfortunate results of that which is detailed in the first. Only in one of his characters, that of Mary Hawker, does Mr. Kingsley show that he can touch the chords of human passion and suffering; and, as if conscious that his strength does not lay there, he always gladly turns to the description of natural objects.

The following, in which the native pets of a young colonist are described, is a good specimen of his style—

“See here a magpie (*Gymnorhina tibicen*. Lath.), a very different bird from the English, comes furtively out of the house with a key in its mouth, and seeing Sam, stops to consider if he is likely to betray him; on the whole, he thinks not, so he hides the key in a crevice, and whistles a tune.

“Now enters a cockatoo, waddling along comfortably, and talking to himself; he tries to enter into conversation with the magpie, who, however, cuts him dead, and walks off to look at the prospect.

“Flop, flop, flop! a great foolish kangaroo comes through the house, and peers round him; the cockatoo addresses a few remarks to him, which he takes no notice of, but blunders into the garden, right over the contemplative magpie, who gives him two or three indignant pecks on his clumsy feet, and sends flying down the gravel walk.

“Two bright-eyed little kangaroo rats come out of their box, peering and blinking; the cockatoo finds an audience in them, for they sit listening to him, now and then catching a flea, or rubbing the backs of their heads with their fore-paws.” &c. &c.

It is not easy to say where Mr. Reade gets his characters, as they are but puppets moved at his caprice, irresponsible to the ordinary principles of human nature.⁵ It is easy enough to write such novels if a man is in the vein, and can make up his mind, which we should think must be difficult, that the public will read such wilful incubations. He is content to amuse and be forgotten. Nevertheless, he draws the characters of women with a zest and spirit which shows that he delights in the task; and his female characters have the merit of being completely women, with no attempt at the stock heroine; yet they are puppets like the rest, which is of less consequence to the action of the novel and the credit of the author, that women, pretty ones especially, are not the less influential for being passive; it enhances their power, particularly with superior men, who invest that quiet grace with imaginary might. “These Junones, severe in youthful beauty, fill us Davids with irrational awe, but the next moment they are treated like small children by the first matron they meet; they resign their judgment at once to hers, and bow their wills to her slightest word with a slavish meanness.” As usual, Mr. Reade contrives episodically to introduce much financial wisdom into his novel, *apropos*, we might perhaps say, *malapropos* to the antecedents of the banker, Mr. Hardie.

Nothing can be slighter than the book; but the author's characteristic cleverness makes it readable to a man or woman who is very idly disposed.

⁵ “Love me little, Love me long.” By Charles Reade. Trübner and Co. 1859.

When Fiction is written with such a purpose as "Out of the Depths,"⁶ the author, even when deficient in that power of delineating character, which is but the gift of a few, is entitled to the respect of his reader. We read Rousseau's "Confessions" with astonishment, at a candour which we would honour if we could, unmixed with any portion of sympathy, or respect for anything but the style and the power of writing; but such confidences as are disclosed in the present volume, are too obviously fictitious to awake any other feeling than that which might be excited by the heroine of a novel, placed in circumstances not usually selected for illustration by writers of fiction, but who exhibits a self-denial, even a heroism, which, in her degraded position, transcends the moral dignity of a martyr. Such women could be reclaimed indeed, but they could scarcely have fallen so far. Had they yielded to the temptations of an early and really virtuous passion, they would probably have been preserved from a worse abasement, and would have preferred, as many have done, the dreadful alternative of suicide to the degradation of indiscriminate vice. Yet if this book could be placed in the hands of those alone whom it is calculated to benefit, it might do some good; more, indeed, much more than the cold exhortation to sin no more, professionally doled out by the chaplain to those who come before him in the penitentiary or the prison. The great mass of female depravity which infests the streets of English towns, is not the result of seduction, but of a desire on the part of women of no particular mental or moral cultivation, to escape from the inevitable drudgery by which alone they can earn their daily bread. There are multitudes just above the lowest class, who revolt from domestic service, yet who in the absence of sufficient education, have no better resource than the needle; and it is not in human nature to persist, day by day, week by week, and year by year, in bending over the monotonous drudgery which makes the eyes prematurely dim, and gives an early stoop to the already perhaps delicate chest. To such the temptation to vice is as strong as the inducements to continue chaste are to the class which has all to lose by a dereliction from what is in their case as much the path of interest as of virtue. Such a scene as that portrayed in the following extract may have occurred more than once in the dark purlieus of London as in those of Paris.

"But now I must return to Katie. She continued in the same condition for some days, and we were reduced to parting with many articles to the pawnbroker. Her trinkets went first, then mine, in order to get us food to pay our weekly rent; then I got rid of all my dresses, except two of the plainest; next my mantle went, and I was left with a warm, but old and common shawl, and some articles in my room, which belonged to me. One evening Kate was so much better that she could sit up and talk more than usual, and without painful exertion to herself. She had just awakened out of a gentle sleep; and when I had raised her out of a sitting posture, she said to me, 'Oh, Mary, I've had such a sweet dream!'

" 'What was it, dear?'

" 'Well, it was not anything. I could describe, but it all seemed to be

⁶ "Out of the Depths, the Story of a Woman's Life." Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1859.

light, bright light; and so many happy faces—happier than I ever saw—all about me; but it seemed to last a long while, and it made *me* very happy.’

“ ‘Did you know any of the faces?’ I said, wishing to interest her.

“ ‘Oh, yes, both my parents were there, and a little brother I used to nurse long ago, and ever so many good people in our village; and you were there, too, Mary.’

“ ‘I’ve been thinking,’ resumed Kate, ‘that if I were to get better, I would be so different. I would live so strict and regular, and always say my prayers, and read my Bible. It’s dreadful to think what I have been; and now most likely I shall never have an opportunity to mend and lead a good life; yet I always think, Mary, as if Jesus Christ pardoned the woman you read about the other day, and Mary Magdalene, whom you have been reading about to me only this morning, He would have pardoned me too, if I could have gone to Him; and I would have gone and followed Him anywhere at a distance, and have sat mourning under His cross; but you see, He’s gone away now, and I can’t go to Him, nor get any pardon; it makes me feel very sad at times. Do you think, Mary, I could be forgiven now? I don’t know what to do for it. I know I am very sorry—that’s all; and if I had the chance of showing it, I would live very differently from what I have done. It’s a very dear verse that about publicans and harlots being admitted into the kingdom of Heaven, isn’t it, Mary? But then they could go to Him—they could hear Him say, ‘Thy sins are forgiven;’ and they could show gratitude by following Him—and I can’t. Oh, Mary, what shall I do? How can I be forgiven and get saved?’

A homely—perhaps it may be, a true—picture of two poor, desolate, friendless souls seeking help and finding none; though one, after the death of the other, worked out her moral salvation with a strength of will and nobleness of self-denial, which is rare almost as the genius of Shakespeare.

The writer, though urged by the best motives, has displayed something of that vulgarity of thought, which disgusts one in “Ten Thousand a-Year,” by assuming that the excellencies of human nature are developed directly as its social condition.

Three more volumes on German poetry⁷ attest, if any further attestation were required, the untiring industry of German compilers. The laborious undertaking of Wolfgang Menzel is a *Biographie Universelle* of German poets, as well as a dictionary of criticism on their varied literary merits, but is intended for reference, rather than deliberate perusal. The first book of the first volume records all that is known of the history of the lay of Sigfried, of the Nibelungen song, of the Heldenbuch, and generally of the early heroic lays. The second book recounts the various popular tales handed down traditionally among the people, and the origin of which is scarcely traceable; the third is devoted to a history of the religious poetry of the middle ages, and the fourth to the chivalresque poetry of the same era, as distinguished from the tales of giants and fairies current among the peasantry. The second volume, divided into four books, gives an account of the popular burgher lays as distinguished somewhat arbitrarily from those of the peasantry and nobility; also of the productions of the poetic licence which broke out with the religious revolution against the Papacy; of

⁷ “*Deutsche Dichtung, von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit.*” Von Wolfgang Menzel. 1859. Nutt. 3 vols.

the early dawn or *renaissance* of modern German poetry, characterized as it was by the predominance of a vicious partiality for the French model, before Germany had acquired a classical poetry of its own.

The third volume, also divided into four books, traces the German muse through her modern phases, from the period of natural or unaffected poetry, when French influence had waned, and English and Swiss models were adopted; the era of Storm and Impulse (*Sturm und Drang*) which replaced this, and of which convulsive period Schiller's *Robbers* is the most respectable and least ridiculous example; and lastly, the time when romantic poetry had its "school" of admirers, to the latest and most recent productions of Teutonic inspiration. All this divided and subdivided, a little hypercritically it may be, with the usual minuteness and labour of German literary historians. As a work of reference it is very useful, alike for its facts and its criticisms.

Mr. Bohn could scarcely have added a better volume to his series than this translation of Schlegel's "Literary History,"⁸ which now appears, for the first time entire, in an English garb. The range of information displayed is very remarkable, and as much for its soundness as its extent; for he had read, and generally with correct critical appreciation, the principal productions of the magnates of English, French, and Italian letters. He had been one of the earliest labourers in the field of Oriental research, and was well versed in the best literature of Greece and Rome. But it is as much for its suggestive spirit, as for its details or its criticism, that this volume of lectures is valuable. More than any other book with which we are acquainted, it is calculated to awaken a spirit of inquiry and reflection. A German who like Frederick Schlegel, amidst the general scepticism of his times, seems to have entertained religious opinions of peculiar earnestness; who in poetry had a decided preference for Klopstock among the poets of his own land, and for Tasso among Italians; who was prone to ascribe to systems of what is called "Philosophy" a far more important influence on general opinions than they really possess, seemed scarcely fitted to handle so difficult and varied a theme in a robust, vigorous, and impartial spirit. But he combined great love of his subject with much learning, and an earnest desire to be just, and conveyed his thoughts in a peculiarly attractive style, better preserved, we may remark, in some portions of this translation than in others. On subjects purely literary, his judgment is usually correct and clear; it is only in the more speculative regions of imagination and of faith, that we find it sometimes difficult to follow him with confidence.

How justly he could estimate an English writer, is shown in his remarks on Hume's History. •

"The great standards of historical composition which England produced during the eighteenth century are among the most important features of *belles lettres*. In this species of literature they have surpassed all other nations, if only in leading the way, and as historic models for foreign imitation. Unless I am mistaken, Hume ranks with the foremost in this depart-

⁸ "Schlegel's History of Literature." Translated into English. London: Bohn. 1859.

ment. But however great a safeguard scepticism may be in the process of historic investigation of facts, in which it can hardly be carried to excess; yet if the effects of doubting be to attack, to shake—nay, utterly to demolish—the great bulwark of moral and religious principle, it little becomes the historian of a powerful nation, who aims at exercising permanent and extensive influence. Narrow principles, views not perfectly correct, are in such a case much better and more productive than a deadening want of sentiment, feeling, and love. A tendency to oppose prevalent opinions, a leaning to paradox, are all that remain to invest history, when framed after this manner, with any degree of interest. Now, such a tendency to opposition is unmistakeable in Hume. In his time the republican spirit of the Whigs biassed English literature almost as completely as it does now, and with equally doubtful influence on the country's welfare. How salutary then soever it may have seemed to him to abandon the prevalent Anglican severity of party, and attaching himself to the opposition, to tinge a most important part of the national annals with evident predilection for the unfortunate house of Stuart, and sympathy with Tory principles, he can only be regarded as an eminent party historian, the first in his peculiar method and view, not the truly great author of a performance at once national in genius and in spirit."

The justice of these remarks can only be questioned by partial admirers (if any such there are) of a man who, less than any other eminent historian, wrote with an honest recognition of that admirable maxim of Cicero, "*Prima historiæ lex est, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.*"

Mr. Bayne is ambitious.⁹ A man who thinks he can throw new light on the biography, and philosophy of Plato; on the career and character of the Duke of Wellington, and of Napoleon Bonaparte; who deems himself capable of illustrating and affirming the elementary principles of criticism, and of handling with all the confidence of a master the best efforts of modern English painters; to say nothing of an elaborate analysis of Mr. Tennyson's and Mrs. Barrett Browning's Poetry, with the novels of the sisters Brontë; and to crown the whole, an historical examination of the effect produced by Christianity from its earliest appearance to its latest development, on European civilization, may be supposed to deem highly of his original and acquired qualifications to sit in the seat of Aristarchus. Those who care to know Mr. Bayne's opinions on the important topics he has selected for discussion, with quite as much ambition as judgment, can consult his volume. The style is scarcely well fitted to present his meaning clearly and distinctly, and a better taste would perhaps have suggested a good deal of alteration in the diction of those lectures which he has thought fit to publish, much as he delivered them to a popular and uncritical audience; nor would it have permitted him to call Napoleon "the little Corsican," or to express an opinion so very dogmatically on the characters and opinions of men, whose intellectual eminence would have procured some slight deference, from a more modest and more competent critic.

This is the second work, the middle term of an intended series,

⁹ "*Essays, Biographical, Critical, and Miscellaneous.* By Peter Bayne, M.A. James Hogg and Sons. 1859.

which M. Geruzez has produced on the subject of French Literature.¹⁰ The first designed a history of its rise and progress from its origin till the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789; the present volume professes to give a succinct account of the national literature from the beginning of the Revolution down to its subjugation by Napoleon in 1800; and he contemplates another work which shall carry on the account down to the memorable 1848. The interest of the present volume consists much less in the strictly literary details, than in the sketches of those eminent and energetic politicians who strove with pen as well as tongue to shatter the political despotism under which they had been born, or to secure their own position in the scramble for power. Most of the old revolutionary names with which we are so very familiar are here—the victors and the vanquished in that great strife; Mirabeau, Cazalès, M. de Talleyrand, Maury (l'Abbé) Sièyes, Camille Desmoulins, André Chenier, Fabre d'Eglantine, Collin d'Harleville, Necker, Mallet du Pan, the General Bonaparte, and others whose reputations are more completely literary, de Launagais, Montlosier, Florian, Chamfort, Rouget de Lisle (the author of the “Marseillaise”), La Harpe, Delille, Condorcet, l'Abbé Sicard, Volney, Bernardin de St. Pierre, &c. But the political interest of most of those mentioned in the volume is much superior to their literary merits, with one or two exceptions; and it is from this point of view that the writer cannot help regarding them. Writing at this present moment, M. Geruzez contends that the great results of that day are not quite lost to France, when Mirabeau uttered his memorable words to the discomfited royal usher, de Brezé, on the 23rd June, 1788, which was the first overt act of the Revolution. The present despotism is not like the old one; it rules by the will of the people, and must govern for their benefit, if it would endure: but for Mirabeau the assembly of the States General in 1788 might have passed away like its predecessor, and with the wish, but without the courage to reform, would have had no more history than they; but as the Constituent Assembly “it laid deep the foundations of a new temple of liberty, which time will perfect, and which no human arm can destroy;”—if men are saved by faith, M. Geruzez may confidently anticipate political salvation.

He sketches with sufficient liveliness and truth the leading traits of the best-known actors of the revolutionary period, with whom, as politicians, we are not now concerned; and as a specimen of his style of thought and writing, we subjoin the notice of Volney, a man whose history is far less familiar than his name:—

“Volney, who assumed that name in order to renounce the ill-sounding patronymic of Chassebœuf, as Voltaire had done in the case of Arouet, first acquired celebrity by the publication of his *Travels in Syria*, in which, contrary to the custom of travellers, he drops his own individuality to bring vividly before his readers the customs and manners of the people and countries he visited. He opened the Eastern world to educated Europe, and this revelation by an able

¹⁰ “*Histoire de la Littérature Française pendant la Révolution, 1789—1800.*” Par E. Geruzez. Nutt and Co. 1859.

writer, and exact and accurate delineator and painter of nature, struck the imagination of a youth who was to become the conqueror of Egypt, and upon whom later, Volney's personal communications and influence had some share in impelling him to the scene of his future glory. It may be affirmed with truth that Volney was the promoter of this remarkable expedition, and that he contributed indirectly to give a master to France.

"In the Constituent Assembly, Volney was found by the side of Mirabeau, who derived from the conversation and letters of his friend many of those ideas to which the fire of his eloquence afterwards gave vehemence and life. Mirabeau, like Molière, appropriated whatever suited him. The counsellor of Bonaparte, a fellow-labourer with Mirabeau, Volney never gained a battle of the Pyramids, nor launched from the Tribune those oratorical lightnings which destroyed the monarchy of France; but it is something that his name is found united in history with two of the greatest of modern times. In January, 1792, Volney published his '*Ruins of Empires*,' which gave him a popularity he might easily have mistaken for glory. It is a series of meditations on the mutations of kingdoms, in which historical facts are made to harmonize in suspicious docility with the writer's conceptions. The thought evinced in this work gains authority by the apparent vigour of the deductions; the learning is varied and select, the tone dignified, and the style which wants flexibility is not without relief. It is no ordinary work; but by the operation of an erroneous theory, a significance is given to facts true in themselves which they do not really possess, and the earnest conviction which animates the author, lends to error a power due only to truth. Volney makes scepticism a matter of faith, and is negatively dogmatic. He affirms that all religions are human inventions, and that they owe their credit to successful imposture."

In consequence of the reputation this work brought him, Volney was appointed public lecturer on history, for the purpose of instructing the people and the leaders of the people in political truths; he was not very successful, and it is probable that his scholars were ill-disposed to profit by the theories of a philosopher, so that he terminated his course somewhat abruptly. Under Napoleon he became a senator and Count of the Empire. He never flattered the Emperor in his prosperity, nor did he insult him in his fall, by a base defection—"Par habitude, par conviction, par hygiène, par gout, il resta honnête homme, et en faisant respecter dans l'unité de sa vie, la fermeté de son caractère, il a donné un exemple qui vaut mieux que ses doctrines."

In the history of this short period of French literature, an undue space is given to Napoleon, whose bulletins are cited as brilliant examples of literary composition and style. All Frenchmen lose their common sense when speaking or writing of their first Emperor, so dazzled are they at all times by a great success; but we must suppose them to be sincere in this ascription of an excellence that was due rather to announcement of victories, than to intrinsic merit. When read calmly, at least by Englishmen, they very much resemble those speeches to popular or vulgar audiences, which have in our own political history produced so strange an effect; both served their purpose—but we are amazed, nevertheless, at the credulity and folly of a multitude which could be deceived by them.

Such a book as the "*Two Paths*" could only have been published in the mere wantonness of authorship, and in the audacity of a confident.

egotism.¹¹ Originally it was but a series of lectures on art, a form in which a man may state his opinions with as much freedom and vigour as may be consistent with good taste; but such opinions are but the reflections of a man's own nature, and in art we have no standard to which varied excellences may be infallibly referred for their relative position and gradation. To rebuke some modern artists for a conventional mode of treating their subjects, and exhort them to imitate the productions of the Supreme Artist, and copy nature, is but telling them to do what all great artists and poets have done, and will do to the end of time, and what mediocre men will not think of doing, and will not do well if they try. Titian and Turner appeal most strongly to Mr. Ruskin's æsthetical habitudes, and they are therefore here exalted to a dual supremacy which others are not disposed to concede. If there is, however, a good deal of that overweening confidence which has aroused so much acrimonious opposition, there is something of that nobility and liberality of thought which has gained him some enthusiastic friends; for example, "By the way, this old Douglas motto, 'Tender and True,' may be wisely taken up again by all of us for our own, in art no less than in other things. Depend upon it, the first great characteristic of all great art is Tenderness, as the second is Truth. I find this more and more every day; an infinitude of tenderness is the chief gift and inheritance of all truly great men; it is sure to involve a relative intensity of disdain towards base things, and an appearance of sternness and arrogance in the eyes of all stupid, hard, vulgar people; quite terrific to such if they are capable of terror, and hateful to them if they are capable of nothing higher. Dante's is the great type of this class of mind. I say the first inheritance is Tenderness, the second Truth, because the tenderness is in the make of the creature, the Truth in his acquired habit and knowledge; besides the love comes first in dignity as well as in time, and is always pure and complete; the Truth at best imperfect."

Mr. Ruskin professes to find in the three great "schools" of ancient and modern art a leading idea in harmony with his proposition, that the representation of some great natural fact must be the animating principle of all great and original artists.

"There have only appeared in the world three schools of perfect art—schools, that is to say, which did their work as well as it was possible to do it. These are the Athenian, Florentine, and Venetian. The Athenian proposed to itself a perfect representation of the form of the human body. It strove to do that as well as it could; it did that as well as it can be done; and all its greatness was founded upon and involved in this single and honest effort. The Florentine School proposed to itself the perfect expression of human emotion, the showing the effects of passion on the human face and gesture. I call this the Florentine School; for whether you take Raphael for the culminating master of expressional art in Italy, or Leonardo, or Michael Angelo, you will find that the whole energy of the national effect which produced those masters had its root in

¹¹ "The Two Paths." By John Ruskin, M.A. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1859.

Florence, not at Urbino or Milan. I say then this Florentine or leading Italian School proposed to itself human expression for its aim in natural truth; it strove to do that as well as it could; did it as well as it could be done, and all its greatness is rooted in that single and honest effort. Thirdly, the Venetian School proposed to itself the representation of the effect of colour and shade on all things; chiefly on the human form. It tried to do this as well as it could, did it as well as it could be done, and all its greatness is founded on that single and honest effort."

To warn Mr. Ruskin against dogmatizing in art or in morals (for he is equally prone to do both, in spite of mistakes which he has occasionally the candour to acknowledge), would be vain, although he must know that human nature revolts even from a truth too positively asserted. No one thinks of dogmatizing in mathematics or chemistry; but in religion and in art, where truth is rather to be felt than demonstrated, men are ever prone to be positive—and Mr. Ruskin is the Athanasius of a faith which should know no bigotry.

The French, even more than ourselves, have recourse to the results of German industry for a critical knowledge of the abstruser secrets of Oriental philology. A translation of A. Weber's "*Lectures on Indian Literature*,"¹² delivered at the University of Berlin, has just appeared at Paris, and we may gather from it what rapid strides in the study of Sanscrit literature have been made since the study was first introduced to Europe under the auspices of Warren Hastings in 1776, in that code of Gentoo law *originally* inscribed in Sanscrit, and of which Halhed was the editor. The *Bhagavadgita*, a fragment of the epic poem known as the *Mahâbhârata*, was, however, the first actual translation from the Sanscrit which appeared in the West in 1785, and was the work of Mr. Wilkins, a civil servant of the East India Company. In 1787, the fables of the Indian *Æsop*, known in a collected form as the "*Hitopadeça*," were translated. Both Sir W. Jones and Mr. Wilkins were struck with the resemblance of many Sanscrit words and inflections to Greek and Celtic forms. A lively curiosity was thus awakened, which increased with the new light afforded by further research. From that time philology began to assume a higher dignity, and in place of being principally concerned in clearing up difficult passages in the Greek and Roman classics, which had often no other interest or merit than their obscurity, it appeared likely to afford the safest clue to the solution of those great ethnological problems, which seemed hopelessly to perplex the few inquirers who had sought elsewhere than in the Hebrew traditions, an explanation of the early history and dispersion of the human race.

A translation in 1789 of the dramatic poem entitled the *Sacountala*, showed to Europe that a high order of poetry had long existed in the East, and that the ancient race which peopled Hindostan, if in modern times enfeebled and degraded by a too exclusive devotion to manual and commercial occupations, and the effects of a spiritual and secular despotism, was of old a not unworthy ancestry for that race which,

¹² "*Histoire de la Littérature Indienne. Cours professé à l'Université de Berlin.*" Par Albert Weber. Traduit de l'Allemand, par Alfred Sadons. Nutt. 1859.

separating from the parent stock, had wandered westward, and after giving the poetry of Homer, the philosophy of Plato, the eloquence of Demosthenes, the designs of Phidias, and the architecture of Calliocrates and Ictinus for the admiration of mankind, had come at last, through the operation of the same causes, to rank as low among the nations of the West, as their enfeebled and forgotten ancestry in the plains of Bengal in the East.

Frederick Schlegel, in 1808, was the first German who afforded to his countrymen an opportunity of knowing somewhat of the copious and flexible language of which they were to become the most laborious and learned students. August Wilhelm von Schlegel, who undertook the cultivation of Sanscrit at a time of life when most men are disposed to shrink from new and difficult acquisitions, Franz Bopp and Lassen followed in the path indicated by Frederick Schlegel; Lassen and Schlegel occupying themselves principally with restoring the text of the Sanscrit classics, and with researches into Oriental literature and antiquities, while Bopp selected the less attractive task of grammatical and lexicographical exposition and compilation. It would seem, however, that previously, a German Roman Catholic missionary, who resided from 1776 to 1789 on the coast of Malabar, had compiled the first Sanscrit grammar, printed at Rome in 1790; but it never came into general acceptance, nor does it appear to have possessed much philological value. All that others have done, and much that he has himself contributed towards a better understanding and knowledge of Sanscrit and its literature, is contained in these lectures of Weber, and the translation will afford to those who are not fluent in German an exact *resumé* of so interesting and intricate a subject.

THE
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OCTOBER 1, 1859.  
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ART. I.—MILITIA FORCES.

1. *Unsere Zeit. (Artikel) "Das Heerwesen der Schweiz."* Leipzig. 1857. (*Our Times. (Article) "The Military System of Switzerland."* Leipzig. 1857.)
2. *Gesetz über die Militärorganisation der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft.* Bern. 1855. (*Laws of the Military Organization of the Swiss Confederation.* Berne. 1855.)
3. *Views and Opinions of Gen. John Jacob, C.B.* Edited by CAPTAIN PELLY. London. 1858.
4. *Military Opinions of Gen. Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B.* London. 1859.
5. *Notes on the Defences of Great Britain and Ireland.* By LIEUT.-GEN. SHAW KENNEDY, C.B. London. 1859.
6. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Establishment, Organization, and Government of the Militia of the United Kingdom; together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c.* London. 1859.

NO question has latterly more occupied the public mind of this country than that of our national defences. Both military and naval authorities are agreed as to the importance of our first line of defence, that on the sea, and steps are being taken to augment and improve our naval forces in general, and especially to keep up a powerful Channel fleet. As regards our second line of defence, that on the land, although none under-rate its importance, still there seems to be some doubt whether we shall at all times be able to command a sufficient number of

well-trained soldiers to repel at once an invading army, should it ever be successfully thrown upon these shores.

Happily, in this free country, there are strong political and economic grounds, as well as difficulties in the way of getting the men, which will prevent our following in the wake of the great military and despotic empires of the Continent, by keeping up a large standing army. Much attention is, therefore, again being bestowed upon the militia; and if to a few it may have seemed that the volunteer rifle corps movement would tend to supersede, or at least to diminish the importance of this old constitutional force, yet it is plain, from what has taken place in Parliament, that neither the late nor the present Government has shared in such an opinion. It remains to be seen to what amount the volunteering will extend, not only as regards the number and the quality of the men, but also the time the interest taken in this amateur soldiering will last. We believe there is no instance in modern European history of large bodies of volunteers, whether designated national guards or otherwise, having attained, and for a long period maintained, a high state of discipline and efficiency. The experiences on the Continent have not been favourable in this respect; for although citizen guards have displayed great energy in times of political troubles, and, fighting courageously behind barricades, have often assisted in bringing about revolutions, still they have not shown themselves able to compete with regular troops in the open field. But, more than this, the very men who have carried on a street fight successfully, have forsaken their colours when required to march to a distance from their families and property. The Honveds in the Hungarian revolution of 1848, and Garibaldi's free corps in Italy this year, may seem to disprove what has just been advanced. But both these bodies of volunteers were essentially soldiers, for the most part men who had received a considerable amount of military training. It must be borne in mind, too, that however strong may be the zeal of volunteers in times of actual danger, and when their political or patriotic feelings are thoroughly aroused, it is not in human nature, nor in accordance with the spirit of our money-making age, to expect that large numbers of men will permanently sacrifice their time and opportunities of gain without the continuance of some external stimulus. Changes in the circumstances on the Continent may lead to a change in the public opinion of this country as to the probability of an invasion, without, however, in the least altering the possibility of such an occurrence. Yet, with the mere appearance of a calm, there will come, according to the laws of reaction, a lull in our fears of invasion. Consequently, it is to be expected, that should not some new excitement succeed that which is now calling volunteer corps

into life, they will not be long kept up for more important purposes than occasional parades, social meetings, and the interest attached to target practice.

Should the rifle, however, as now seems more than probable, become a favourite weapon in the hands only of that portion of society represented by our intelligent and well-to-do youth, the skill and courage it always displays in games and athletic sports will ensure a proficiency in its use, which will give a valuable addition to our means of national defence. If ever the wolf, that we have been latterly so loudly and frequently crying, should appear on our shores, volunteer sharpshooters could be of great assistance if attached to our county militia regiments. In some, if not all, of the German armies, every infantry battalion has a certain number of sharpshooters belonging to it; men who are well skilled in the use of their weapon, which, moreover, is not injured by having a bayonet affixed to it. The sharpshooters are as little harassed by manœuvring as possible, being employed principally to pick off the enemy's officers, or artillerymen at their guns. Considering how difficult it will be for our militiamen, with their short periods of training, to attain great proficiency as marksmen, and judges of distance, it seems to us that it would be an admirable plan to associate in some way bodies of young volunteer riflemen with militia regiments, and to accustom them occasionally to act together. They could be practised also in skirmishing, in forming rallying squares, &c., and otherwise be brought to know their places, so as not to interfere with the manœuvres of the battalions. By attaching volunteers to infantry militia regiments, they could easily obtain from the staff a sufficient amount of military organization and instruction for their purpose. We confess we do not anticipate much good from forming many independent battalions of volunteer riflemen, composed, as they would be, of men of different ages, professions, and trades, many of whom would not answer the roll-call on an emergency, or, if they did, would not be able to undergo the fatigues of actual service.

We proceed now to say a few words on militia forces in general, before entering upon what has almost become a vexed question, the subject of the militia of the United Kingdom and Ireland. The author of the article "*On the Military System of Switzerland*," in his introductory remarks on militias and standing armies, says—

"In these days no people however courageous, and under the stimulus of a cause however holy, can suddenly take up arms and carry on war successfully. Whatever advantages they may gain for a time, still power always falls into the hands of him who can command a

regular army, well organized and equipped with all the necessary means and appliances of modern warfare."

Again he says—

"The more thoughtful of military men have now come to agree with Clausenitz, one of the most original and powerful minds on all matters relating to war, that in modern campaigns the number of the troops that can be employed forms one of the most important elements of victory."

This leads him to the consideration of the fact that the military system of Switzerland being entirely for defensive purposes, enables that country to bring into the field a much larger percentage of the population than any other European State can do.

"There are many military men in Europe," he says, "who have become so enamoured of the purely mechanical part of their profession, that they only value a soldier in proportion to his smartness, and the machinelike precision of his movements. To such narrow minds it would be useless to address myself in favour of the Swiss militia. It is, therefore, to soldiers of intellectual capacity, to statesmen, philanthropists, and to all who have the progress of their fellow-creatures at heart, that we must look for a due appreciation of its merits."

After pointing out the distinction to be made between the Swiss militia, scientifically organized and instructed in all the essentials for service, and mixed levies of the people, or national guards, our author adds—

"Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the value of militia forces compared with standing armies, there can be no doubt that if it were possible to abolish the latter in every country, and to supply their place entirely by the introduction of the militia system, it would be by far the greatest of all imaginable social and politico-economical reforms. Without taking into account the navies of Europe, we may put down the expenditure for the support of the standing armies alone, in a round sum, at three milliards (three thousand millions) of francs. In this sum is included, according to the latest budgets of the different European States, the yearly outlay of 1700 millions of francs for military purposes. But this gives only the immediate expenditure of the Governments for the military services they require in times of peace; therefore for a time when such services are entirely unproductive, since it is for a state of war that all military arrangements are intended. If we further consider that of the four millions of soldiers in Europe (or thereabouts), at least the half are always doing duty; and if we calculate the consequences of the withdrawal of so many men in the prime of life from productive labour, we may (estimating the work days in the year at 300, the value of a day's labour, on the average, at one and a quarter francs) safely put down the sum of 700 millions of francs as the equivalent of this loss. The remainder of the above-named sum of three milliards is made up by various indirect expenses connected with the maintenance of military

establishments, billet money, &c. In Switzerland the yearly outlay of the Confederation for military purposes amounts to about 1,700,000 francs; that of the separate cantons to about 2,000,000 more. If to this we reckon the expenses of the self-equipment of the greater portion of the militiamen at some hundred thousands of francs, we may altogether estimate the outlays for military purposes at four and a half millions. By means of this yearly expenditure in time of peace, Switzerland is always prepared in a few weeks to bring together an army of 160,000 men of all branches of the service, perfectly armed and equipped, and full of zeal for the defence of the country. This is more than six per cent. of the population; and even this considerable army is far from including the whole of Switzerland's defensive forces. On the other hand, the European powers with standing armies cannot command, on an average, more than 2 per cent. of their populations. Yet the yearly military expenditure of the European States, comprising more than 160,000,000 of population, is, as already stated, about three thousand millions of francs; whereas in Switzerland, with its not quite two and a half million of inhabitants, it does not amount to five and a half million of francs, if we include in our reckoning about one million of francs as the yearly loss in productive labour, in consequence of the trainings and exercises of the militia. It follows, therefore, that if the plan pursued in Switzerland were to be adopted in the European States, the yearly expenditure for their land forces would not quite reach the sum of three hundred and sixty millions of francs. Consequently in proportion to the population, the average expense of standing armies is between six and seven times greater than for militia forces like those in Switzerland. This means, in other words, that if the Swiss defensive militia system were to be adopted in all the States of Europe, no less a sum than two and a-half milliards of francs would be saved in their military peace establishments, whilst for defensive purposes these States could nevertheless count upon a fivefold amount of forces than they can at present."*

The author of the article from which we have taken these extracts, and whom we know to be one of the most talented and accredited military writers in Germany of the present day, draws conclusions from the above calculations which do as much honour to his heart as his head. He examines and traces out all the physical and moral evils resulting to society from large standing armies. Amongst them he even includes the opposition of Continental Governments to Free Trade principles, as not favourable to their means of military rule. In this country in which peace societies flourish, and but few persons are to be found so enamoured of the parade of regular military life as not to see the dark side of the picture, it would be superfluous to state all the politico-economical and philanthropic facts and arguments of our author in condem-

* As one of the vouchers for the correctness of these calculations, G. F. Kolb's "*Handbuch der Comparativ Statistik*" (Zürich, 1857) is cited.

nation of standing armies. Nevertheless, there are some supporters of a standing army amongst us, and not belonging, as might be expected, to the aristocratic classes only, who would like to see the division of labour principle adhered to as consistently in military as in their manufacturing and trading occupations. More than once in manufacturing cities, when the possibility of an invasion of this country has been the subject of conversation, we have heard words to this effect:—"Well, if we must look to our means of defence, let us have more regular soldiers, we can afford to pay for them; it will be far better than troubling ourselves about volunteers or attempting to keep up the militia, which never can be so efficient as the line." For Englishmen who can reason thus, we will again quote from the article before us:—

"On yet another ground, the Swiss militia system ought to be advocated. Its general adoption would make the barbarism of war, and the wholesale slaughtering of human beings, almost impossible. According to the experience hitherto gained, States with standing armies have hardly been able to employ more than 1 per cent. of their populations in aggressive warfare, and if we imagine a militia system like the Swiss to be introduced, it would be still more difficult for any monarch or government, however ambitious or desirous of war, to send over 1 per cent. of the population to attack another nation. On the other hand, any State which should be attacked would be able to employ more than 6 per cent. of its population for its defence, not including considerable bodies of local levies possessing some amount of military training. Accordingly, the means of defence would be increased in such a degree that even a nation of only a few millions would not have to fear the enmity of a great military power. Still less would this be the case, were several small States to form a military league for mutual defence. And in proportion as the prospect of success in aggressive war diminishes, the nearer the time approaches when unscrupulous ambition no longer can cause the scourge of war to sweep over a devoted country."

The principle which has guided the Swiss in their military system is similar to that, however different the form, which prevails in England, North America, and indeed with all nations who value highly personal freedom, and consider it the basis of political life. This principle may be thus expressed:—"There shall be no compulsion to lead the life of a soldier in times of peace, but it will be the duty of all to take up arms in case of war." It may be interesting to many to be made acquainted with the leading features of the Swiss military organization, though useless, for the purpose of example, to enter into all details, since we in this country have now, unwisely as it seems to us, decided to carry the principle of personal freedom to the utmost limit, so that we even trust to voluntary enlistment to fill the ranks of our

militia. The Swiss military forces belong entirely to the category of militia—even the scientific corps. In fact, the federal constitution expressly excludes the right to keep up any body of regular troops. There was an exception in so far that any particular canton had permission to have a few companies of soldiers under arms, if required. The town of Basel was the last to act upon this clause. Until the year 1856, it had kept up a small corps of about 300 men; but it is now disbanded. The army of the Confederation is divided into two parts, called "*Auszug*" (first call) and "Reserve." The "*Auszug*" take in all the able-bodied unexempt men from twenty to thirty-four years of age. The Reserve those from thirty-four to forty. According to official statements, in 1855, the numbers of the Federal army under the direct control of the central military government amounted to 76,095 "*Auszug*," and 42,660 Reserve: total 118,755. In addition to this, there were 46,188 in the "Landwehr" (local militia), consisting of men requiring only a few weeks' repetition training to render them perfectly fit to take the field. In a very short time, the Swiss are, therefore, able to rely upon an army of 160,000 men. We will now see in what way they would be able to make good their casualties in case of war. The entire "Landwehr" (local militia), over which the central government can exercise unlimited control, as well as over the "*Auszug*" and Reserve, amounted, in 1853, to about 150,000 men, but this included many men of 32 to 45 years of age, not sufficiently prepared to take their places in battalions. The entrance into the "*Auszug*" is not till the twentieth year is completed, and it is quitted with the completion of the thirty-fourth. The men then continue in the Reserve, at the utmost, only till the commencement of their forty-first year, after which they belong to the "Landwehr." But, not unfrequently, they commence their period of service in the latter much earlier, indeed at 35.

The whole term of military service therefore, including that in the local militia, is twenty-four years, so that it is of longer duration than in any standing army, the Russian alone excepted. This term of liability to military duty being considered too long, it was proposed in 1857, to free from service in the Landwehr, as in Prussia, with the completion of the fortieth year, and for the cavalry in particular, to free from service with the completion of the thirty-sixth year.* This step did not, however, much reduce the strength of the Federal army, because the 275,000 men at present serving in the *Auszug*, Reserve, and Landwehr, by no means comprise the whole of the efficient male population

* By a new law men are released from service in the Prussian Landwehr, 2nd call, at thirty-five.

from the commencement of the twenty-first to the completion of thirty-fourth years of age. The whole male population of Switzerland amounts to 1,140,000, of which 37 per cent., or 422,000 are from twenty to forty-four years old. For several reasons, one of which, beyond doubt, is the absence of a conscription for a standing army, so favourable are the conditions of health in Switzerland, that the proportion of men, of the ages just mentioned, who are unfit for active service amounts at the utmost only to one-fourth. Consequently, the number of those perfectly fit comes to 316,600. In addition to these, the older classes of forty-five to fifty, and the younger under twenty, forming together the "Landsturm" (levies *en masse* for the extreme defence of the country), may be counted at 130,000 men capable of bearing arms. Thus it will be seen that there is no country in the world able to rely for defence on so large a proportion of the population as Switzerland, nor, if forced into war, so capable of supplying the loss of efficient soldiers, by others in reserve nearly equally vigorous and well-trained. Another bright feature in Switzerland is this. Every man considers it a privilege as well as a duty to serve his country. Such is the public spirit and general desire for military instruction displayed in all the cantons, that, although the Federal Government does not require the literal fulfilment of the law, but is satisfied with 3 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population respectively for the "Auszug" and "Reserve," yet there are always many more men trained and held in readiness to serve. Thus in 1853, the number of troops required by the Federal Government was 104,354, viz., 89,366 Infantry and Rifles; 10,366 Artillery, 1530 Engineers, and 2869 Cavalry. According to official documents, however, the number of men of all branches of service well armed and instructed amounted in that year to 125,126, and in addition to these the "Landwehr" numbered 150,000, making altogether a grand total of 275,000 effectives, for the most part well drilled and armed.

We will now glance at the way in which these men, and officers also, of the Swiss militia forces, are trained and instructed. Everything is so arranged as to economize time as much, and to interfere with productive labour as little as possible. The number of days' drill, and the period of the year at which it takes place, vary somewhat in the different cantons, according to the principal occupations of the people. The "laws of the military organization of the Swiss Confederation" require that no recruit can belong to the Auszug until a course of instruction shall have been gone through, lasting—

If for the Infantry, at least 28 days

„ Rifles „ 35 „

Engineers and Artillery 42 „

But previous to undergoing these courses of instruction at the regular military depôts of the cantons, the young men have obtained a certain amount of military knowledge at their district schools, besides having gone through many local squad drills. Riflemen and sharpshooters, moreover, will have had ball practice upon sound and generally adopted principles, so as to have nothing to unlearn. In the larger cantons, that of Zürich for instance, divisions of recruits (in succession) are put at once into barracks, and well drilled, practically and theoretically, for fifty-six days, either consecutively or at two periods of the same year, as may best suit the youths. In the second year after appointment to the Auszug, the yearly drill amounts only,

For the common Infantry soldiers, to	3 days
„ Scientific Corps .	12
„ Cavalry	7

But the days of assembly are not included in these repetition drills, and for all arms, previous to the assembling of the privates, the non-commissioned officers are brought together to have preparatory exercises. Thus in the infantry, they meet three days sooner than the privates. In the scientific corps, cavalry, &c., proportionately earlier. Besides these rules as to regular training and exercises, a certain amount of yearly target practice is required by the Government for the whole of the infantry soldiers, whether in the Auszug, Reserve, or Landwehr. For the Reserve, the yearly repetition drills last but two days for the privates. For the Landwehr, one. To complete the education of the militiamen, however, every second year sufficient bodies of troops to form a division, or perhaps *corps d'armée*, are brought into cantonments, or encamped in some suitable part of the country: and for several weeks manœuvres on a grand scale are carried out. The last four days, the troops of all branches being divided into two parts, a sham fight takes place, and all bivouac each night in the open country. The men by this means are prepared for actual campaigning, whilst the superior officers have opportunities of developing their strategical talents; in fact, the beneficial results of this admirable system extend to all ranks and branches of the militia forces.

In a country where all who are fit must serve (Government officials only being exempt, whilst all who have become dishonoured are excluded), of course all those who are highly educated and wealthy aspire to become officers. There is, however, no other qualification for command than merit. The cantons appoint the infantry officers of their contingents, rejecting such candidates as cannot pass an examination after the fifty-six days' instruction, and sending them into the ranks. The candidates for

the appointment of officers of the scientific corps and sharpshooters are instructed at the expense of the Federal Government, at their special military educational establishments; they go through a longer course. The Federal general staff for all branches of the service is numerous and efficient, being open to merit; and, in addition to the general staff, each canton supports its own permanent military instructors. But so economical are the Swiss, that even the officers of the general staff are paid only according to the duties they perform in the course of the year. All other officers receive pay only when they are out; but the mounted officers of infantry have a small allowance for forage. In consideration, however, of the vast amount of money and labour bestowed of late years on the armies of despotic States, it has been proposed in Switzerland to show at least greater liberality to the general staff, and probably by this time it is on permanent pay. The Swiss possess an admirable nursery for officers in their corps of cadets. In many of the best schools, too, the pupils of twelve to sixteen and eighteen years of age receive military instruction, being clothed, armed, and organized as soldiers, under the charge of well-qualified officers. This is not a mere matter of play or amusement, but is carried out with all due earnestness; for the Government and all classes of citizens take the greatest interest in the military exercises of the boys. Frequently public fêtes are given to the cadets, when these future defenders of the country assemble by thousands from distant cantons, and when to the manœuvres of the infantry, artillery practice with two or four-pounders is added. On these occasions military officers of the highest rank do not consider it below their dignity to take the command, and to draw up plans for the manœuvres of the youthful soldiers. These fêtes belong to the most popular and interesting in Switzerland. The military instruction imparted to the cadets and other pupils is far from being mechanical only. They are well grounded in essentials, and encouraged to take a deep and lasting interest in military matters; and, as their education is in other respects superior to fit them for their civilian callings, they are every way prepared to become in time admirable and thoughtful officers.

Other most popular fêtes in Switzerland are the frequent rifle shooting matches, open to all, and at which prizes of very considerable value may be gained. Those who know the Swiss only through contact with innkeepers and guides can form no idea of the amount of the military education of the people, nor can they estimate at its true worth the patriotic feelings and that strong spirit of independence which animate the nation. Though powerful and despotic neighbours may hate their free institutions, still the Swiss fear not invasion. It is luckily known to these

despotic powers that it is not the mountains only which form the bulwark of Swiss liberty.

In the article from which we have mainly drawn our information—though we have also seen something of Swiss military institutions and camp life—every necessary detail is given as to the stores and materials of war possessed by the Swiss, the organization of the various corps and the discipline of the troops. The author rates the latter and the military spirit of the people as a most important addition to their defensive strength, comparing it to the different spirit prevailing in standing armies composed of conscripts.

We have said sufficient to show that a standing army is by no means necessary to enable a nation to be well prepared to defend its liberties, and to be relieved from degrading fears of invasion.

As bearing, however, on this subject, we cannot resist the opportunity to give a larger circulation to the following opinions of General J. Jacob. In the chapter “on the arming of a free people, and on the true principles of the organization of the armies of England,” he says:—

“The maintenance of a large standing army by a perfectly free people is an unnecessary expenditure, and diminishes the total available amount of national labour, and, consequently, of national wealth. This expenditure is unnecessary, because every legitimate object for which a standing army is maintained, would be more effectually maintained by the abolition than the support of such a force; and it diminishes the total of national labour and wealth, because it implies the setting apart of a portion of that labour exclusively for the unproductive business of war. The legitimate object for the maintenance of a standing army is the defence of the nation; and this object could be most effectually attained, in the case of a people really free, by abolishing a separate army, and rendering the entire nation defensively warlike.”

General Jacob gives it as his opinion that the entire youth and peasantry of the country should be trained to the use of those weapons which, in these days of advanced mechanical science, they would require in the event of invasion. He wishes to see the native qualities of the Englishman as pre-eminently developed as in the days of Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, and the riflemen as skilled as were the bowmen of those times. But he acknowledges that an army must still be maintained in England, especially as necessary to her colonial and Indian rule. The principle, however, on which the English army is formed and kept up, he finds defective, since military service is not made attractive to any but the lowest classes of society. He adds:—

“What is the interest of the manufacturers in the establishment of

a factory, is the interest of the State in the establishment of an army. Let the State therefore accord to its soldiers such pay and position as to draw into its ranks the flower of its yeomen and peasantry; train them in accordance to their noble nature by appealing to the highest and best faculties of man. Let there be regiments of counties; that is, let each regiment have permanent head-quarters, where a considerable district around might be interested in the conduct of the corps in the field; where recruits might be enlisted, and where families, pensioners, &c., might reside in comfort during the absence of the regiment in the field. Let the service be such that dismissal from it may be felt as a grievous punishment. Let promotion to the highest ranks be open to all who may deserve it. Let even the marshal's baton be within reach of the grasp of the common soldier who may prove himself worthy and able to wield it."

These noble sentiments of a thorough soldier, who carried out in practice the principles he valued, and proved how far superior is a moral control over men to any that can be obtained by a dread of punishment, are unfortunately but little in accordance with that system which prevails both in our regular army and militia. After speaking in terms of strong condemnation of the Mutiny Act, and the punishments on which we mainly rely for keeping up the discipline of our forces, he continues:—

"Is it to be wondered at that, however excellent the raw material whence our army *might* be drawn, it should be found, under the working of such a system, often difficult to obtain for the service of the State any but the most inferior class of our citizens or peasants; that the supply even of these does not meet the demand; and that the army of England holds a position at an immense distance behind the position which the general advance of the nation in moral and intellectual power should have enabled it to hold."

The subject touched upon by General Jacob in this last extract, and to which we may return by and by, is one of grave import in respect to the militia as well as the standing army. Now that the ballot is no longer used to raise the men, not only are the militia corps incomplete as to numbers, but scarcely any but the poorest classes enter the ranks of this home and so-called constitutional force.

For practical purposes bearing on the future, there would be no use in referring to the past, and looking far back into the history of the militia of this Empire. In the year 1831 the regiments of the United Kingdom, composed of men who had been drawn by ballot or substitutes, were for the last time called out for twenty-eight days' training. From that date until 1852 the militia became little more than a myth. A certain amount of militia staff was, to be sure, kept up, and as the old officers who had served in the embodied regiments during the Continental wars died off or retired, fresh appointments were made by the

Lord Lieutenants of the counties. But these appointments ceased to have any reference to military capacity, for military duties there were none to perform. Not only, therefore, did all interest in, but we may add all thoughts of, the militia vanish from the public mind. When in 1852 the militia was again ordered to be organized, the old constitutional means of raising it being put aside, the men were got together by a bounty and voluntary enlistment. The term of militia service was, as formerly, fixed at five years, for which a bounty of 6*l.* is paid, 10*s.* being given to the recruit on attestation, another 10*s.* on the completion of his service, and the remainder in yearly or quarterly rates.

The raising of the militia by bounty, however, has altered the whole character of the force, and made it not only impossible to compare it with the militia of Switzerland or of Prussia, but likewise with that of any other country in the world. Even in the United States of America, although no people keep up such numerous bodies of volunteers (who occasionally have the excitement of fighting, be it remembered), still militia service is compulsory. Again, in our own dependencies in North America, the same principle is adopted. Sir Allan McNab, at a public meeting last April in St. Martin's Hall, to discuss the subject of our national defences, (more properly speaking, our national defencelessness), stated that—

“In Canada every man was enrolled in the militia, with the exception of the clergy and the judges. The people there were regarded as one great army. The country was parcelled out into military divisions. They had two classes of militia, the active and the sedentary. The active militia included every male inhabitant of the province under forty years of age, of whom there were now about 170,000 or 180,000. The sedentary militia included all the male inhabitants from forty to sixty years of age. In each of these military divisions they had a full complement of staff officers, and also depôts of arms, by means of which the men could be armed and equipped in the local divisions to which they belonged. . . . He did not know so good a militia law as that of Canada; he knew it was working well,” &c.

We regret that we are not acquainted with details of this militia force, of the way in which it is drilled, how officered, and how the latter are instructed in their duties. But we know the fact that our descendants in Canada, Nova Scotia, &c., as well as in the United States, have militia laws based on compulsory service. How comes it, then, that we of the mother country have departed from the old Anglo-Saxon principle of organizing and training the male population in the use of arms for the defence of cherished liberties? Archery practice *has* been compulsory in England; trained bands and militia service *have* been com-

pulsory; but now we are content to rely on the lowest classes for the defence of the country, appealing to no higher motives than those arising from their necessities, by offering them a miserable bounty. The volunteer rifle corps movement, supposing it should extend more than it has hitherto done, and not prove evanescent or exclusive, can never become a substitute for such an almost general and compulsory training and organization of the able-bodied male population as a perfect militia system would ensure.

Why the Government, in 1852, instead of amending and simplifying the laws relating to the ballot, for carrying out the old constitutional principle of the militia, preferred to rely on voluntary enlistment, we are unable to say. Perhaps deference to the doctrines of the Manchester school and the Peace societies, at that time more powerful than happily at present, may have had something to do with this change. Be this as it may, we cannot but look upon the attempt to establish a militia upon the voluntary principle as one of the greatest mistakes of modern times. We remember, in the winter of 1852, hearing a foreign statesman, on being told that the ballot for the militia in England was no longer in use, remark, "This is a serious symptom of national decay." We trust this was too gloomy a view of the case. Nevertheless, all the evil consequences may not yet be apparent.

At first, on the re-establishment of the militia in 1852, and at the next two trainings the following years, the voluntary system did not, indeed, by any means seem to be a failure. The original volunteers had no idea that they would ever be called upon to leave their native counties, and for the most part they were a highly respectable and well-behaved class of young men. Recruiting parties for the army were ordered not in any way to interfere with the militiamen; indeed, they were expressly forbidden to enlist them.

There were two drawbacks, however, to the efficiency of the regiments, which became immediately apparent. 1stly, the non-commissioned officers, then on the permanent staff, were, to a considerable extent, an idle, drunken set of men; and 2ndly, many of the officers, from age and total ignorance of military matters, were unfitted for the performance of their duties. Previously to enrolling the men the Government had very properly sent a circular to militia officers, calling upon them to resign, if conscious of incapacity from age or ignorance of military matters, and stating that in so doing they would be allowed to keep their militia rank. This appeal may have operated usefully in several cases, but we know of others, where, under the influence of delusive self-love or other less excusable motives, some of the old officers, and even in command of regiments, have continued to hold their appointments to the detriment of the militia service.

Still, at first even this drawback was not much felt, for a large proportion of the officers, especially those of the country gentleman class, displayed a zealous desire to learn their duties and to attend to the instruction, comforts, and even amusements of the men. And as many excellent non-commissioned officers from the Guards and the Line were sent to assist in training the militiamen, much progress was made, and the defects of the militia staff were not so apparent as subsequently, under a change of circumstances. In the autumn of 1853, after the second training of militia regiments, a War Office circular invited the officers to join regiments of the Line or depôts, that they might have the opportunities of being drilled and instructed. Many profited by this arrangement, and received an allowance of five shillings per diem during the course of instruction. It is a pity that this step had not been taken previous to calling out the regiments in the autumn of 1852, for the officers, as a body, would have stood higher in the estimation of their men had they generally possessed more knowledge of their duties.

But, on the whole, the militia seemed to be progressing favourably, and, even under the voluntary system, there were hopes of the future, until the outbreak of the Russian War. With this event soon came that change of circumstances, to which we have just alluded. The militia regiments were now embodied, and this contrary to the original agreement with the men. In the spring of 1855, it was stated in Parliament that the men were not legally bound to serve for more than fifty-six days in one year, and under the feeling that they had been unfairly treated, large numbers at once left the regiments. Many of these would, doubtless, have enrolled themselves afresh for embodied service, on receiving an addition of bounty, had they been called upon to do so at the proper time. But men generally, as is well known, will even sacrifice their best interests in pursuance of what they consider their rights. Many of the militia regiments were nearly broken up, all greatly weakened, and the recruiting, this time amongst an inferior class of men, had to commence again. To this blow which the militia had received, soon succeeded another, when the want of men for the army became urgent. Militia regiments were "worked," as it was mildly called, for volunteers for the army; that is to say, they were given up for several days to recruiting parties, and scenes of drunkenness, riot, and a thorough relaxation of discipline were the consequence. To these were added the wailings and complaints of mothers and other relatives, who said that the young men had been fairly kidnapped, enticed from their homes to serve in a militia, when in reality it was intended to force them into the Line. We know of regiments which had nearly recovered from the first blow, and were again in the way to attaining their

full complement. But this forced volunteering, and the offering of commissions in the army to militia subalterns for every seventy-five men, effectually kept the regiments down as to numbers; and we believe there is not one in the United Kingdom or Ireland that has ever since completed its establishment. But the chief evil of this forced volunteering, in conjunction with the breach of faith to the men, has been that the militia entirely lost its character as a home force, and men of the class which originally came forward no longer presented themselves for enrolment. Another evil resulting from the demands on militia regiments for volunteers has been that most of the sergeants became quite corrupted by the opportunities of making money which it in several ways afforded them, and they neglected their militia duties in consequence. From these and other causes, of which we shall presently speak, the militia has not attained that position in the opinion of any class of society which, for important reasons, it ought to hold. As the defects and deficiencies of the militia, and the consequences of the unwise treatment of this force have become apparent, certain palliatives have been attempted, and there has been no lack of criticism, mostly of an unfavourable character. Some have delighted in calling the militia a costly mistake, and, like Lord Grey, expressed the wish to see it abolished altogether; others, again, caring not for the efficiency of the corps, and the scenes of drunkenness and corruption attending the volunteering, have been satisfied with it as a means of getting recruits for the army. A foolish and expensive way of attaining that end, as will presently be seen. As matters now stand, all those regiments which have been kept in an embodied state for the last two to three years have been highly and deservedly praised for steadiness in marching past on review days, the mechanical performance of the usual field day manœuvres, and, better still, with few exceptions, for the good conduct of the men. It is, however, but a favoured few of the militia regiments which have had these advantages of camp and garrison life. The greater number have never quitted their provincial quarters, and they are now, by a late statement of the Earl of Ripon, 40 per cent. below their proper strength. The yearly trainings have, moreover, only sufficed to impart to such youths as they have in their ranks, a superficial amount of drill, and all these disembodied regiments, with, we believe, but one exception, are still armed with the old Brown Bess. Even with this obsolete weapon, they have never fired a shot, whilst the officers, whatever their zeal, have not had the opportunities of acquiring the knowledge to fit them to lead their men into action. In short, the militia force, taken as a whole, is not yet, neither on the score of numbers nor efficiency, to be relied upon for the defence of the country.

That this conviction has penetrated the minds of our rulers, the appointment of a Royal Commission last year, to inquire into the state of the Militia, and take evidence on the subject, has sufficiently testified. We have now the printed result of the labours of the Commissioners before us, and in so far as they were not empowered to enter into the question of Radical changes of the present Militia system, or of a return to the Ballot, we find it of great value. The opening of this large blue-book, however, somewhat resembles the opening of Pandora's box. Evils fly out at every turn of the leaves. What must a German, or a Frenchman, accustomed to the well thought out and systematic manner in which all military matters in their countries are organized and conducted, think of us English after the study only of this blue-book? We remember hearing in 1851, the remark of a Prussian officer of Engineers, who had come to this country to see the Great Exhibition, and at the same time as much as possible of our military and naval establishments, which struck us much at the time.

"After what I have seen," he said, "my opinion of the English is entirely changed. I came here with the impression that you were the most practical people in the world; I find just the contrary. I perceive everywhere the absence of system based on sound and simple principles, and instead of that abundance of experimenting, unnecessary complications, and the undoing one day what you have done the day before. You may be able to afford to do such things; for instance, to build ships-of-war without calculating to a mathematical certainty, as can be done, how they will swim, what armaments they can carry, how much water they will draw. You may cut them in two, and experiment with them again; but I can assure you the French do not act in this way; they economize their means, and in all their naval undertakings apply theory perfected by science."

"Just now," he added, "you are celebrating, with your universal Exhibition, the Jubilee of eternal peace. But things may soon change, and should you again have to go to war, you will find that you are behind other powers as to military and naval organization."

The Crimean campaign but too soon proved that there was more truth in these remarks than we then, attributing them partly to continental prejudices, believed. But to return to the Militia Report, which, as far as this force is concerned, gives evidence enough of the experimental way in which governments manage the affairs of this country. Six lords-lieutenant of counties, thirteen commandants of militia regiments, nine adjutants, and many other officers of militia, have been examined by the Commissioners, and besides several officers holding very high rank in the army have appeared before them, and expressed opinions of great importance. Of all these witnesses, however,

not one is to be found able to report favourably of the working of the present militia system. The greatest of all the evils under which it suffers, and which, in fact, runs through the whole of the evidence, like the red thread in the Government ship canvas, is the fraudulent enlistments, the double and more enrolments of the same individuals in militia regiments. It appears that the facilities and the temptations for this shameful practice have been so great, that with the low state of education and morals of a large portion of the poorest classes, its frequency is hardly to be wondered at. Many have actually made a trade of enlisting in militia regiments, going about from one place to another to pick up the 10s. bounties. Lord Claude Hamilton gives it as his opinion that Irishmen intending to emigrate to America, have taken the head-quarters of two or more militia regiments on their way to the port of embarkation, to make up a little sum towards the voyage.

But everything concurred to render such fraudulent conduct easy. It is comparatively a late order of the War Office that militia regiments should not take recruits excepting in their own counties. But this did not prevent them from enrolling any man who chose to offer himself at their depôts, whether he belonged to the county or not. Some adjutants seem to have taken pains to inquire into the characters and domiciles of the recruits, and one (Wiltshire regiment) consulted the police about the men who offered. But, on the whole, the word of any man who might figure as the bringer of a recruit, if he were at all known at head-quarters, especially if one of the regiment, and a sergeant to boot, has been deemed a sufficient guarantee as to the character of any stranger. The bringer's fee is in each case five shillings; so a good deal of money could be earned by sharp practitioners on the look-out for the migratory classes. It has been stated in evidence that it is the pecuniary interest of the adjutants to enrol as many men as they can; that, in fact, if the men enrolled do not come up for training, "the adjutants can get a reward by enrolling other men to supply their places." To the credit, however, of the adjutants who have given evidence, they have objected to this kind of remuneration for their labours, and have said that they should prefer a fixed increase of pay in lieu of the enrolment fees. But the sergeants cannot be expected to possess, nor have they shown, so nice a sense of honour. There can be little doubt that they have done all in their power to induce men already purposing to enter the army to walk through their militia regiments first, if only for a day or two, that both parties might profit by the transaction. Thus, many of the vaunted volunteers from militia regiments have been men who, had there been no militia at all, would have gone direct into the

army. The circuitous progress we have pointed out has cost the country from £2 to £3 extra per man. It passes all belief, were it not in evidence, that it has been the practice of very many militia regiments (we know, however, not of all,) to enrol any men, or rather boys, whom the surgeon would pass, although it must have been foreseen that they "would never turn up again." The statistics of militia regiments, as to the number of men whose names have been entered on their books, compared with the number that has actually come up for training, would be extremely interesting, although it would throw a sad light upon the morality of the militia staff, as well as on that of the lower classes of this empire. It is the so-called "floating population" to which so many militia regiments have looked to get men on paper, and which is appropriately called in the Blue Book "a floating mass of men who have broken their oath." The Commissioners have taken the subject of double enrolments and desertions into their serious consideration, and, after hearing much evidence on the subject, have recommended that in future the enrolment of volunteers shall be restricted to the counties to which the regiments belong; that in large counties, in which there are two or more regiments, each shall have its distinct area, its particular district to recruit in. Further, as a means of checking the crime of fraudulent enlistment, it is recommended that every recruit shall at once be trained at head-quarters, for a period not exceeding twenty-eight days. The adoption of this plan, it is significantly remarked, will give the non-commissioned officers of the permanent staff greater opportunities of identifying the recruits, whom hitherto "they have generally only seen but for a moment, probably never to see again." This plan, which it appears by what has been said in Parliament, is to be carried out, will have many beneficial results. To some extent it will test the sincerity of the recruits, add to the efficiency and morality of the staff, by affording it employment all the year round; besides, it will prepare all those men, willing to come up again, to take their places in a battalion whenever circumstances may make it necessary to call upon it for service. It is a notable fact that nearly all the witnesses examined have concurred in this recommendation to drill the recruits at once, though the term thought advisable to keep them at the dépôt varies from three weeks to three months. We are of opinion that twenty-eight days will suffice. It may be a boon to many men when out of work to take to soldiering for a month, and pocket the bounty, but a longer term might deter. If the men should be well treated, and well instructed, and, as is recommended, not billeted in public-houses, it is probable that many will acquire somewhat of a military spirit, and either become good militiamen, or, in time, pass on into the

army. Hitherto, partly from the leniency of the laws, and partly from the unwillingness of magistrates to punish men for fraudulent enlistment in, or desertion from, disembodied militia regiments, the offenders, if identified, have been able to act with impunity. Men enlisting in Ireland could not be touched at all if found in England or Scotland, and *vice versâ*. More stringent punishments are now recommended. But prevention is far better than punishment. We must look to the fountain-head, and stop the source of the evil. Young men of "the migratory classes," if they want to be soldiers, and are physically fit, should go into the army at once. The desertions from the army, indeed, are numerous enough, but still the means of checking them are greater than in the militia. The latter, which is, moreover, the army of reserve and truly national force for defensive purposes, ought not to have a man in its ranks whose character is not good, and who is not actuated by a sense of duty to his country. We cannot, we fear, reach this state of things all at once, but the recommendations of the Royal Commission, if honestly carried out, will do something to prepare the way. If the commandants and staff of militia regiments be absolutely restricted to men known to belong to their own counties, and, in the large counties, to their own districts; and if this facile way of enrolling vagabonds be strictly forbidden, we shall at least see whether a national militia on the voluntary system can be maintained or not. In addition to what we have already stated, and at the risk of fatiguing, we must again refer to the Blue Book, and enter into the unfair treatment of militia regiments, to show that the voluntary system has not yet had a fair trial.

It appears that it is in Middlesex and the manufacturing counties, especially in those large ones possessing each several militia regiments, that the fraudulent enrolments and desertions most abound.

In Yorkshire and Lancashire several regiments recruit in the same towns—Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, &c.; and in these they not only compete with one another, but likewise with the army, as these large towns afford the best field for the exertions of the regular recruiting parties. Any man who may have offered himself to the staff of one militia regiment, has been enrolled, if approved of by a surgeon, without the slightest trouble having been taken even to ascertain whether the man had, or had not been previously enrolled in another militia regiment, likewise recruiting in the same town. Thus within a small circle a man may have pocketed two or three militia bounties, and then have gone to a sergeant of the line, who would have been only too glad to get a recruit without in the least troubling his head whether he belonged to the militia or not. In confirmation of

this haphazard, this careless and planless way of recruiting, we take from the minutes of evidence the following statement of no less a personage than General Sir George Hay Wetherall, Adjutant-General of the Forces. Question—

“With regard to the recruiting for the line and the militia, both forces competing for the same men at periods when men are urgently required for the regular service, do you think that it would be an advantage under such circumstances to stop the enrolments in the militia, in order to head that floating population direct into the regular army?”

Answer—

“We do not find that it impedes our recruiting much, if at all; neither do I think that that plan would be attended with any advantage, except to the public, in one respect. Numerous instances have been brought to my notice where men enrolled for the militia came one afternoon and got the enrolment money, and on the following morning are brought to Duke Street as recruits, never having passed through the militia. They enlist on the following morning into the line, getting the two bounties. That is a common occurrence, but we get the men, so we do not mind it at all.”

Neither do they “mind it at all” in embodied militia regiments, if they take men belonging to other militia regiments; the object of the former, just as with the line, being to get men by any means. Thus most of the witnesses account for the vast amount of desertions by stating their belief that many of the men have joined embodied regiments.

The colonel of a disembodied militia regiment being asked whether, in case he heard of men belonging to his regiment serving in the embodied regiment of the county, he should think it right to take means to bring these men to punishment, replies—“I do not know whether it is right, or not; I should not do it.” He gives as his reason that the men are useful in the embodied, and not in the disembodied regiment.

From these and other statements which we could cite, we see that not only has there been little or no care taken to check and punish fraudulent enlistments of militiamen into the line, but it has been almost equally a matter of indifference whether the men of one militia regiment belonged to another or not. In all this we see a total absence of any combined system of recruiting for the two branches of service, calculated at least to check defraudations. No doubt there are difficulties in the way of prevention, and the only sound plan will be not to allow a militia regiment to enrol any man whose character and domicile are not known. What does the country profit, after all, by these men of straw on the books of militia regiments? They add not to their actual strength; and the more care that is taken as to the character of

the men enrolled, the higher the militia will stand in public opinion, and the more will men in the end be attracted to its ranks.

We have just alluded to the circumstance that the men of disembodied militia regiments are inclined to flock to those which are kept up in an embodied state. We must speak somewhat more fully on this head, and also on that of the embodiment of militia regiments in general. It has become patent to militia officers, that those regiments which have nominally given the largest number of volunteers to the army, are those most in favour at the Horse Guards. Such commandants of militia, therefore, as take a particular pleasure in home soldiering, or such as are actuated by motives of gain, strain every nerve to get recruits, for the chance of their stopping a short time in their regiments, and then passing on into the army. Last spring (and probably now) placards were to be seen on the walls at the Horse Guards, alongside of similar ones of the regular recruiting parties, calling upon smart young men to join an embodied militia regiment (more in favour with the military authorities than with the inhabitants of the towns in which it has been quartered), and to repair to Sergeant Kite, at the so and so, near the Haymarket. To see recruiting carried on in this fashion is surely contrary to the whole spirit and purpose of a militia force. The men thus picked up, if good for anything at all, will be mostly such as are willing to become soldiers, but who on learning how a little more money may be made by the circumlocution process, are marched off to Ireland, soon to be marched back again to join some line regiment, at no trifling waste of labour and money to the country's cost. How many of such militia volunteers end in becoming deserters, we do not know; but we have reason to think the number is large.

We have shifted a great part of the blame for these fraudulent enlistments from the shoulders of the sorely tempted poorest classes, to those of the staff of militia regiments; and we must now carry a portion from the latter, to lay it at the door of the supreme military authorities. The assertion that the militia, as it has been hitherto treated, forms a valuable means of recruiting for the army, is a strange piece of reasoning, or betrays strange ignorance of the true state of things. No doubt the militia has assisted in breaking the ties to home, and exciting in many youths some amount of military ardour; but the numbers gained this way who would not otherwise have become soldiers, cannot compensate for the additional price that has been paid for them, nor for the demoralization resulting from the temptations to sharp practices offered to the militia staff, and the facilities for fraudulent enlistment. Those who have successfully tried their hands at getting

militia bounties, are not likely to become better soldiers in consequence.

We are opposed in principle to the embodying of the militia, unless the country be at war, or other extraordinary circumstances should render it necessary. But, however, another, and a valid reason for keeping a portion of the militia force always under arms would be established, should it be conclusively shown that unless militia regiments are occasionally embodied, they cannot attain such a state of efficiency as will render them fit to assist the line in repelling an invader. The militia must become a reality or be abandoned altogether; for an imperfect force will be contemptible in the eyes of foreign military powers, and, like every bad article, dear at any price. We have seen that the Swiss *can* trust to a militia for the defence of their freedom. But, then, the circumstances of the two countries (England and Switzerland) are very dissimilar. In the latter country, notwithstanding that until lately men from the *Catholic* cantons have been enlisted for the service of the Pope and the King of Naples (a proceeding now forbidden by the federal laws), there can be no doubt that strong feelings of patriotism and independence prevail. In this country, we cannot but fear that the ever-increasing love of wealth and luxury, on the one hand, and of a morally and physically weak and precocious town population, on the other, are slowly, but surely, poisoning the very roots of our national life. Antidotes are not wanting, it is true. But to return to Switzerland. The flower of the country's manhood forms the vanguard of the defensive forces; and, moreover, from early youth, the minds and limbs of a large proportion of those militiamen have been trained and prepared for military duties. We have seen, too, that the Swiss are not content with local squad drills and mere battalion evolutions, but that they brigade their troops in camps or cantonments every second year, in large numbers, and teach them all that mimic warfare can do. The militia of this country, on the contrary, is composed at present principally of very young men, indeed partly of mere boys, as sixteen is now the age at which they can be taken. The physical development of many of these is checked by bad air, bad food, and the general deteriorating influences of large manufacturing towns. For such young men as form at present the staple of our militia, a period of embodied service is of great benefit, not only as regards the improvement of health, but likewise for teaching them habits of obedience, cleanliness, and order. Indeed, we have seen what a six months' embodiment only of militia regiments can do, under good officers, to improve the condition of the men. But apart from these reasons for embodying militia regiments, it is the opinion of military authorities, that no amount of annual monthly trainings can suffice to

render militia regiments fit for actual service. General Knollys, than whom no man has had more experience of the embodied militia, gives it as his opinion that "in six months the regiments can be rendered competent to take their place in a division of the army, and manœuvre with other troops of the line." Sir John Fox Burgoyne, although he is for keeping up the militia, has, nevertheless, no high opinion of the value of this force. He says—

"That when it has been twice or three times assembled and under arms, it will be worth something, but that it will remain stationary in value till called out for *actual duty*." He adds, "The militia, after being constantly out, and doing the duty of regular soldiers for about a twelvemonth, will arrive at the highest state of utility of which they are susceptible; and then, if acting with regular troops in equal proportions, or, better still, in the proportion of one of the former to two of the latter, their value may be estimated at half, or at the most two-thirds of an equal force of the line."

From our own experience, we have no doubt whatever that no amount of yearly trainings can render the militia a force to be relied upon. Six months of consecutive service under the eye of a general officer in the army will do more for a militia regiment than twelve yearly trainings, supposing the same men continued in its ranks. The militia, therefore, must either be embodied in rotation for a fixed period, or, every two or three years, each regiment must be removed from its own head-quarters, put into huts, or, better still, under canvas for six or eight weeks, and brigaded with other regiments of the militia and the line. By this means, both men and officers can be taught outpost duties and all the business of camp life, including some amount of strategy. The mounted officers, moreover, can never be truly efficient without occasional opportunities of brigade exercises. We do not agree with Sir J. Burgoyne that a twelvemonth's embodiment is necessary to render the militia fit for actual service, though it would be of great use to the officers in many ways, particularly in making them well-acquainted with the interior economy of their regiments. We have seen that General Knollys is of opinion that half the time would suffice for rendering the militia efficient; and he states, too, that he has had many regiments almost from their first formation under his command in the camp at Aldershot. But to the question of making the militia efficient we shall presently return. General Shaw Kennedy includes in his comprehensive plan for the permanent defence of this country, that "50,000 regular militia (in addition to a local militia) shall always be embodied." Other military writers on the same subject also consider that a portion of the militia should always be under arms.

The Appendix to the evidence taken before the Commission contains a suggestion given in by Col. Wilson Patten, M.P. (one

of the members), for a militia staff corps, to be formed by contingents from regiments of militia, whenever a portion only of this force is required for permanent service. The scheme is perfectly sound and worthy of consideration. By periodical changes of officers and men, every regiment would benefit from the service of contingents in these mixed battalions; and, moreover, the wishes and convenience of individual militiamen could be consulted. The suggested plan would be analogous to that adopted in Switzerland, as the militia battalions doing garrison duty in the large towns, Berne, Geneva, &c., are made up of contingents, frequently changed, from the different cantonal regiments. Thus the service falls equally on all, and all benefit by the experience of garrison duties.

Whatever objections may be urged against the principle of embodying militia regiments at all, at this moment a considerable number are actually doing duty, like battalions of the line. They were called out for garrison duty more than two years ago, when the demand for troops to suppress the revolt in India was urgent, and this revolt formed without dispute a sufficient ground for that step. We have no reason to doubt that it is still, and may be for some time to come, desirable to keep a portion of the militia embodied. How comes it, however, that only a favoured few regiments are allowed to profit by the opportunity of becoming thoroughly efficient, which this necessity for employing the militia offers; and that, after the superfluously long service these have had, they should not be one by one, and gradually, replaced by others? We have long expected the solution of this question, and have looked for it in the Report of the Royal Commissioners in vain. All really zealous officers of the disembodied militia are smarting under a sense of inferiority and the unfairness which keeps them in the background. They can take little or no interest in the farce of a three weeks' yearly training, and know how impossible it is under the treatment they have experienced, that their corps can be of any essential use for the defence of the country. In the Spring of last year, sixteen militia regiments, which had been embodied the Autumn before for *garrison duty*, were summarily sent to the right about, because, as it was intimated to them, they had not given their quota of volunteers to the army. We believe that all these regiments bore excellent characters for discipline, and the principle upon which they were chosen for disembodiment was felt the more by the officers, because it seemed to them that efforts to encourage the good conduct of the men and keep up an *esprit de corps* had operated to their disadvantage. Besides, the sudden disembodiment took them by surprise, for some of the corps had just been removed into camps of instruction, and they had been informed that they

would soon receive the new weapons. The officers who had been sent to the School of Musketry at Hythe, had returned with first-class certificates, well prepared to instruct their regiments in their use. We find amongst the evidence in the blue-book, that the Duke of Newcastle has expressed his decided disapproval of the requiring a certain number of volunteers from militia regiments as the condition of their embodied service. Others, too, have condemned the principle of demanding a fixed quota in a fixed time, and this proceeding will, it now appears, be abandoned in future. His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief has lately stated in Parliament, that "there has been no demand at all made upon the militia this year, and that he thought it unwise and impolitic to make the militia inefficient for the sake of the line." This augurs a most satisfactory change of policy, by which the regiments now embodied will especially profit. But, in respect to these regiments, we do not want favouritism in the militia. This national force should be fairly and consistently treated. It is of no benefit to the country to have a portion of it fostered into what are called "crack regiments," and the rest in the position of the Pariahs of the service. Besides, it causes dissatisfaction in the army to see militia regiments kept up year after year like a bastard line, with all the advantages of home, and none of the hard blows of foreign service. This feeling of jealousy could not exist, if militia regiments were embodied in rotation for purposes of instruction only.

Previous to the late change of Government, sound views were expressed by General Peel in the House of Commons. He stated that the regiments now embodied would be replaced by others, so that the men might not be kept too long from their homes, and thus lose their connexions, and acquire instead the habits of regular soldiers. It is a grievance and a hardship to the better class of militiamen to be forced to serve in this manner for the whole term of their engagement, and they no doubt, like all who take an interest in the militia, have been looking anxiously for the fulfilment of General Peel's promise. Instead of this, however, certain members have but lately expressed the wish in Parliament, that the efficient militia regiments now under arms should not be disembodied. We cannot but fear that the clause in the "Militia Laws Amendment Bill," which was passed at the close of the Session, empowering the Government to keep embodied regiments of English militia more than two years continuously in Ireland, or Irish regiments beyond the same term in England, shows that it is not the intention of the present Government to call out fresh regiments. But should justice, however tardy, be done to the disembodied corps, especially to those which were out in the winter '57-8, too short a time for their proper

instruction, we trust that measures will be taken to prevent the rushing of men, and of subaltern officers too, (for such has occurred with those not having ties to the counties to which the regiments belong,) from regiments on their disembodiment to others doing duty. This has hitherto, according to the evidence, been a common proceeding with the class of militiamen picked up in the large manufacturing towns, who, if they serve at all, prefer to be in embodied regiments. For men of this stamp, the proper place, we repeat, is the regular army. But we have dwelt long enough on the past and present of the militia, and we will now direct our attention as hopefully as we can to the future.

The Commissioners have made various other recommendations to her Majesty, besides those relating to fraudulent enlistments; all of them, as far as they go, of a useful character. The position and pay of adjutants, as likewise the pay and accommodation of the non-commissioned officers of the permanent staff, they recommend shall be improved; that the small corps in Wales and some of the English counties should be amalgamated, on the plan which has been found to answer well in Scotland. Further they advise that the amount of yearly training of the disembodied militia be extended from twenty-one days to twenty-eight. Also that companies or detachments of any corps should be called out for primary drill when found necessary. We have already mentioned that it is proposed in future to drill all recruits on enrolment for twenty-eight days; therefore, if the men are well grounded in squad and company drill, this addition of a week for battalion drill should be ample for this purpose. Nevertheless, if this is to be all in the way of training and preparation for service that the militia as a body is to experience, the sooner the curtain shall fall upon the farce of a national militia the better. More unsystematic battalion drill, according to the various fancies of militia commandants, the daily marching-past and repetitions of a few manœuvres for the day of inspection, will not suffice to bring a militia regiment into that state of efficiency that it can be relied upon to meet an invading enemy. As General Sir J. Burgoyne truly remarks, beyond a certain point the militia cannot progress, unless called out for actual duty. We agree with him as to the essence of this remark, viz., that militia regiments must have more opportunities of learning the business of soldiers than they can ever obtain exercised only as isolated battalions in their own counties. We have already pointed to what we believe to be an equivalent for embodiment, the periodical formation of militia brigades under the command of experienced officers in the army, and practice in the business of campaigning.

The Commissioners further advise that all officers of militia not above the rank of captain shall on appointment be attached

for instruction to the head-quarters of their corps, or to a regiment or depôt of the line; that good-conduct pay and other advantages be given to well-conducted men on re-enlistment at the termination of their first period of service. They recommend, too, that those soldiers who are annually discharged from her Majesty's regular forces, under the Limited Enlistment Act, should be encouraged as much as possible to serve in the militia of the counties to which they belong, being of opinion that this step would greatly increase the efficiency of the militia, an opinion in which we entirely concur.

There are many other useful suggestions in the Commissioners' report, especially in regard to the militia artillery, but into which we cannot enter. The most valuable recommendation of all we consider to be that relating to the arming of the whole militia infantry. It is considered to be most desirable that the improved rifles should be furnished to all the regiments of militia, and that if suitable rifle ranges for practice cannot be found in the neighbourhood of the head-quarters of regiments, detachments of men should be sent from time to time to the nearest and most convenient places for ball practice. This is an excellent recommendation, and there is now a prospect that the militiaman will at last have a proper weapon-put into his hand, and be taught, moreover, how to use it.

Of all the evidence in the Militia Blue-book none is more satisfactory and encouraging than that of Major-General Hay, commanding the School of Musketry at Hythe. It is indeed so valuable that we must make copious extracts from it. He entirely dispels some fallacies which may have possibly hitherto delayed the arming of the militia with the new rifles. In reply to the question how long a time it takes to make a lad from the plough efficient enough for going through the musketry instructions, he says:—

“The course now adopted in the army is to take such men when they have been about a month or six weeks under the adjutant's drill. They get into our mill, as it were, and they are trained for eighteen days; during which time we put them through the whole of what we call our ordinary training. After the man has gone through that ordinary training as a recruit, he is then allowed to practise as a soldier in his company, when it merely takes twelve days in the year to go through the prescribed annual course of musketry drill and practice, and two or three such courses make those men most wonderfully efficient.”

Being further asked if he means that a recruit can be thus instructed in six weeks after he has joined, he replies:—

“In war time we do not give him so much, for in a fortnight after a recruit has joined, we bring him under rifle training.”

He adds:—

“At Hythe we do not train men, we train teachers. The difficulty to be encountered is to get teachers. There is no difficulty in training the man; it is a detail which must be closely watched, &c. . . . Precision of firing depends upon the drill. We have reduced it to a positive certainty. A preliminary drill of eight days suffices for a man of ordinary intelligence before being called upon to fire. A stupid man will require more time; he will be thrown back, as in any other pursuit, to get up the theory. Our drill is simply to make a man, before he goes out to fire, understand the reason for everything he has to do in practice. . . . A regiment may fire its ammunition every year, but without proper instruction a great many of the men (the dull ones who have not mastered the theory) will get worse instead of better. Detect the error of a man, point it out to him, and correct it, and that man becomes as valuable as any one else, so far as shooting goes.”

He considers it “most desirable” that the whole of the militia force of Great Britain and Ireland should be armed with the Enfield rifle; and declares that with a little management and detailed arrangement it would be very easy to train all the regiments in a very short time. This step taken, “it would be utterly impossible for an enemy to be moved over this country.” Before the men, however, can be trained, the non-commissioned officers and the adjutants, at least, must be thoroughly qualified to act as instructors. His experience of the militia officers and non-commissioned officers who as yet have been sent to Hythe, has proved them to be quite as competent as those from the line. Militia officers have shown great zeal and intelligence in qualifying themselves for instructors, and the firing of the militia has lately been superior to the line. Characteristic is the reply of the General to the question (in reference to the militia staff), whether the age of a man makes much difference in the capacity to learn?

“I think,” he says, “that the older man, if he has been a long time in the service (I am speaking of the regular army), does require a little more pains.” He is a man who has not thought of anything for years; but these old linesmen can be taught: they shoot just as well as younger men.”

Again he states—

“The position rifle drill is the very best setting up a man can have; you are doing two things at once. I have had it acknowledged by officers that the men who return from Hythe are the best set up men they have; not only that, but the man goes back a different being; he has been thinking for two or three months, a thing which he never did before in his life, and he becomes quite another man; he very likely becomes a good shot. You should see one of these clods when he has hit his target at 800 yards; he is a different fellow altogether.”

He further states that—

“A man may be taught to shoot by drill alone, if he can but be brought to put faith in the theory. If a man will take your word for it, and do what you tell him, there is no doubt you may train by drill. The reason why regiments do not shoot well the first year is that they will not believe what you tell them. I have watched it for four or five years, and I look upon it that you positively do as much good in making a man think as in making him shoot; you make him a different being.”

To the question whether the good effects of rifle training will not be perceived in the general orderly conduct of the soldier, independent of his firing powers? the answer is—

“There is no doubt of it. You cannot get men to be intelligent when they join; but I maintain that you can by a certain process create intelligence. A man does not get a prize for being a ‘marksman,’ because he is a good shot, or because he is a good judge of distance, he must be both. But there is another condition he must fulfil, he must be an intelligent man—he must be able to answer you in an intelligent way any question you may put to him upon the subject of the efficiency of his gun; he must be able to tell you the flight of his ball, and the effect it will have upon cavalry or infantry at all its ranges; he must answer you in an intelligent way, otherwise it would not be worth the country’s while to pay that man.”

Again, to the question, “Do you examine a man in any lectures before you dismiss him to his regiment?” the General replies—

“Yes; he is regularly catechised before he leaves. We have been trying so to instruct the officer, that when he goes back he may be in a position to fulfil one of the conditions in our book, which is to give little lectures to the men, and to interest them. It is astonishing what a difference is made by interesting a man in his work; he does it as well again.”

Read and ponder over these words of a truly enlightened officer, ye martinets of the old pipe-clay machine-like setting-up school! Likewise, ye Quakers, abate your horror of a soldier, since it can be shown that instruction in the use of arms will lead to the intellectual and moral benefit of the man. Firmly believing, as we do, that the continued application of science to military matters, together with the improvement and gradual adoption by enlightened nations of the militia system, will decrease the chances of war, and tend eventually to make it impossible, we confess that the evidence of General Hay has contributed greatly to our satisfaction.

We have heard it asserted by officers of the old school that the soldier has no business to think, that his officers think for him, and he has only to obey; further, that it requires three years,

and not a day less, to make a soldier. Luckily, the day is past when opinions such as these, pronounced by men whose ideas had scarcely risen beyond the "regimental system" and the atmosphere of the mess-room, can carry any weight with them. By acting upon sound principles, and encouraging the men to think, we are now told on the best authority that but a short time is necessary to teach them how to handle their rifles and fire with precision. Neither do we doubt that, by adopting sound principles of drill, and bringing the men to think of what they are doing, and interesting them in their work, a very few weeks will suffice, as far as battalion movements are concerned, to make good soldiers. General Hay is asked by one of the Commissioners, "if the men of a regiment, when they have been well grounded in company drill, cannot in a few days be formed into a good battalion?" "Yes," he replies: "after a certain point in marching, you do not improve the men. It is an attempt to do an impossibility to get those men (militia) to march as the Guards march." To perform correctly and to take an interest in military movements, we have ourselves had experience that too much repetition will rather disgust than improve the men. A certain mechanical precision must, however, be attained, and this object will be promoted by teaching the men the *rationale* of all they have to do. The instructors of musketry are so educated at Hythe that they shall be "able to give little lectures to the men and interest them." But why should lectures be confined to the rifle and its use? In the Saxon Army, we know that the companies' officers are called upon periodically to teach their men the theory of military evolutions. If such a plan were to be introduced into our army and militia, the result would be beneficial to both officers and men. We have heard officers of high standing in the German armies declare, that the English soldiers are as steady as possible in the ranks, but that they are not so good as German soldiers for outpost duties and skirmishing, nor so fertile in resources for the attack and defence of posts, in bivouacking, &c. This opinion is confirmed by Sir J. Burgoyne, who says that "our soldiers are particularly deficient in everything appertaining to the art and practice of war." No wonder! until of late the English soldier has scarcely been required to think at all, and instead of his individuality and self-reliance being developed, dull routine has pressed her leaden hand upon his spirits. The reform which the new rifle drill is introducing must extend to all and every of the soldiers' duties.

In what we have said of the English militia till now, we have been mainly occupied with criticism, an easy task compared to that of suggesting reforms, or—to go yet further—of constructing a new and better system. We have expressed our opinion that

compulsory service, in some form or other, is the true basis of a militia, and we believe that the time will come when in this country there will be a return to this principle, though it will be probably only for a purely local force. General Shaw Kennedy, and other writers on our national defences, recommend two categories of militia for this country,—one active, the other “sedentary” or local. The present militia force, if it can be successfully maintained, may represent the former, and, as it is raised by voluntary enlistment, there can be no objection to its being *mobilized*, provided the men are told distinctly on their engagement what they must have to expect in the way of service. It has been the uncertainty of the service hitherto, the frequent changes in the militia laws and regulations, which have greatly contributed to disgust and deter the better class of young men from enlisting.

We have shown that the Militia Commissioners have recommended many useful reforms. If they should be strictly carried out, the country may know before long on what amount of militia forces it can rely, and have the satisfaction of knowing, too, that the men will be well-grounded in their drill and in the use of an improved weapon. But we have pointed out that something more is wanting to make all the militia regiments really efficient. Above all, we are of opinion that the voluntary system alone will never fill the ranks of the militia, unless still greater changes than those we have mentioned be introduced; and it is of these that we now, at the risk of being thought Utopian, must speak.

In these islands in which the wages of labour are so high, it must always be a difficult thing to raise, by voluntary enlistment, a sufficient number of men for our now tolerably large standing army, and 120,000 militia to boot. At present we have two recruiting parties in the field, the one competing with the other, no union, no combined system, for the two. If the militia be strictly confined to the enrolment of such men only as are known to have homes in the counties and districts to which the regiments belong, it must operate as a check to the trade of fraudulent enlistment by the same men into several militia regiments. Still, this will not prevent militiamen from surreptitiously enlisting into the line. We have objected to the way in which the militia has been used as a means of recruiting for the army, but this does not imply that we object to the militia being a nursery or school for the army. On the contrary, we consider this to be one of the purposes of the present militia, and that unless a large proportion of mere youths, many of whom will naturally become willing to extend their services to the army, be taken into its ranks, they can never be filled. What we want to see, however, is a sound system of recruiting for both branches of the service; some method introduced by which they shall work together without

any inducements to dishonest practices. Militiamen are principally composed of two classes, and this will be still more the case when more certainty and regularity shall be connected with the service. Firstly, there are the young men who have certain ties to home—the more respectable class—many of them being married, and who never intend to join the army. Secondly, there are the youths who come from the larger manufacturing towns and villages (latterly by far the more numerous class), whose means of existence are precarious, and who, consequently, are those most disposed to listen to the regular recruiting sergeants. Many of this latter class, as we have seen, now enrol themselves in militia regiments for the sake of the bounty, and perhaps never appear for training, enlisting instead into the army. Others join embodied regiments, having previously received the bounty for a disembodied corps; and many of these end in becoming regular soldiers, but at any moment when it suits their fancy, or when a militia officer, wanting to complete his number of men for a commission, offers them a bonus. More than this: until now a militiaman could virtually defy his officers, for if he felt himself aggrieved, he could come forward at any moment and say he wished to volunteer to the army.

It is proposed by the Militia Commission that the volunteering should in future be more regular and periodical. But we are of opinion that more than is recommended is requisite for the sake both of the militia and the army. Our view is, that no volunteer should be permitted to pass from one branch of service to the other until in his person two conditions shall have been fulfilled. (1.) He should have been well trained in the militia, so as to have formed a valuable member of this home force, in case his services might be required, for some specified time. (2.) He should have attained that age—say twenty years—which would physically qualify him for active and foreign service. These conditions fulfilled, a militia volunteer would indeed be worth a larger amount of bounty than a raw recruit, which hitherto has frequently been not at all, or but in a slight degree the case.

Our motive for proposing the second condition is, however, based principally on the reports of military medical authorities on the mortality of soldiers. It is stated by them to be greatest in the very young, in those whose constitutions are unmaturing, and again, in those whose constitutions have been enfeebled by overwork or excesses of any kind. We have seen that the practical Swiss do not allow any man to belong to their *first call*, although only for home service, before the completion of his 20th year. But we in this country turn mere boys into soldiers, at great expense, and then send them to the most trying climates as soon as they are wanted. In the East and West Indies, and some of our

other dependencies, the mortality of soldiers is ten per cent. per annum even under the ordinary garrison services. There is every reason to believe that this loss of life, to some extent, may be attributed to the youthfulness, the ignorance, and inexperience of the men. The Adjutant-General, when asked by the Militia Commissioners, "How young he would take a man for the army?" replies:—

"I would take him at sixteen. We have enlisted hundreds and hundreds of men who have sworn themselves to be eighteen, but we have found out that they were only sixteen, who were admirable soldiers, as fine men as possible. I saw hundreds of them yesterday. It is astonishing how soon they become good soldiers."

Now, however high the authority, we must take the liberty of disputing the correctness of this opinion. Well "set up," as it is called, these youths may be, but not good soldiers in the sense of fitness for duty abroad, still less for the trials of a campaign. It would be in direct contradiction to physiological laws and the experience of army surgeons, to suppose this could be the case. We are convinced that many lives are now needlessly sacrificed in the army, on the one hand, by sending mere boys, and, on the other, by keeping too long those whose constitutions have become enfeebled on foreign service. These evils admit of remedy to the twofold saving of the country's "sinews of war," and, at the same time, the strengthening of the militia. Surely, at an earlier age than the completion of the eighteenth year, no man should be allowed to commence the career of a soldier? Whatever difficulties there may be in the way of ascertaining the exact age of recruits before enlistment (it appears, however, by the above-cited evidence of the Adjutant-General, that after enlistment they can, some way or other, be overcome), there can be none in respect to the volunteers from the militia, if, as suggested, it became a fixed rule to enrol none but those whose local connexions are known. For the reasons stated above, we think it desirable to fix the attainment of the 20th year as the proper age to call upon militiamen to extend their services, and if none were allowed to volunteer earlier, we believe that their number, as well as efficiency, would in the end be increased.

Based on the foregoing observations, we will now place before our readers our further suggestions for increasing the value of the militia, both as a home force and nursery for the army; and, for the sake of brevity, we prefer to do this in an aphoristical form.

1. As a means of filling the ranks of the militia regiments, and likewise of making them, to a considerable extent, and this systematically, a preparatory school and feeder for the army, we consider it desirable to connect the different regiments, to a

certain extent, with regiments of the line. Most of the line regiments already bear county designations, and in these cases an association with the militia of the same counties could be easily established.

2. It appears from the evidence before the Militia Commission that the staff of the disembodied militia has already been to some extent and successfully employed in recruiting for the army ; and it is considered desirable that it should continue to be used for the same purpose. But, according to the wise old saying, no man can serve two masters ; neither can the militia staff show equal zeal in obtaining recruits for both line and militia, unless, indeed, the duties be such as can be clearly defined and need not clash.

3. If to every militia depôt, one or two steady men belonging to the line regiment, bearing the same county name (or to any other, as might be most desirable) were to be attached, something like unity and system could be introduced into the recruiting for the two branches of service. All recruits, whether for the army or militia, should be taken to these depôts for examination. They would thus be known to both of the recruiting parties, and to such militia recruits as should be found to be old and robust enough for regular service, the question could be put whether they were not willing to join the army at once. All recruits, however, who might wish to take to a military life, but who had not attained the age of eighteen, should be encouraged to commence by serving for a few years in their county militia, and duly informed of the advantages which would accrue to them from this proceeding.

4. These advantages should be an increase of bounty as at present for joining the army, and the privilege that in case of decay of health on foreign service, men of good character for sobriety and attention to their duties, could have their period of regular service shortened, and commuted for militia service in their native counties (in any other if preferred), two years of the latter counting for one of the former service towards pension, &c. There are many men in the army whose state of health is such that although they do not yet belong to the category of military invalids, yet they cannot continue to serve with safety in very hot or very cold climates ; nevertheless, they would make excellent militiamen in their own country. No skilful medical man can be in doubt as to these cases of increasing organic mischief, mainly from endemic causes.

5. Likewise, in consideration of the power of local associations, staff appointments in the militia of their native counties (with higher pay and advantages than at present) should be given as a reward to well qualified meritorious non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the line. If this plan were to be adopted, the

extra gratuities to the militia staff for every militiaman who passes on into the regular forces should be abolished, such gratuities tending only to corrupt the sergants, and detract from the efficiency of the militia.

6. Many advantages, especially the encouragement of a true military spirit, would result from this connexion between militia and line regiments. This interchange of men, the mixing together of youths and experienced soldiers, would be of great benefit to the militia, which would thus stand higher in public estimation as a military body; and even those young men willing only to serve in a home force would sooner become good soldiers.

The above recommendations, if carried out, would realize to some extent the idea expressed by General J. Jacob in respect to the army, viz. that, "there should be regiments of counties, permanent head quarters, where a considerable district around might be interested in the conduct of the corps; where recruits might be enlisted," &c.

We will now consider some of the objections which will be made, especially by military men, to the above propositions. It will be said that so great is the want of men for the army, that it is absolutely necessary to enlist mere boys, or any young men belonging to the "migratory classes," whatever their character, who can pass the medical examination; that it would not do to wait till volunteers from the militia attain their twentieth year, for it would keep the ranks of the army thinner than at present. It will be asserted, too, that a recruit must be seized upon wherever he can be found, and taken at once to the nearest magistrate, that it is necessary to "strike whilst the iron is hot," and that to conduct recruits to a militia depôt would be a cumbrous, expensive, and hazardous proceeding.

To such objections we will simply reply by referring to the enormous and ever increasing amount of desertion from the army as well as the militia; and by expressing our belief that if more care were taken to ascertain the exact age, and something of the characters, connexions, in fact of the moral qualities of recruits, a large portion of that loss of labour and money—of valuable national capital,—in consequence of desertions and the great mortality of soldiers, might be avoided. In recruiting, as in all other matters, we may be "penny wise and pound foolish." It would be interesting to know something more of the statistics of desertions—something of the class of men, their age, education, and general characteristics, who form the principal offenders. In default of facts we have no hesitation in asserting that it cannot be the better class of soldiers which is the most addicted to desertion. There are certain principles relating to human nature and the conducting of human affairs, on which we may rely. As

we are now bent on maintaining both a militia and a standing army by voluntary enlistment, we are convinced that in the long run it would be most profitable both as to the obtaining and preserving of men, and economical as to money, to go carefully to work, and to regulate the recruiting business by the adoption of a sound and harmonious system.

Again, it will be objected to our proposition (4) to transfer deserving men with failing health to their county militia, that such men cannot be spared; that they must be kept on active service as long as possible, even at the risk of loss of life; that to commute any part of the regular service for militia duties would be giving encouragement to deception. Attention to the antecedents of the men, and the advanced state of medical science would, we conceive, suffice to guard against the latter; but the objection to losing men under any circumstances sooner than can be helped, although we believe it to be based on a short-sighted policy, we nevertheless know to be firmly rooted in the minds of our military authorities.

In the report of the Militia Commissioners it is recommended, as already stated, that men discharged from the army with good characters, under the "Limited Enlistment Act," should be encouraged to serve in the militia. The Adjutant-General, on being asked his opinion on this point, acknowledges that "they would be a highly useful body of men for the militia," but as some re-enlist, he thinks it would be injurious to the army "to tempt them from its ranks."

Now these men, under the "Limited Enlistment Act," must have served ten years at least, and longer if they had enlisted before the attainment of their eighteenth year, and we conceive that this is long enough in the majority of cases for active service. But not to lay any stress on this question, we are of opinion that the greater the advantages, the brighter the prospect in entering the army, the more it will attract. To be able to commence and finish military service in their native counties, would be an inducement to many whose family and local attachments are strong. A further shortening of military service would, we believe, be amply compensated for by the greater numbers and better class of men who would enlist.

But many other things are necessary to render the army more attractive. Better remuneration in the form of an increase of pay, or of bounty to be handed to the men, with interest, on the completion of their service, appears to us most desirable. The present system of giving bounty on enlistment, though it may attract the very poor and dissolute, encourages drunkenness and desertion.

General Jacob, in his examination of our military system, speaks,

as mentioned above, in strong terms of the injurious effects of the Mutiny Act. He says—

“I speak advisedly, and after long experience, and after expending on this subject an amount of labour and thought which few men have either the inclination or opportunity to bestow, when I assert that no special laws are necessary for the good government of soldiers. Those commanders, whose object is good, who proceed towards that object on right principles in accordance with Nature’s laws; who appeal to men’s best and highest qualities, instead of the most base; who endeavour to cultivate, draw forth, and aid in the development of the powers and good qualities of those under them, will always be able to lead without the support of unreasoning authority; while it is certain that the more intellectual the men really become, the more easy will it be for real intellectual and moral power to govern them.”

In these noble views we entirely concur, and we cannot but think that the severity prevailing in our military laws must deter many high spirited and educated young men from entering the militia as well as the army. The power which officers have of punishing soldiers seems to us unnecessarily great, and it acts as a temptation to rely for support of discipline on severity. Should a private soldier, smarting under the wounds to his feelings inflicted by some young martinet, lose his self-possession, and let fall an unguarded word, it may chance, as we have seen, that the *summum jus* of a court-martial will become the *summa injuria* to the poor offender.

Our hopes of seeing a regular connexion between the militia and the line, so that considerable numbers who serve in the latter should finish as well as commence their military career in the former, have received a severe blow from the new Act of Parliament authorizing the establishment of a reserve force. In reference to this measure, an opinion was lately pronounced by Colonel Dickson in the House of Commons, in which we cannot but agree :—

“It was intended,” he said, “to catch the ten years’ service men, but those were just the men who were wanted in the militia, and thus having set up an expensive staff to procure men for one service, we are about to establish another expensive staff to form an inefficient force.”

If it be the earnest wish of the Government to render the militia as effective as possible, we cannot understand this new measure. But we lament it on higher and political grounds. The Horse Guards’ patronage is already great enough, and this new reserve force, to be officered, of course, by professional soldiers, is virtually an addition to our standing army. Had we not assurances to the contrary, we should look upon this new beginning, this establishment of a reserve force, as an attempt to cut away the

ground from under the feet of the militia. What with this addition to the Horse Guards' patronage, together with the enormous increase in the cost of the civil service in the last twelve years, the various inspectorships, and such like appointments springing up in all directions, government patronage and centralization are spreading further and further into our political and social life. We are still, thank Heaven, far removed from the system of military bureaucratic rule on the continent, but no thoughtful politician can avoid looking with some anxiety to our future.

In the officering of the militia, we see the principle of self-government and decentralization represented. The officers appointed by the lords-lieutenants, are, for the most part, men of local influence, and although they cannot be equal to their brethren in the line in a purely military point of view, still with more inducements and opportunities to improve, deficiencies will rapidly disappear. The evidence taken by the Commissioners is rich in praise of the country gentlemen serving in the militia. They attract the better class of men into the regiments, and their zeal and attention to their duties has, on the whole, been highly commendable. A great difficulty has been, however, experienced in procuring subaltern officers for the militia, and this will always be the case, unless the militia be made for young gentlemen disposed to enter this home force as officers, just as for the youthful privates, a desirable stepping-stone to the line. Encouragement should be given to such as wish to take to the military profession, to join their county militia in the first instance. They could be well grounded in their drill at the depôts, and with one or two experiences of battalion training, if study be added to these practical lessons, it would be easy to qualify themselves for commissions in the army. All thus qualified should have precedence at the Horse Guards to such candidates as had not been in the militia, or who had not been educated at a military college.

As regards the captains and field officers of the militia, many of them have served in the army; and although we do not rate very high the military acquirements of those who have purchased commissions and served for a few years under the old state of things, when the regimental system was nearly all in all, still they have been more *au fait* than others at routine duties. But in respect to officers, as well as men, we must look to public opinion to support the militia. Without this it cannot flourish. General Burgoyne, in speaking of this force, and the general inferiority of militia officers to those in the line, remarks, that gradually the old and inefficient officers will retire; and, glancing at the future, he adds these sound and stimulating words:—

“It is,” he says, “incumbent on every man of good feeling, who undertakes any charge (particularly one involving the interests of society in general), to exert himself to fulfil his duties to the best of his abilities; and it is to be hoped that when, on reflection, the new officer of militia is sensible of the extent of research and labour that he must undertake to render himself competent for the task, he will not shrink from it.”

In our advocacy of camp-life as necessary for the schooling of the militia, we have taken it for granted that all genuine militia officers, as well as the men, will not object to a little hard and rough work. It will raise them in the estimation of their countrymen. But we build on higher and more enduring motives than ambition. It is dull routine, the humdrum of mere parade—the letter of military life—which kills. The late experiences at Aldershot have shown that soldiers like useful and varied duties. They appeal to the sound and practical sense more or less implanted in every human mind. We are all capable of appreciating utility; and we feel the better and happier for the performance of work in which there is an earnest purpose.

There are other questions connected with the militia system, and its further development in this kingdom, on which we should have liked to touch. But we have already exceeded our limits. It has been stated in Parliament, that during the recess all matters relating to this home force will be taken into the serious consideration of the Secretary at War. They could not be in better hands. But the public, too, must take into consideration the subject of the militia as one of the most important elements of permanent national defence.

We confess that, having studied attentively the history of continental states for the last twelve years, we belong to those who believe that there is danger for this country. Whilst with us the liberals in politics, and protestants in religion, are becoming more and more disunited, there are signs in the Catholic Church of an intensity and unity of efforts to regain supremacy over the minds of men which may lead to desperate measures in those rulers who rely on this church for support. Before long either England's progress in liberal institutions and political reform will diminish, or military and bureaucratic absolutism in its alliance with priestcraft must lose its hold of the populations of the continent. The more science extends the intercourse of nations, the more difficult it becomes for incompatible political principles to co-exist.

But it behoves us every way, as a people loving freedom of action and independence, to be prepared to repel an invader, and to accomplish this end by abstracting as little as possible the manhood of the country from productive labour. We should

insure against danger in the soundest and cheapest office, by encouraging volunteer riflemen, and maintaining and improving our national militia.



ART. II.—ROUSSEAU: HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Rousseau et les Genevois. Par M. GABEREL. Genève et Paris. 1858.

Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de J. J. Rousseau. Par V. D. MUSSET-PATHAY. 1827.

Œuvres de J. Jacques Rousseau. Paris. 1822.

THE seventeenth century witnessed the completed development of the mental emancipation inaugurated by Luther, extended by Calvin, and consummated by Socinus. Any further extension of the revolutionary movement would have terminated in the abandonment of the Protestant compromise. The right of free inquiry proclaimed by the leaders of the Reformation had been practically invalidated by their restriction of the area of investigation. The triumph of this attempted arrest of the exploring spirit of scepticism would have involved the final extinction of every hope of human progress. But the destinies of humanity were not thus to be thwarted or curtailed. The great European revolution, exhausted in its more conservative phases, was to reappear in its most decisive and destructive form. The general social position of France made it the fitting arena of the impending catastrophe. For in that country the tyrannical and deadly dogmas of mediæval superstition were now confronted with the beneficent truths of science and the growing moral sense of mankind. In that country was found a people without rights, a nobility without duties, a government without responsibilities, a priesthood without faith. There law was superseded by arbitrary will, privilege took precedence of justice, agriculture was held in feudal bondage, and trade shackled by obsolete enactments.* There, in a word, the opposition of interest and antagonism of classes were most emphatically and perseveringly exhibited. Where the great social wants are most acutely felt, satisfaction for those wants is naturally first demanded. Accordingly the New Re-

* See Mignet.

form appeared in France. Government, religion, morality, were put on their trial. Research became ardent, intrepid, unsparing. Nothing less than the entire reconstruction of society was required. A new era was at hand. Speculatists preached the rights of man, protested against artificial conventions, advocated a return to fact and nature, and invited men to live in freedom, brotherhood, and equality. The French revolution aspired to be a philosophy, a polity, a religion. It announced itself as a liberation from bondage, a redemption from ignorance, error, and crime, as a regeneration and reinstatement of man in the primæval paradise of Nature. In its aims the French Revolution had thus a profoundly religious character. In accordance with this character it boasted its prophets and precursors, and preeminent among these, ROUSSEAU. For great as were Diderot, Voltaire, Mirabeau, the citizen of Geneva, more truly than any of these men, typified and directed that terrible explosion of the blind desires and passionate aspirations of poor humanity fighting forward towards a higher life and a nobler hope. In Rousseau we see the apostle of the French Revolution, the Luther of a new reformation, resembling the great Protestant leader in his impetuous ardour and enthusiastic inspiration, though all unlike him in the stalwart manhood which he inherited and the noble self-control which he acquired. We must accept Rousseau as the true type of the French Revolution, not in its enduring spirit but in its transient aspects, in its wild unrest and subversive energy, its magnificent aspirings and sorrowful shortcomings. Something the event and the man alike have done for society; we cannot disown them. They are "part and parcel of a dreadful" but still a beneficent past. To chronicle the incidents in the life of Rousseau, and review and estimate his writings, will aid us in our final appreciation of his position and influence.

Jean Jacques Rousseau first saw light at Geneva, on 28th June, 1712. His ancestors were originally booksellers of Paris. More than a century and a half before, Didier Rousseau, to secure liberty of conscience, had gone into voluntary exile at Geneva. His descendant Isaac, a watchmaker by profession, was the father of our hero. He married Susan Bernard, the daughter of a Genevese citizen. The death of his mother was the first misfortune that befel Jean Jacques. She died in giving him birth. He was born weak and sickly, and though his health subsequently improved, his own mismanagement conspired with physical malformation to produce acute suffering in after life. His infancy was watched with tender care by a maternal aunt. His earliest years were marked by intense sensation. At five or six he began to read. To encourage and amuse the infant pupil novels were somewhat injudiciously selected. Often scholar and instructor

alike, beguiled by the interest of the story, would sit up reading all night. Sometimes, says Rousseau, my father hearing the swallows in the morning would say, with some confusion, "Come, let us go to bed. I am a greater child than thou." By the time the boy had attained his seventh year, the novels were exhausted, and a stronger and wholesomer diet was provided in the works of Bossuet, Plutarch, Fontenelle, and others. Agesilaus, Brutus, and Aristides were his favourite heroes. Something of republican simplicity distinguished the maturity of Rousseau; but we look in vain for the true Roman element in the feeble, impressionable author of "*Les Confessions*."

When the boy was ten years of age a new misfortune befel him. His father, convicted of a violation of the law in provoking and fighting a duel, and preferring expatriation to submission, abandoned his child, and fled from Geneva. The education of the young Jean Jacques now devolved on Gabriel Bernard, his maternal uncle. Bernard placed his new charge with a son of his own at Bossey, under the care of the village pastor and his sister, seemingly pious and sensible persons. Here the young scholar learned little, but what he did learn he learned without difficulty, and never forgot. His cousin Bernard shared his amusements, studies, and tastes. If they quarrelled often, the quarrel was soon made up; if they fought, their battle was only a renewing of friendship. To be loved by all around him was the ambition of the young Jean Jacques. He dwells affectionately on the happiness of this period, and the kindness of his instructors, recalling the swallow that flew in at the window, and even the fly that settled on his hand while he repeated his lesson. But a sad change was near. A severe punishment, undeservedly inflicted, awakened a burning sense of injustice and resentment in the breast of the sufferer. The serenity of his infant life was over now. He regarded his superiors no longer with loving trust, but with suspicion and fear. The country lost its sweetness and touching simplicity. The flowers were left to fade in his little garden. Two years were spent at Bossey amid scenes which doubtless helped to form the taste of the growing boy. "O my lake," he exclaims, at a later period, "on whose banks I passed so many peaceful hours in my childhood! O charming landscapes, where I first saw the sun rise and set; where I felt the first emotions of the heart, the first inspirations of genius! O my lake, I shall never see thee more."

The succeeding period of his life was passed with his cousin under the roof of his uncle. M. Bernard was a mere man of pleasure, and paid little attention to the boys. The aunt was a pietist, and preferred singing psalms to superintending their education. The cousins were left to themselves in the enjoyment

of a wild and vagrant liberty. On 26th April, 1725, the future philosopher was apprenticed to an engraver, M. Ducommun, a man of uncultivated mind and violent temper. The brutality of his employer made the boy detest a vocation to which he had originally no repugnance. In his new home he rapidly degenerated. The cruelty of the tyrant called out the vices of the slave. The youth became timid, lazy, deceitful, and took to lying and pilfering. On attaining his sixteenth year he was thoroughly disreputable and unhappy, discontented with himself and all around him, tormented by vague desires, weeping without cause, and sighing he knew not for what. His residence with Ducommun was not of long continuance. Accustomed on a Sunday to go into the country with his companions, he had twice found the gates of the town closed against his return. Twice too the offence had been severely punished. Rousseau resolved not to hazard a repetition of it. A third time, however, owing to the premature vigilance of "a cursed captain," the little party were excluded. His comrades laughed, but Rousseau threw himself on the ground and bit the earth. The next day, when his companions re-entered the town, he bade them an eternal adieu, and fled forth into the world of his sorrows and temptations, of his baffled endeavours and achieved but unenvied fame.

Two leagues from Protestant Geneva is Catholic Confignon in Savoy. M. de Pontverre was the curé there. His name had a historical interest for Jean Jacques, and under its attraction our poor fugitive was drawn comet-like within the orbit of this central sun. M. de Pontverre was a gentleman, but scarcely a scholar. He was too much of the boon companion to be a sound theologian. There was better logic in his wine than in his words. It acted on the young heretic as an "*argumentum ad verecundiam*," reducing him to a politic silence, and leaving to the Catholic champion the possession of the field. M. de Pontverre, knowing no other virtue than counting his beads, adoring images, and writing libels on the ministers of Geneva, instead of sending the wanderer back to his family, preferred to rescue him from his "damnable heresy;" a preference, says the unhappy subject of it, characteristic of every dogmatic religion, the essence of which consists not in doing but believing.

Madame de Warens, a recent convert to Catholicism, was at this time residing at Annecy. To her young Rousseau repaired with a recommendatory letter from the very devout but not very conscientious curé. Rousseau was now in his sixteenth year; small but well made, with a pretty foot, a good leg, an easy air, a little mouth with ugly teeth, black hair and eyebrows, small and deep-set eyes, flashing with the fire of his tumultuous blood. Affectionate, timid, ill-mannered, and frightfully self-conscious, the

boy presented himself to the lady who so potently influenced his destiny.

Louisa Eleonora de Warens was a descendant of a noble and ancient family in Vevai. While yet very young she married M. de Warens. The marriage was childless and unhappy. The young wife fled from her domestic troubles, threw herself at the feet of Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, and secured his protection and a pension of 1500 livres Piedmontese. Anxious to avoid scandal, the king at once sent her with an escort to Aunecy, where, under the direction of the titular bishop of Geneva, she solemnly renounced the Protestant faith. This lady, with a caressing manner, angelic smile, and lovely blond hair, with beautiful head and bust, and dainty hands and arms, was a profound philosopher. She had learned a little from her father, a little from her governess, a little from her masters, and *much* from her lovers. M. Tavel, in particular, had instructed her in the science of ethics. His instruction was not confined to theory. From him she learned to practise the imperative duty of preserving the appearance of conjugal fidelity, while magnanimously disdaining its reality. To M. Tavel succeeded M. Perret, under whose tuition the docile pupil made such progress as to excite the unphilosophical jealousy of the earlier professor of the erotic art. In this world one ought to be surprised at nothing. Still the uninitiated will scarcely be prepared to learn that this lady, whose moral views certainly strike us as bordering on the "large and liberal," was of a cold temperament and indifferent to pleasure. Her aberrations, we are told, had a purely intellectual origin. She "sipped and sinned," not from inclination but from principle. "How charming is divine philosophy!"

Madame de Warens received Rousseau kindly. The question of his future career was soon decided. It was proposed that he should go to Turin, abjure Protestantism, and solicit ecclesiastical patronage in the bosom of the Catholic Church. Unable to disguise from himself that the "holy work" to which he was pledged was that of a bandit, but constrained by circumstance and unfortified by principle, the boy yielded to the temptation. On 12th April, 1728, he entered the Hospice of Spirito Santo, and abjured the errors of sectarianism on the 21st of that month. After the celebrities of his baptismal rites, the young neophyte was conducted to the gates and dismissed, with twenty francs, and a recommendation to live like a good Christian. Rousseau stood alone and unbefriended in the streets of Turin.

We purposely pass over the various incidents which darkened or brightened his chequered life during his residence in Turin. One transaction, unfortunately, is too characteristic to be omitted. Rousseau had been received into the service of Madame de

Vercellis. On the death of the countess the establishment was broken up. It was then that a little old ribbon was missed; a rose-colour and silver ribbon! Rousseau had seen it, admired its faded splendour, and appropriated it. When he was questioned as to how he came by it he trembled, stammered, and at last declared that Marian, a fellow-servant, had given it to him. Marian defended herself with angelic sweetness. Rousseau maintained her guilt with diabolical audacity. They were both dismissed. It was an ignoble business, one that cast the blackness of remorse over the sad bewildered life of this poor, suffering, hysterical, ill-arranged mortal. Carlyle, interpreting more charitably than most the weaknesses and basenesses of Rousseau, remarks: "Nay, what are all errors and perversities of his, even those stealings of ribbons, aimless and confused miseries and vagabondisms, but the blinkard dazzlement and staggerings to and fro of a man sent on an errand he is too weak for by a path he cannot yet find?" It may be so. Let us have tolerance for a man like Rousseau "led by strange ways;" but be baseness evermore baseness.

Among the acquaintance of this ill-starred boy at Turin was the Abbé Gaimé, the original of the famous Savoyard Vicar. The Abbé took a fancy to Rousseau, gave him good advice, and endeavoured to improve his morality. But as M. Gaimé did not believe in the supernatural character of the Christian religion, though his pupil became more moral, he became decidedly less orthodox, and quitted Turin, a Deist in heart while a Catholic in profession.

Madames de Warens still remained at Annecy, and to Annecy the homeless wanderer resolved to return. He found the "philosophess" living in an old but comfortable house. A brook murmured near it—gardens bloomed around it. For the first time since he left Bossey, the boy saw the green country before his windows. There were five domestics in this little establishment. Of these the principal was a valet of the name of Claude Anet. Claude held more than *one* responsible situation. Rousseau lived very happily here; a pleasant, pastoral, genial life succeeding that vagabond, unfriendly, civic life in Turin. A tender friendship grew up between him and Madame de Warens. She called him "Petit;" he called her "Maman." They read and conversed together. While the lady moralized, the boy kissed her hands and mouth. Among the visitors at Annecy was a cousin, M. d'Aubonne. This gentleman was commissioned by his fair relative to find out what her young charge was fit for. The result of his observation was, that the boy, in spite of a promising exterior and animated physiognomy, was little better than a fool. This was not the first time that Rousseau had been thus appreciated. The reason is readily assignable. "The fact

is," he tells us himself, "a languor of thought and vivacity of feeling are combined in me. My ideas arrange themselves with incredible difficulty. They circulate heavily; they ferment violently; and in the emotion which follows I can see nothing clearly. Slowly the chaos subsides and every thought finds its place." This sort of fatuous bewilderment, this entire prostration of the reason in the presence of emotion, betrayed the fugitive philosopher, about this time, into another of his blameworthy divarications. Jean Jacques had been placed by his patroness under the roof of M. Le Maître, the director of the cathedral choir. For a whole winter he boarded with Le Maître, studying music under his instructions, and passing his time very agreeably. Resenting the insolent conduct of the cathedral clergy, to which he was constantly subjected, Le Maître at last determined to leave. Madame de Warens, finding it impossible to retain him, and willing to promote his views, desired Rousseau to accompany him to Lyons. Two days after their arrival, Le Maître was surprised in the public streets by one of the epileptic attacks to which he was subject. Rousseau no sooner saw his companion in travel lying senseless on the ground, than, conquered by a panic emotion, he abandoned him and fled hurriedly away. Sorely, in after days, did he lament over this "ungly action." Returning to Annecy, Jean Jacques found Madame de Warens absent. Receiving no intelligence of the lady's movements, he consented to escort Merceret, her maid, to her father's house at Fribourg. From Fribourg he proceeded to Lausanne. Here he supported himself by giving lessons in music to pupils as stupid as he was ignorant. At Neuchâtel, where he passed the winter, he pursued the same vocation, and with greater success. We next find him associated with an archimandrite, who was traversing Europe on a mission for the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre. As his interpreter and secretary he delivered a clear and effective oration, for the first and last time in his life, at Berne. At Soleure, they waited on the French ambassador. On the termination of the interview the prelate retired, but Rousseau was detained. Privately communicating his true history to M. de Bonac, and prohibited from all further intercourse with the archimandrite, he was treated with marked kindness and consideration. Hopes of a brighter fortune now attracted him to Paris. The highest situation that solicited the acceptance of our wandering prophet was a "footman's place, where salary was no object." Resenting this indignity, and receiving tidings of Madame de Warens, Jean Jacques once more resumed his pilgrimage. Arriving at Chambery, he was kindly received by his earliest patroness, and through her interest appointed to a subordinate office in the service of the King of Sardinia. Rousseau was now nearly one-

and-twenty, but still without judgment and without self-command. Incapable of subordinating his conceptions to reality, he lived in a region of romantic fancies; as ignorant of the world and of men as if he had never listened to the costly instructions of experience. His new profession, which absorbed eight hours in the day, was distasteful to him. Residing in the house of Madame de Warens, he found her present sombre abode all unlike the beautiful retreat at Annecy. Yet in the charm of *her* presence he forgot the gloom and discomfiture which surrounded him.

The faithful Claude Anet had accompanied his mistress to her new residence. A peasant of Montré and addicted to botanical researches, Claude Anet had early recommended himself to Madame de Warens by his skill in pharmacy. Bold in manner, reflective, circumspect, laconic, and sententious, but secretly the slave of impetuous passions, Claude was a rare and unique character. Presiding over the ménage of Madame de Warens, with admirable skill he carried into its several departments the spirit of a thrifty and sagacious economy. Nor was this all. Outwardly grave and undemonstrative, Claude was the secret and ardent lover of Madame de Warens. For this amiable and virtuous woman, supported by "divine philosophy," passed laborious days in winning fresh triumphs over that insoluble "temperament of ice," and the zeal and loyalty of the "heroic stoic, Cato," who followed her fortunes, had long since received the remuneration they deserved. Unfortunately Claude could not secure a monopoly of her affections. For the empire of her love was not like the French Republic, "one and indivisible." Rather did it resemble the infinitely divisible matter of the metaphysician. Of its expansive and elastic properties a fresh illustration was soon to be offered to the surprised, but not disagreeably surprised, Rousseau. Rousseau had remarked that Madame de Warens had become unaccountably solemn and reserved. Her ordinary gaiety was subdued. Her conversation had grown instructively and mysteriously moral. Interrogated on the subject, she proposed to the youth a walk in the garden for the following day. There the philosophic lady prepared her young disciple for a fresh instance of her unexampled goodness. She talked to him frankly and openly. Rousseau found her communication as impressive and instructive as it was disinterested and original. Deeply fascinated, the delighted pupil listened to the pure, cold eloquence of the fair philosopher. Her oratory enthralled him; her arguments convinced him; the originality of her ideas was only equalled by the singular benevolence of her intentions. To save him from the unavoidable dangers to which his impassioned and unprotected youth was exposed, to preserve him true to herself and loyal to duty, there was but one expedient; Madame de

Warens, adding fresh laurels to her unfading wreath of self-conquest, will herself be the guardian angel of his inexperienced years. She will "leave her silver bower, and come to succour him that succour wants."* Rousseau shall forsake all other women and love her, her only. Such care is there in Heaven! the heaven of French philosophy.

Thus rescued from a thousand sweet-singing, but destructive syrens, did Jean Jacques live for four years, at Chambéry, not without the sober certainty of waking bliss. Claude Anet, with his black coat, well-combed wig, discreet conduct, and botanical tastes, wisely ignored, or perhaps never knew of, this fresh illustration of love's infinite divisibility. Rousseau, nobly vanquishing his own scruples to go halves with that sentimental stoic, eventually received the reward of his virtuous conduct. For his floral competitor obligingly withdrew his claims to any share in the loves or rivalries of earth, journeying whither we all must with pale death as sole companion. In 1736, Madame de Warens removed to Charmettes. They were again in the country, among vines, and chestnut trees, and flowers. And Rousseau "now rose with the sun and was happy; he walked and was happy; he traversed woods, hills, and valleys, and was happy. In the garden, in the house, reading, working, or idling, happiness followed him." While leading this "ambrosial life," his health became seriously affected. He determined to drink water only, and he drank it in excess. The water of this district possessed certain deleterious qualities, which impaired his digestion. A sudden and mysterious derangement of his whole system made him apprehensive of approaching death. Religion and theology now occupied his thoughts. With their study he combined that of geometry, metaphysics, and Latin. An idyllic picture of his "sweet and simple life" among the vines of Charmettes is not without its charm. He rose with the first light of day, ascended a hill that adjoined the house. Here he walked, praying as he walked, not with the vain motion of the lips, but with a sincere elevation of the heart to the author of the beautiful nature around him, feeling that man's works did but interpose between him and God. After this he breakfasted and read till noon. Then he called on his friends the pigeons, or worked in the garden till dinner. When the weather allowed, he drank coffee with Madame de Warens in the arbour, or visited his little family of bees in the garden. The evening he passed among his books, reading history and geography, rather for amusement than instruction. He had long since resigned the appointment procured for him by Madame de Warens, and returned to his favourite occupation of teacher of music. Rousseau had

* See Spenser's "Faerie Queen."

become melancholy in his illness, and fantastic in his melancholy. He imagined that his sufferings were attributable to a polypus in the heart, and hearing that a physician, residing at Montpellier, had succeeded in curing a patient similarly affected, he decided on visiting that city. After two months' residence there, he came to the conclusion that physicians and philosophers, unlike theologians, only believe what they can explain. On returning to Charmettes, Rousseau found his prerogative invaded by a young man named Vintzenried, a hairdresser by profession. Active, noisy, resolute, and willing to make himself generally useful, Madame de Warens fancied she had found a treasure in M. Vintzenried. Rousseau's substitute in his absence, this gentleman was introduced as his associate on his return. Poor Jean Jacques was heart-broken, and threatened to die and be regretted. "Nonsense, child," said the cold and wise Aspasia, "people don't die for such trifles. You will lose nothing in *sharing* my affections." The "child," however, was inconsolable—inexorable, too. Never would he consent to such an arrangement. The purity and strength of his sentiments forbade it. He would admire and adore her, but he would be her lover no more. Resigning the lady of his thoughts to M. de Courtilles (for that was the holiday name assumed by his rival), he determined to leave the home once so dear to him. Madame de Warens favoured, rather than opposed this resolution, and Rousseau set out for Lyons, where a tutorship in the family of M. de Mably had been procured for him. After a year's trial, convinced that he should never succeed in educating his pupils, he left Lyons and returned to Charmettes, there awhile to weep over his losses and illusions, and then to wander forth into the wide world again. A fresh idea now presented itself to him. He had discovered a new method of musical notation. Its superior precision and simplicity would guarantee its success. Already he saw his fortune made.

In the autumn of 1741, Rousseau arrived at Paris, with fifteen silver coins, his comedy of "Narcissus," and his musical project. The silver coins were spent, "Narcissus" continued to admire himself in vain, and the musical project miscarried. Rousseau, however, was not discouraged. He obtained introductions to various Parisian celebrities. High-born women interested themselves in him. Among them was Madame de Broglie. This lady presented him to M. le Comte de Montaigu, recently appointed ambassador at Venice, and it was ultimately arranged that Rousseau should accept the office of secretary to the Count. The new ambassador was quite incompetent to his high position. He neglected the most ordinary duties of his office, abandoning himself to low pursuits and degrading pleasures. Our poor Jean Jacques had a sad time of it. The functions of his chief now devolved on

him, and on more than one occasion he distinguished himself by his manly zeal and prompt efficiency. Even the Marquis de l'Hôpital acknowledged the value of his services. M. le Comte regarded the compliment to the secretary as a reproach to the ambassador. His ungentlemanly and vexatious conduct compelled Rousseau to demand his dismissal. Montaignu had purposely allowed Rousseau's salary to remain unpaid, but the golden opinions which the latter had won soon opened all purses to him. Borrowing a small sum from two of his friends, he withdrew from Venice, carrying with him the general sympathy. On arriving at Paris, he found that rumour had preceded him. But though the ambassador's misconduct was universally denounced, the injured secretary could obtain no redress. In process of time, however, M. Montaignu was recalled and Rousseau paid up. No sooner did he recover his arrears of salary than he transmitted to his friends in Italy the seasonable loan their kindness had advanced. Indifference to pecuniary obligations was not among the faults of this erratic genius.

An event of interest in the life of our wandering hero now occurred. At the hotel of St. Quentin, near the Luxembourg, where he had selected a lodging, lived a young girl of respectable parentage. Though at this time holding no higher situation than that of laundress, she was one of a numerous family that had seen better days. Her lively, but gentle and modest manners attracted Rousseau. The daily annoyances to which her defenceless position subjected her excited his compassion. He became her protector, her champion, her lover; and, while resolutely refusing marriage, promised never to abandon her. The name of this new object of attraction was Thérèse le Vasseur, now three-and-twenty years of age. Thérèse was not clever. It was in vain that Rousseau tried to educate her. She never learned to read respectably. She did not know the names of the months. She could not count. She could not execute the most ordinary calculation. Her words were a succession of malapropisms. She often said the reverse of what she meant. Yet, with this limited capacity, she had a certain good sense, and Rousseau, though never in love with her, found life with his unideal Thérèse as pleasant as if she had been the most exalted genius in the world.

On the death of Isaac Rousseau, his virtuous father (*all* the men and women of this period were virtuous), Jean Jacques succeeded in securing his share of the maternal inheritance, the life-interest of which he had allowed Isaac to enjoy. It was a fortunate wind-fall, for pecuniary responsibilities augmented rapidly. "*Ma pauvre maman*" had fallen on evil days, and the grateful Jean Jacques thought himself in duty bound to contribute to the relief of this earlier "*guide, philosopher, and friend.*" Then "*we ought to*

have been two," but, owing to the manœuvres of an interested *mother-in-law*, we increased and multiplied till, like the mysterious family in Wordsworth's poem, "we were seven." Sisters, sons, daughters, and granddaughters put in unexpected claims, and Thérèse's earnings were pitilessly clutched by these famishing harpies. The worst, too, was yet to come. Thérèse was "expecting," and there was no provision made for the possible young stranger. The duty of a father and citizen now became a subject of serious and perplexing meditation. Rousseau was poor, without friends, without prospects. So circumstanced, he easily persuaded himself that it was his imperative duty, as a member of Plato's glorious republic, to regard his children as the children of the State. Better for them to be honest operatives and peasants than adventurers and fortune-hunters. Rousseau was then in the habit of frequenting a kind of eating-house, much affected by abbés, lawyers, officers, and men of business, polite, witty, and disreputable. Very amusing anecdotes were told here, turning on seduction, clandestine accouchements, and other light and airy topics of a similar nature. The morality prevalent among these "very gentlemanly and very amiable people" was of a correspondingly buoyant description. It was a received maxim with them that he who contributed most to the Foundling Hospital was most deserving of moral approbation. This maxim J. J. Rousseau adopted without scruple, and acted on without delay. There was a noble Platonism about it which could not but recommend it to a citizen of the world. He, too, would be cosmopolitan and patriotic even in his paternity. The office of the *Enfants-trouvés* should be the cradle of his first-born! Thérèse objected, but her objections were overcome by the persuasions of the doxterous *mother-in-law*. No. 1 duly arrived and was patriotically affiliated on the Foundling-office as a child of France. It was properly labelled for future recognition. None of the others appear to have borne any number or mark. There were five in all who had the benefit of this "excellent, sensible, and legitimate arrangement." We can picture them wandering and whirling round the world while fitting to their own case the words of the doggerel rhyme—

"Little dancing loves we are,
Who the deuce is our papa?"

Rousseau had now many acquaintances. Among his more noteworthy friends we may number Diderot, of the "encyclopedical head." Some remarks in his letter "*Sur les aveugles*," had given offence to two ladies of fashionable notoriety. For this want of reverence to the powers that be, Diderot was confined in the donjon of Vincennes. Miserable at his friend's captivity,

Rousseau wrote to Madame de Pompadour, the reigning mistress, entreating her to procure his release, or allow *him* to share his captivity. The request was not granted. One day, however, Rousseau learned that Diderot's sentence was mitigated. Released from durance vile, he was now detained on parole within the bounds of the park and castle of Vincennes, with permission to receive the visits of his friends. Rousseau heard, rushed to Vincennes, and embraced Diderot in a transport of joy and tenderness. His solitary walks thither became frequent. It was summer,—the heat was intense. To moderate his rapid pace he was accustomed to take a book with him, and read as he went. One day his attention was attracted to a paragraph in a newspaper, which he perused as he walked. The subject for the prize essay proposed by the Academy of Dijon for the ensuing year, was "The Influence of the Arts and Sciences on the Morals of Mankind." It was an epoch in the life of Rousseau. He beheld another universe,—he became another man. To this moment he refers his enthusiasm for liberty, for truth, for virtue. Our convert arrived at Vincennes in a state of almost delirious agitation. Diderot observed it, interrogated him, encouraged him to develop his views and compete for the prize, and, according to his own account, even recommended the paradoxical conception which was eventually adopted. For this was Rousseau's first literary paradox, scarcely we think devised or accepted as a paradox; nor favoured exclusively because it offered a field for the display of his passionate rhetoric. The theses subsequently maintained by Rousseau are equally paradoxical, they have all a common origin; all exhibit the same family likeness; all are related and constituent parts of one capital sophism, the deterioration of the human race; the pseudo-philosophical counterpart of the Fall of Man. Ordinary criticism, indeed, assimilates the speculations of Rousseau to those of the adventurous son of the famous Vicar of Wakefield. It maintains that Rousseau, like that vagabond aspirant after literary novelty, "finding that the best things remained to be said on the wrong side, resolved to write a book that should be wholly new." To this theory we can by no means subscribe. The speculation of Rousseau was the genuine outgrowth of his own moral and intellectual being; it was the earnest expression of a nature wearied of artificialities and conventions, and desirous of an immediate return to the cardinal sincerities of life. More than this, it was the inevitable product of the intellect in that stage when science was not sufficiently advanced to furnish a true theory of human life; when metaphysical methods, with their absolute tendencies, impelled thinking men to purely ideal constructions, when great social problems, passionately felt, sought their solution in a ready acceptance of

any system which promised satisfaction to the earnest, though blind aspirations of society after truth, reality, nature. Rousseau looked around him,—everywhere he beheld corruption, oppression, selfish sensualism. To destroy the empire of sin, it was necessary to destroy its basis. All corruption is referable to human development, to civilization; all oppression is the consequence of artificial superiority; all selfishness is occasioned by factitious appetites, and the precautionary anticipation of the future. The sciences are the offspring of vice; astronomy is the daughter of superstition; eloquence of flattery or falsehood; geometry of avarice; physics of idle curiosity; all, even morality itself, are the children of human pride. There is no hope for humanity but in the extinction of its exotic wants, of its complex ambitions; in the recognition of a primæval state, in which the intellectual powers shall remain uncultivated, and there shall be no sensible difference between man and man, but all shall be virtually free, equal, and independent. The salvation of the world lies in its return to a state of nature. The savage, with no tormenting thought to goad him into painful activity; with no desires but those which are common to all the animal creation, is the sage of Rousseau's philosophy of ignorance and equality, the saint of his gospel of virtue and fraternity. This first literary production of the Genevese evangelist was published in the year 1750. Forcible and impassioned, but deficient in order and logic, number and harmony, Rousseau himself appears to have held it in no great esteem. Its success, however, encouraged him to renewed efforts. Removing with Thérèse to the Hotel de Languedoc, where he enjoyed seven years of peaceful happiness, Rousseau resumed the study and composition of music. His opera of "*Le Devin du Village*," was represented before the court of Fontainebleau, and was received with universal applause. It was whispered that a pension awaited him, and that the king would himself announce this good fortune to Rousseau. Awkward, bashful, and embarrassed, the poor musician precipitately retired from the court, preferring to lose a pension rather than forfeit independence. This impolitic procedure drew on him the animadversion of Diderot, who accused him of neglecting the interests of Madame le Vasseur and her daughter. "From this moment," says Rousseau, "Diderot and Grimm seemed to make it their business to estrange '*Les Gouverneuses*' from me;" '*Les Gouverneuses*' being the name by which Thérèse and her mother were familiarly known. To the opera succeeded a letter on French music. In this letter Rousseau sided with the "*Coin de la Reine*," or Italian faction, giving dire offence to the national vanity. Nothing short of exile, or the Bastille, would satisfy the

vindictive patriotism of the outraged nation ! Rousseau happily escaped both.

In 1753 "*The Origin of the Inequalities among Mankind*" was announced as the subject of a prize essay by the Academy of Dijon. Rousseau admired and prepared to emulate its courage. Buried in the depths of the forest of St. Germain, in the bright long days of summer and under blue and cloudless skies, he sought to call up a picture of the early life of mankind. In the dizzy heights of his sublime contemplation he fancied that all the errors, crimes, and misfortunes which men falsely attribute to nature, really emanate from themselves. Comparing civilized with natural man, he discovered in his alleged perfection the true source of his misery. The golden age, he thought, will return, not as society advances towards social maturity, but as it retrogrades to savage life. This poetry of the woods, this Midsummer day's dream, moulded the anti-social conception of the imaginative politician.

The treatise opens with a definition distinguishing natural inequality from political inequality. The primæval life of mankind is depicted in attractive colours. It was the period of happy animalism, of sweet and self-satisfied sensation. Nature spontaneously fed and sheltered her innocent children ; health was all but absolute and universal, for the unnatural process of reflection was still unknown, and that "depraved animal, the man that meditates," was yet but a dim and distant eventuality. Language did not then exist, or existed only in the most rudimentary form,—a strong presumption that Nature did not originally design her child for society, but for solitude. A spontaneous compassion was then the equivalent for law. In that delightful and virtuous age there was no sentiment or imagination in love—no preference founded on merit or beauty ; consequently no jealousy, no rivalry, no vice. Moral love, that fictitious sentiment artfully panegyricized by women with the express object of conferring sovereignty on the sex destined to obedience, had not yet begun to exercise its tyrannical influence. Where there is no love, beauty is valueless ; where there is no language, intellect is superfluous ; where there is no intercourse, oppression is impossible. Ignorant and solitary, placed at an equal distance from the stupidity of the brute and the melancholy enlightenment of civilized man, the primitive condition of the race was one of extreme sweetness, simplicity, and goodness. From this natural Paradise "circumstance, that unspiritual god," gradually expelled ancestral man ; for soon he encountered difficulties to overcome, dangers to avoid, encroachments to resist. With the multiplication of mankind, increased exertion was demanded ; difference of

climates, soils, and seasons introduced a difference in the modes of life. Men became hunters and warriors; dress was adopted, fire discovered, and the sinful luxury of roast meat superseded the unsophisticated *cuisine* of the "noble savage." The first man who enclosed a spot of ground and called it his own, was that atrocious criminal the founder of civilized society, the author of nearly all the miseries that afflict the human race. The conviction that self-love is the sole motive of action now became somewhat modified by the recognition of an occasional community of interests. Hence association, mutual engagements, commerce, language. The habit of living together in time superinduced the sweetest sentiments of humanity: conjugal and paternal love. Men assembled around a cabin or a tree, and the arts of dance and song arose. The best singer or the most adroit dancer secured the applause of the bystanders. Thus inequality entered; vanity, shame, and envy followed. Society, however, once founded, moral law succeeded to the spontaneous goodness of the state of nature. Man had now lost something of his original brightness; yet Rousseau, with unexpected inconsistency, prefers this epoch of diminished splendour to that magnificent period of infantine simplicity which preceded it, self-loving activity. He points to the savage life of our own days to show that it is in *this* stage of progress that the human race ought to have remained. Following the development of inequality, we find that as the establishment of law and property was its first term, inaugurating the antagonist orders of rich and poor; so the institution of magistracy was the second, introducing the classes of strong and weak; while the third and last term was the substitution of arbitrary for legitimate power, establishing the relation of master and slave. The original man is now extinct; the youth of the world is over. Society presents only an assemblage of artificial men with feigned passions resulting from new and unnatural relations.

Such is a cursory review of Rousseau's celebrated doctrine of the state of nature. From his own admissions it is evident that such a state is as fabulous as the golden age of the Greek and Latin poets. If this sweet life of sensation ever existed, it could have no attractions for men with the grand activities and noble cares that distinguish the degenerate descendants of the primæval savage; but it never existed, save in the dazzled vision of the dreamer in the woods of St. Germain. Rousseau himself suggests the refutation of his own views, when he admits the compulsory action of external circumstances in determining the social evolution of humanity. Mistaken in attributing everything to the medium, nothing to the organism, he countermines his position when he establishes the inevitableness of human progress. Re-

fusing to see that this necessary development lies mainly in the constitution of human nature itself, he yet allows that his favourite dogma of equality never was realized. Even in the primæval age he admits that an adverse principle was silently at work. In the past primæval age he knows indeed but of one obstacle to its universal and permanent acceptance. That obstacle unfortunately is a fatal one,—inequality of faculty, of strength, intellect, beauty, and talent. The progress of civilization, then, measures the decline of the race; but its decline is inevitable. Man falls in this new “gospel” of Jean Jacques Rousseau, as in an older revelation, from the absolute decree of an overruling power. That glorious period of childlike felicity can never return; that time of quadrupedal locomotion, when our glorious forefathers went upon all-fours, is gone for ever,—those days of pastoral and granivorous prosperity, of Nebuchadnezzar-like felicity, of “splendour in the grass,” are over. To regret them, and walk, though at an humble distance, in the steps of our horizontal progenitors, is all that remains to us. “Never,” said the witty Voltaire, “was so much talent employed to make beasts of us. We can hardly prevent ourselves, as we read, from going down on our hands and feet.”

The doctrine expounded in the “Discourse on Inequality” was developed in the “Essay on the Social Contract,” published about eight years after (1761). Generally read and generally believed, it became the “Bible of the French Revolution,”* the inspired oracle of the Satanic Government of Terror under the Jacobins. The pervading hypothesis of this extraordinary essay is the supposed historical existence of a social compact; an hypothesis which, while it undoubtedly covers an important truth, directly asserts a positive falsehood. The former essay concluded with a rapid sketch of the origin of government and the convention which is its basis. The new treatise commences with the recognition of the historical epoch, of an actual polity, and an accepted convention. The primitive age could not be perpetuated. Mankind had to abandon the state of Nature, or perish. A social life was inevitable; the social problem explicit. It was required to find a form of association which should protect the person and property of every member; each individual, while in unison with the whole, obeying only himself and remaining as free as before. Such was the problem; the social contract was the solution. This contract subordinated individual volition to the general will, regarding each member as an invisible part of the entire organism. Thus a collective personality was created under the several names of republic, body politic, state, sovereign people,

* Lewes’ “Life of Robespierre.”

citizens, subjects. To indemnify man for the loss of this natural liberty, he is invested with civil liberty; while forcible or casual appropriation is succeeded by the legal institution of property. The association is supreme. The sovereignty resides in the body of the people, and is inalienable and indivisible. Duty and interest become reciprocal and obligatory; but as the individual and collective interest may conflict, there is a tacit understanding that the recusant to the general will is to be summarily coerced. There is, however, a rule for the reconciliation of interests, viz., to oppose the interests of the aggregate to the interest of every individual that forms a constituent part of it. Thus the collective will is guaranteed from error. And thus in the ideal republic of reform, as in the maxim of English jurisprudence, the king can do no wrong.

Such is a brief presentment of this famous theory of government. Its metaphysical origin cannot be concealed. It reposes on abstractions. It ignores or disdains facts. History knows nothing of a social contract, a state of Nature, a collective infallible will. Coleridge well remarks that in the

“Distinction established by Rousseau himself between the *volonté de tous* and the *volonté generale*, the falsehood or nothingness of the whole system becomes apparent. For it follows as an inevitable consequence that all which is said in the *contrat social* of that sovereign will to which the right of universal legislation appertains, applies to no one human being, to no society or assemblage of human beings, and least of all to the mixed multitude that makes up the people; but entirely and exclusively to reason itself.”*

A coercive authority, as we have seen, resides in Rousseau's ideal sovereign and lawmaker. To secure entire personal independence to every citizen, the refractory members of the body politic are to be reduced into obedience to the general will. How far the practice would accord with the theory, or how far metaphysical liberty is equivalent to positive liberty, will be inferred from the right of the sovereign to punish dissent from the religion of the State. Rousseau lays it down as a first principle that a public profession of faith is indispensable to the well-being of society. The State creed consists of three articles. The existence of a Supreme Being; a retributive immortality; and the sanctity of the social contract, and the laws. A public recognition of these dogmas imposes practical obedience. Conduct inconsistent with belief in them is punishable by death. For those anti-social characters who refuse subscription, the milder penalty of banishment is decreed.

It was in perfect consistency with this theory, that in the re-

* “The Friend,” vol. i. p. 265. 1837.

vival of his republican enthusiasm on visiting Geneva, Rousseau determined to recover the forfeited rights of citizenship by a formal and public profession of Protestantism. Thus reinstated in his earlier privileges, the intention of permanently establishing himself at Geneva, was only abandoned in favour of a project still more attractive.

The estate of La Chevrette, in the possession of M. d'Epinaÿ, borders on the wood of Montmorency, about four miles from Paris. Between La Chevrette and Montmorency is the pleasant valley of the Hermitage. Walking one day with the fair proprietress, Rousseau saw and admired this beautiful retreat. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "what an asylum for me!" Madame d'Epinaÿ made no reply, but quietly rebuilt the old residence, and when they again visited the spot, playfully acquainted him with its destination. "My dear, behold your asylum!" To this lovely retirement, Rousseau removed in 1754. Here he produced the "*Héloïse*," and greater part of the "*Emile*." In this paradise he found an Eve; and with the Eve a serpent. This representative of our old mythical enemy, Rousseau himself calls "*La coterie Holbachique*." Its principal articulations were Grimm, Diderot, and Holbach; its inferior ones, Madame d'Epinaÿ and Madame le Vasseur; his own argus-eyed suspicion and imprudence perhaps constituted the extreme end of the venomous reptile. Diderot appears to have thought it his special duty to play the part of Providence to his wayward and erratic friend. Fond of giving advice, he undertook to prescribe his obligations, control his destiny, dictate his taste, direct his inclinations; in fact, to treat him as a child. This paternal superiority, this perpetual patronage, was extremely offensive to Rousseau, who objected, we think not unreasonably, to any interference with his own free agency. Between Grimm and Diderot there was an increasing intimacy; between Grimm and Madame le Vasseur some close and secret alliance. Diderot probably from motives already indicated; Grimm for reasons best known to himself, and perhaps, as Carlyle felicitously conjectures, on another occasion, to the Devil also, intrigued to separate Madame le Vasseur and her daughters from Rousseau. Ere long Rousseau himself joined the conspirators. The Countess d'Houtetot, the sister-in-law of Madame d'Epinaÿ came one day riding like a gallant enchanted *prince* into the philosophic seclusion of the Hermitage. Rousseau beheld her in her fantastic attire, and though, in general, disapproving of such masqueradings, could not withhold his admiration. In fact, he was hopelessly fascinated. This was the absorbing, the sole passion of his life.

His welcome visitor from fairyland was nearly thirty years of age. She was not beautiful. Her face was marked with the

small-pox. Her complexion wanted delicacy. Her sight was defective, and her eyes round. But in her lively, young, and caressing manner lay an inexpressible charm. In that long black forest of hair was a world of enchantment. Her witty sallies, her mingled grace and awkwardness, her charming giddiness, and arch simplicity were perfectly irresistible. She had married young. Her husband had but two attractions in her eyes; his sword and his title. Happily, "virtue" is not always its own reward, and for the wit, the talent, and the moral excellence which were wanting in M. d'Houtetot, the lady found herself amply indemnified in that union of rare personal and mental endowments realized in his favoured and recognised vicegerent M. de St. Lambert.

Rousseau now saw her often. He loved her tenderly and passionately. She was the prototype of his Julie; the idol of his heart and imagination. One day, under an acacia loaded with flowers, with the greensward for a seat, he found language worthy of his adoring love. In vain. The listener left the moonlight bower, she left her pleading worshipper without a hope that his passion would ever be returned. She had loved St. Lambert. She could never love again. The memorable kiss that rewarded the frequent walk from the Hermitage to Eaubonne was the sole grace accorded "the melancholy Jacques."

This intimacy did not escape the penetration of Madame d'Epinaÿ. Calling one day on his "Egeria," Rousseau found her in tears. St. Lambert had been informed of their *innocent* love. Madame d'Epinaÿ was the suspected traitor. Secretly she had gone to the Hermitage, when Rousseau was absent, and endeavoured, though in vain, to obtain possession of the letters addressed to Rousseau by Madame d'Houtetot. Not long after Madame d'Epinaÿ, who was supposed to be in ill-health, requested Rousseau to attend her in a projected excursion to Geneva. Rousseau declined, alleging his own indisposition, but suspecting a secret motive for the journey. A few days after there came a letter from Diderot, censuring him for his refusal, and urging on him the duty of compliance. This letter, with his own answer, Rousseau read aloud in the presence of Madame d'Epinaÿ and Grimm. "From this moment," says Jean Jacques, "they conspired my ruin." Grimm, it seems, was capable of it. His sole principle of morality was that of consulting his own inclinations. Rousseau had introduced him to all his friends, to Diderot, to d'Holbach, to the black-locked d'Epinaÿ, where not only Grimm was wormed in, but Rousseau was wormed out." The motive of the journey subsequently became perfectly clear. The supplanted was the lover of Madame d'Epinaÿ. To conceal the result was the object of the proposed expedition. To make Rousseau the

lady's companion was a masterly device. A more brilliant policy eventually substituted her own husband, who for ever remained ignorant of the nature of her illness. Rousseau, meanwhile, ignorant of Grimm's personal interest in the matter, wrote to ask him his advice. In a first letter, Grimm bids Rousseau wait quietly at the Hermitage, and await his further counsel. In a second, he coolly informs his astounded correspondent that Madame d'Epainay had gone to Geneva, and declares all intercourse between himself and Rousseau henceforth impossible. Rousseau soon after wrote to Madame d'Epainay, announcing the extinction of their friendship, and his intention of quitting the Hermitage, but requesting permission to remain till Spring. In reply, Madame d'Epainay trusts that his conscience will be as easy as hers, and intimates that the sooner he goes the better. This was not all. Madame d'Houtetot reproaches him in a letter, with having compromised her by an attachment which was the talk of all Paris. Rousseau, who had made Diderot the depositary of his secrets, imputes this treacherous disclosure to him. And so, never again to have Diderot, Grimm, or the "black-locked" d'Epainay as friends, Rousseau, after despatching the mischief-making Madame le Vasseur to Paris, retired with Thérèse to Montmorency in the dreary month of December, 1757.

Although the "New Héloïse" was not published till the end of 1760, it owed its inspiration to the muses and graces of the Hermitage. We will anticipate and briefly characterize it here.

The structure of the tale is simple. Two lovers in a little village in Switzerland, in a series of letters by themselves, augmented by "friendly contributions," relate the history of their love, their fall, their sorrow and repentance. St. Preux is the Abelard of this romance; Julie, the Héloïse. Julie loves St. Preux, "not wisely, but too well." To save her father's honour, which is pledged to M. de Wolmar, she determines to sacrifice affection to duty, and subsides into the "sober certainties" of married bliss. Nothing can be less exciting than the story of Julie and her lover. Neither stirring adventure, dexterous invention, nor creative imagination, compensates for the want of structural interest. The earlier letters have been eulogized for eloquent and impassioned description, and justly so. Yet there is really no passion in the "Héloïse." The ardent and rapturous spirit of sensuous love animates it, but the workings of the sovereign affection itself are not discoverable. Of sentimental effusion there is enough and to spare; but nowhere do we find the spontaneous operation of a great self-forgetting passion. The book is as full of beauty as it is of feeling, but the tone and colouring do not satisfy us. A melodramatic glow, a pistol and torchlight illumination, with "operatic" splendours of virtue,

sensibility, and immortality, dazzle and fatigue the mental vision. Rarely can you detect the calm light of thought that burns but consumes not; the robust beauty of intellect that accompanies the highest genius. The *dramatis personæ*, too, are all shadowy and unreal. They are not characters; they are personified characteristics. Julie begins as a young and highly inflammable female, a little in love with "virtue," and a good deal with St. Preux, and ends (and she *knows* it), as a model daughter, a devoted wife, and a martyr-mother—a sort of domestic Piety on stilts. St. Preux, with his heavy and amorous erudition and rhapsodical theology, is little better than an hysterical schoolmaster. M. de Wolmar, who "by the force of his own genius has discovered that profound and invaluable secret that there is no God," is as dull as he is respectable. Claire thinks herself witty, and in her attempts to be facetious contrives to resemble an elephant emulating the vagaries of a dissipated young kitten. Lord Edward *Bomston* (Phœbus, what a name!) is a sort of male Minerva, for ever giving advice gratis—a model of propriety too good for this world and, let us hope, too tiresome for the next. These "beings of the mind" have none of the substantial attributes of humanity. Their essence is to soliloquize, declaim, and *correspond*. The letters which they interchange are tedious, pedantic, and ostentatiously good, as if intended for publication. In them the public is respectfully informed that the Theatre of Repentance and Piety will be opened with unprecedented attractions.

And yet, that the "New Héloïse" was written with earnest conviction and praiseworthy purpose, we have no doubt. The spasmodic sincerity of the entire production convinces us that this poor Rousseau, with his wild "prophet fires," did really intend to preach a gospel of righteousness, of pureness, and simplicity of life. To show how woman may fall, and yet by the native goodness of humanity, be redeemed from her fall; to encourage the frail and desponding to rise victorious over the infirmities of nature and the depressions of guilt; to exhibit man combating with his own passions, hopes and fears, and triumphing over them all, was really the aim of the writer of this somewhat questionable romance. He *does* depict, in his own way, the duty of filial obedience, the loyalties of wifely relationship, the subdued happiness, the touching obligations, and beautiful sanctities of wedded life. If the earlier letters are written with a pen dipped, not in *hallowed* fire, the later ones, at least, shine with some faint sparkle from the seraph plume of inspiration. God, immortality, freedom, goodness, candour, self-conquest, the noble, the graceful, and the true, form the high argument which they illustrate.

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was a true gospel. Nay more, while the dogma of equality conceals, as we think, the paramount truth, that not only has true capacity a right to generous recognition, that not only has personal dignity a title to respect, and individuality to free spontaneous growth; does it not also foreshadow the gradual evolution of social, or rather generic equality, the feeling of community of nature, the sentiment of brotherhood, and the ultimate realization of that "dream, which is not all a dream!" And as in the highest circles man meets man on what is allowed to be a perfect footing of equality, on the recognised basis of a common *gentlemanhood*, so should not the only cause of exclusion from the society of the wise, the great, the good, the patricians of the future, lie in the absence of the qualities that constitute the right to bear "the grand old name of gentleman;" the absence of the loyalty, tender-heartedness, generosity, courage, and liberal accomplishments which were once, perhaps not wholly without reason, assumed to be the characteristic attributes of those that were born of gentle race.

Turning from the political to the religious creed of Rousseau, we find his spiritualism sharply contrasting with the material doctrines of the time. Rousseau's theology had its basis in the metaphysical and theological arguments; arguments which, if vindicated by an array of illustrious names, candour compels us to acknowledge, are pronounced invalid by men whose fame carries with it an equal prestige of authority. Psychological considerations, though less 'prominently expressed, must have greatly influenced his religious creed. The excitement of the "Feeling Infinite," the sense of a transcendent Reality, the identification of the individual nature with the collective life, the devotional attitude spontaneously assumed by the soul in the presence of surpassing beauty, whether physical or moral, which enter so largely into the mystical creed of modern religionists, were not unknown to the poetic and tender-hearted Rousseau. These facts of our higher consciousness require recognition and interpretation, and that consciousness demands development, direction, and satisfaction. Imperfect, then, as Rousseau's theology may have been, it served to indicate the existence of those loftier affections and noble aspirations which the materialists of the age were in danger of utterly disavowing. It served to keep alive a faith in a Supreme Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, in a Holy Ideal, a Perfect and Blessed Life, without some belief in whose reality our portion "on this bank and shoal of time" were one of unredeemed misery or unenviable enjoyment. In Rousseau's view the soul of man was made for worship; and Rousseau, as the prophet of the age, asserted this truth in opposition to the teachings of those who doubted or denied it, till even Voltaire

only a disappointed intriguer. Say candidly, "I have lost all hope of seducing this woman; I am forced to be a virtuous man, and I'd rather die." Whatever may have been his personal predilections or practical aberrations, Rousseau's theoretic preferences were not for seduction, adultery, suicide, and the other favourite and fashionable virtues of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

On leaving the Hermitage, Rousseau took refuge in the ancient and beautiful domain of Montmorency. It had passed by a daughter of that ducal house into the possession of the family of Condé. While the humbler residence of Mont Louis, the destined retreat of our wandering prophet, was in preparation, apartments were allotted him in the castle of the Maréchal de Luxembourg. It was in this splendid edifice, this enchanted isle, this *Isola Bella*, with its lake-like environment, its profound and delightful solitude of woods and waters, that Rousseau wrote the fifth book of the "*Emile*," amid the singing of birds and the perfume of orange-flowers. On removing to Mont Louis he wrote the "*Letter to d'Alembert*." In an article on Geneva in the "*Encyclopædia*," d'Alembert had advocated the introduction of theatrical entertainments into that city. This recommendation was apparently written in the interest of Voltaire, who contemplated the destruction of the Calvinistic theology, by undermining the Puritan morality of the austere republic. Rousseau's stern patriotism and Spartan simplicity induced him to regard with hostility any attempt to corrupt the primitive purity of manners which characterized his countrymen; and his opposition was powerfully expressed in the celebrated letter which he addressed to d'Alembert. Many other works were composed, projected, or completed at Mont Louis. Here the "*Dictionary of Music*" engaged much of Rousseau's attention; here the "*Paix Perpetuelle*" was finished, "*Les Institutions Politiques*" finally matured into "*Le Contrat Social*," and the "*Essay on the Origin of Languages*" was elaborated. During his residence at Mont Louis, Rousseau enjoyed the society of many noble and valued friends. Among his distinguished acquaintance he numbered Madame de Luxembourg, Madame de Boufflers, and Madame de Verdelin. He was on terms of intimacy with the Abbé de Condillac, de Mably, Barthélemy, de Mairan, Clairault, and other men of literary eminence. Le Choiseul expressed an interest in him; Malesherbes befriended him. It was here too that he had the gratification of aiding in the release of the Abbé Morellet, imprisoned in the Bastille for some real or imagined literary offence to Madame de Robeck. Above all, it was in the quiet shelter of Mont Louis that "*Emile*" was completed.

The inspiration of this remarkable work lay in its author's anxiety to "procure for the children of others the happiness

which he was unable to confer on his own." It was intended as an expiation of a serious dereliction of duty. Professedly written with high moral views, it dictates a reform in education, provides a religious creed, and furnishes a philosophical system. A protest against the materialism of Holbach, the atheism of Diderot, the scoffing impiety of Voltaire, it asserts the doctrine of a celestial future, and vindicates the belief in God, duty, virtue, and ethical Christianity.

Rousseau's "*Emile*" is the *Cyropædia* of modern times. It is the romance of education. If its prescriptions cannot always be realized, they always imply a lofty aim, and with all its faults and shortcomings this romantic blue-book is really a fresh call to truth and to nature. Rousseau has been satirized for the acquaintance he displays with the mysteries of the nursery. Byron, the "patrician Rousseau," it has been derisively observed, never descended so low as this. The philosophic genius of Rousseau could stoop. We will not reproach it for its condescension. To emancipate helpless infancy from the restrictions of the mummy-like costume dear to the Dark Ages of sanitary ignorance; to demand for it free play of limb; to confer on it the privilege of fresh air; to obtain for it the blessing of cold water, sweet natural nourishment, and tender maternal care, is a work of noble note, a work worthy of any philosopher or poet, be he who he may.

The "*Emile*," we have said, is the romance of education. Its metaphysical character cannot be concealed. *Emile* himself is an ideal being—an abstraction. His circumstances are made for him. He is not to be lord or labourer, surgeon or solicitor, but a man. Yet there is truth in this view. Education should be general as well as special. To cultivate our faculties, as if the freedom of the world were ours, is the end to which we should aspire.

During his infancy *Emile* is not to be treated as a purely reasonable being. The undeveloped boy must be broken in. He must be taught, by the quiet coercion of circumstances, submission to the eternal law of order, taught to feel that there is a necessity superior to volition, a necessity which overrules us all, and in obedience to which lies our highest wisdom and happiness. This end must be attained not by compulsory nor didactic agencies, but by the practical exhibition of the moral superiority of his preceptors, and the accruing conviction of his own feeble and dependent nature. To persuade him to learn the tutor is not to read him a lecture on the advantages of knowledge, but make him feel the evils of ignorance and the desirableness of instruction. Conscious of his want, and eager to satisfy it, the pupil is next to be brought into immediate contact with things and their properties. The rationale of individual conduct and social institu-

tions is to be derived from the incidents of his own life. From the arbitrary appropriation of ground already cultivated, Emile is instructed in the philosophy of property. In the same way he is made to feel the value of astronomy, geography, history, and religion. Systematic instruction is to be postponed till Emile has attained his twelfth year. There is one book and one only which supplies a really happy exposition of natural education. Not Aristotle, not Buffon shall be the teacher of Emile, but Defoe. The boy shall live, as it were, in a solitary island with Robinson Crusoe. He shall have his castle, his goats, his plantation. His dress shall be of skins. He shall wear a great sword. He shall carry an umbrella for all it shall be of no use to him. As he grows older, Emile is to be initiated into the mysteries of some trade. He is to be a carpenter and joiner; for he has but average abilities. A more richly-endowed pupil may learn to make mathematical instruments.

The system of ethics in which the young boy is to be indoctrinated is that which, having self-love for its point of departure, widens and terminates in social love. For, according to Rousseau, all our noblest moralities are but elaborations of our own self-regarding affection. With him as with Bentham too, utility is the sole test of the morality of an action. In his view the *uses* of all arts and sciences, of all institutions and practices are the *indices* of their moral excellence.

The communications between tutor and pupil must be marked by a rigorous sincerity. The questions which children ask, to the confusion of the persons interrogated, are either not to be answered at all or answered truly. Emile is not to be taught that the baby-playmate was found under a rosebush, or shaken down, agreeably to the physiological aspirations of that charming sinner Philina, with the lilac leaves or the apple-blossoms.

To moral education succeeds religious instruction. The creed of Emile is to be ultimately determined by himself, but the far-famed Confession of the Vicar of Savoy, is offered as a sort of regulative type of theological faith. It may be defined as a sort of Christian theism, and is grounded solely on the authority of the reason. It has rather a metaphysical than a scientific basis. Though a firm believer in final causes, Rousseau attempts no formal development of the teleological argument, apparently laying less stress on the evidences of design than on the alleged necessity of a first cause. The consciousness of will in himself he regards as proof of the existence of a will out of himself, in matter. Matter with Rousseau is inert. He cannot admit it to be self-active; matter in motion establishes volition; uniformity of motion establishes law. A great living and intelligent will pervades the world and animates nature. In it infinite

wisdom, power, and goodness unite. It is God. Under this supreme existence man is the king of nature; man contemplates the universe, and everywhere beholds order, beauty, virtue. It is true he beholds also moral evil; but moral evil depends on the liberty of the human will. Man is free, and what he freely does is not to be ascribed to the Creator. Moral evil is entirely our own procuring; physical evil originates in our vices.

Belief in God is supplemented by belief in the soul's immortality. This belief has for its justification not so much the merit of man, as the goodness of God. To confer eventual happiness on the suffering good, is morally obligatory on the divine nature. The Vicar does not believe that the wicked will be punished eternally; he refuses to entertain the question. He does not believe that the acceptance of Christianity is necessary to salvation, but he sees in its godlike beauty and grandeur a presumption that it came from God. The gospels are no fiction, though they contain a fictitious element. The Son of Mary is immeasurably greater than the son of Sophroniscus. If the death of Socrates was that of a sage, the death of Jesus was that of a God.

The education of *Emile* is esthetic, as well as moral and religious. Taste is natural to all men, the amount of taste depending on the amount of sensibility enjoyed. The production of artistic beauty is a mimetic art. All the true types of the beautiful lie in nature. From the objects that we love, not the fancies we affect, are we to derive our models.

In the education of the modern *Cyrus* the engrossing subjects of love and marriage must occupy unusual care and attention. Avoiding details, we will say that Rousseau insists that the obligation of purity is incumbent on the youth no less than on the maiden; that by physical and moral training, mental discipline and unremitting exercise, the age of maturity may be deferred till twenty. In his twenty-first year *Emile* enters on the period of courtship; the timid, innocent, and beautiful *Sophie* attracts him; at twenty-two, he is called on to practise a sublime self-abnegation. He must tear himself from the presence of *Sophie*,—he must travel. After two years spent in visiting the principal countries of Europe, and acquainting himself with what is curious in their natural history, arts, government, and inhabitants, *Emile* returns to *Sophie*—to happiness—to wedded love.

One scene more closes the little drama. Years have elapsed; *Emile* and *Sophie* visit Paris. The glitter of the capital is an ill exchange for the innocence of the country. *Sophie* falls; *Emile* hears, and flies; but now the splendid resources of his Roman education are demonstrated; he sees his domestic gods shattered on the hearth, and sheathes himself in the impenetrable armour of his own moral self-completeness. He sees himself the

slave of a cruel tyrant, but in the darkest night of his sorrow his courage, wisdom, and benevolence shine like luminous stars in the firmament of life.

The "Emile" was a brilliant literary triumph. D'Alembert declared that it placed Rousseau at the head of all men of letters; Mirabeau entitled it a magnificent poem; La Harpe praised its eloquence, its philosophy, its beautiful style. There are, indeed, noble sentences in the "Emile," passages which evince the highest descriptive power; the sense is often as admirable as the expression is lucid. No more splendid exposition of Deism has ever been given than that of the eloquent Vicar of Savoy. Much of Rousseau's theory of education may be impracticable. We cannot help thinking that the poor tutor, with his everlasting surveillance of Emile, had no sinecure of it, and that Emile must have found his tutor as great a bore as his tutor found him. These pædagogic plans seem artificial and unreal; we smile at them as we do at the old-fashioned Sir Charles Grandison love-making, the antiquated ringdoves and obsolete roses of Emile and Sophie. Still the merit of the book is incontestable; its influence has been as beneficial as it has been widespread.

Notwithstanding the ultimate triumph of the "Emile," its appearance served only as a fresh occasion for present suffering. Preserving a middle course between infidelity and orthodoxy, Rousseau, with a few distinguished exceptions, offended all and satisfied none. Voltaire was indignant with Rousseau for his partial acceptance of Christianity. "The Judas," he wrote, "abandons us in the hour of victory." The clergy, finding the sufficiency of natural religion vindicated in "Emile," condemned it for its Anti-Christian character. The parliament, resenting Rousseau's political theories, sentenced the book to be burned, and the author to be imprisoned. The Sorbonne spoke against Rousseau in a language that was neither Latin nor French. The Holy Father applauded the Sorbonne, and anathematized "Emile." Geneva followed his example; its magistrates censured; its clergy alone, if we may believe M. Gaberel, abstained from any official condemnation.

The storm had burst. The sincerest man of the age, on the whole perhaps the truest, must fly. On June 8, 1762, Rousseau was awakened from a dream. He was summoned to the presence of Madame de Luxembourg. For the first time he found her agitated: his position, she told him, might compromise her; he must leave Montmorency! Fly, Rousseau! fly, fly! and take with thee from this hour that lifelong fancy of persecution,—that coward fear of some nameless inexplicable enemy,—some Madame d'Epainay, or Madame de Luxembourg, that teaches children to hate and betray their fathers!

Arriving at Yverdun, he learned first that "Emile" had been condemned in the "land of liberty and justice," though there was not a single copy in the whole of Geneva; and then that the Senate of Berne had ordered him to leave the territory of the republic. From Yverdun he repaired to Motiers Travers, in Prussian ground. The expatriated philosopher was welcomed by George Keith, hereditary marshal of Scotland, a retainer of the house of Stuart, and now, after long wanderings, a servant of the King of Prussia and governor of Neuchâtel. The Great Frederic agreed with his minister in protecting a man who could only be accused of holding opinions which the world thought odd.

It was at Motiers Travers that, with the sanction of his friends, Rousseau adopted, for purposes of convenience, the much talked of Armenian dress, vest, caffetan, cap, and girdle.

A year elapsed. Rousseau, weary of waiting for a revocation of the sentence which had expatriated him, solemnly abdicated the rights of citizenship. Local politics complicated the situation. There were two principal factions at Geneva; the more despotic party was favoured by Tronchin, the attorney-general, who in his "*Lettres écrites de la campagne*" defended the veto of the Senate; maintaining that the general will should be subordinated to that of a special corporation invested with the power of interpreting the law. This dangerous doctrine Rousseau was invited to refute. Parodying the title of his opponent's work, Jean Jacques issued his "*Lettres écrites de la montagne*." Already he had disavowed his belief in the miraculous element of Christianity. He repeated this disavowal in more explicit, if not more insulting language in the "Letters," than the "Emile." The civil power proscribed his book; the clergy assumed a hostile attitude; and as Rousseau had openly made profession of the Genevan faith, he had no right to accuse them of intolerance when menaced with excommunication. At length it was whispered about that Jean Jacques was Antichrist. Murmurs were succeeded by hootings; a serious attack was made on his house, and the authorities were obliged to intervene for his protection. Such at least is the evidence of M. du Peyrou. On the other hand, Madelon Mecsuar, in extreme old age, deposes:—

"This good M. Rousseau, who robbed himself to feed the poor, and whom we so regretted when we had driven him away, was a little bit cracked. He fancied that he was always pursued by his enemies, and to frighten him we good-for-nothing boys and girls used to hide behind the trees, and call out, 'Take care, M. Rousseau, they'll catch you to-morrow.' It was we who got up the attack on the house. Therèse made us bring the stones into the gallery, and we threw two or three at the windows."

Thus driven before these dirty little persecutors, pursued by

the phantoms of his own credulous imagination, believing all the world in league against him; libelled by Voltaire, and angrily accrediting Vernes with the libel, Jean Jacques flies, with sense of burning injustice in his heart, to seek once more a refuge "from the world's bitter wind."

The little island of St. Pierre, bosomed in the lake of Bienne, with its meadows, woods, and vines, with its varied landscape sheltered from all storms that blow, shall be his haven of repose. There he will revive his old dreams of a solitary retreat, and live like another Crusoe in a world all his own. He will have his boat and glide at the sweet will of the winds and waves, abandoned to delightful reveries; or he will go botanizing, and make friends with the flowers "that dwell in fields and lead ambrosial lives." "O nature! O my mother!"—"Twas a pleasant dream; but, alas! brief as pleasant. One day, an order arrived, issued by an authorized functionary. The solitary must quit his "little lawny islet," though it is now the time of vintage, and winter is coming on, and he is a feeble, ailing man. On the 29th October, 1765, Rousseau left Bienne for Strasbourg.

With this date end the world-famous "Confessions" of Jean Jacques. They have furnished, with such supplementary notices and corrections as we could command, the biographical portion of this article. We close the volumes which contain them with a general estimate of their character.

The "Confessions" of Rousseau have been contrasted with those of a far purer nature and more exalted intellect, St. Augustine. They have been called a parody of them. Perhaps, in some sense, they are so. The pervading spirit of Augustine's Confessions is that of profound humility. The pervading spirit of Rousseau's is that of diseased self-consciousness. There is no questionable element in the outpourings of the grand old Christian Bishop. There is much that is questionable in the self-revelations of the French revolutionary saint. There are pages in this book which ought never to be reprinted, pages of revolting cynicism, pages of frightful savage nakedness, at which one shudders as one reads.

In the common charge of exorbitant and pre-eminent vanity, in the usual acceptation of the term, alleged against Rousseau, we decline to join. Many men have been as vain as Rousseau, some vainer. Voltaire, we think was one of these. But the vanity of Voltaire was a healthy, sportive, objective sort of vanity; Rousseau's a morbid, querulous, fretful self-love. His "Confessions," abject as they are, do not disguise this failing from us. If Rousseau dwells on his misdeeds, if he exaggerates them, if he makes us think worse of him than need be, we see only in this microscopic self-inspection the distorting and magnifying lens of an inflamed and feverish self-preoccupation.

Looking to the mere literary value of the book, we find in it pages of exquisite grace and beauty, portraits and sketches executed as with a master's hand, which for truthful colouring and piquant animation remind us more than once of those in the "*Dichtung und Wahrheit*" of Goethe; landscapes, sunny and serene, in which the birds sing their morning song, and the dew lies fresh upon the grass. Something, too, we learn of the secret life of the men and women of the eighteenth century, albeit for avoidance rather than example. It lies here spread out before us in all its trivial circumstance, with its pleasant flowery paths of sinful love, of envious hate, of laughing persiflage contrasting strangely with the sorrowful baffled aspirings and torturing gloomy repentances of the unhappy autobiographer.

The characteristic moral quality of the "*Confessions*" is sincerity; not a strong, genial frankness that knows what to tell and what to conceal; but a disorderly, self-treacherous loquacity, as of a guilty man with frightful self-consciousness, preternaturally compelled to utter loathly secrets and turpid mysteries to relieve himself of a burthen too heavy to bear in the oppressive solitude of his panic-stricken soul. Somewhat of the morbid methodist hatred of sin may be found in these "*Confessions*;" more of the *philosophe* admiration of virtue, but little of the healthy natural love of the commonplace goodness which grows like the grass and daisies. Spasmodic efforts after moral regeneration, raptures of devotion, ecstasies of sensibility, with here and there a flash of manly piety, or a trace of simple kindness, make up the religion of the self-consuming Rousseau.

Refusing an invitation to settle in Corsica, in deference to the expressed wishes of Therèse, and accepting the proposition of the gentle and kind-hearted Hume, the *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Court of France, Rousseau accompanied the historian to England, arriving in London, 3rd of January, 1766. From London he proceeded to Wootton, where he resided in the house of Mr. Davenport, the friend of Hume. The thoughtful benevolence of the English philosopher, his efforts to procure a pension for the refugee, the friendly contrivances of Hume and Davenport to husband or increase his resources without wounding his pride, need only a brief reference here. We must pass, too, lightly over the painful dissension which for ever terminated the amicable relations of these eminent men. The circumstances of the quarrel may be thus epitomized. One day a letter bearing the name of the King of Prussia, and addressed to Rousseau, appeared in the newspapers. This letter, reflecting on the morbid activities of Rousseau's excited imagination, which made him misconstrue facts, suspect insults, and invent conspiracies, must not be omitted:—

"MY DEAR JEAN JACQUES.—You have renounced Geneva, your country. You have driven yourself from Switzerland, so vaunted in your writings. France has condemned you. Fly, then, to me. . . I admire your talents, and am exceedingly amused with your reveries, though between you and me they are somewhat too long. It is time for you to be wise and happy. You have sought vulgar fame enough by singularities that do not much become a great man. If you want decidedly to annoy your enemies, show them that you have common sense. In my dominions you may find a peaceable retreat. I am your friend, and will prove myself so if you wish it. But if you reject my offers, remember that I will not publish your refusal. If you persist in torturing your mind in inventing new misfortunes, choose what kind of misery best suits you. I am king, and can furnish you to your heart's content. And—what you will not find among your enemies—I promise to cease persecuting you the moment you cease to put your glory in persecution.*

"FREDERIC."

Before the sarcasm of this letter Rousseau quailed. Flaming into rage, he accused D'Alembert of the authorship, and denounced Hume as his accomplice. In vain did Horace Walpole declare himself the delinquent. If Hume was not the principal, he was an accessory to the fact! The head and front of Hume's offending was a jest dropped at Lord Ossory's dinner-table. Had Rousseau been apprised of Hume's witticism, the memory of his many acts of real disinterested friendship ought to have mitigated any temporary exacerbation; but there is no evidence that Hume's pleasantry was ever communicated to Rousseau. On the contrary, it seems as if on reading the fictitious letter of Frederic his insane suspicion had instantly led him to incriminate Hume. Forgetting all his "patron's" tried affection and valuable services, he hastened to address to him a letter of unfounded accusation and outrageous insult. Hume finding it impossible to condone the offence, and thinking it obligatory on him to anticipate Rousseau's prejudiced disclosures, determined on the immediate publication of a less partial version of these painful transactions. The hostility was irreconcilable. The combatants never met again.

Thirteen months after his arrival in England, Rousseau ceased to reside at Wootton. In that rural retirement he had been occupied with botanical researches and musical composition. There, too, he wrote the first six books of his "Confessions." A sudden embroilment with the household of his generous host, imputable, perhaps, to the quarrelsome disposition of Therése, terminated in a precipitate retreat. Leaving all his effects behind, he crossed the Channel. An asylum was offered the fugitive at

* This translation is borrowed, almost *literatim*, from "Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine," No. lxi. February, 1822.

Trie-le-Château, by the Prince de Conti. From Trie we trace him to Bourgoin, afterwards to Monquin, then to Lyons. To this period, we must refer his marriage with Thérèse, if that which was neither a civil nor religious ceremony, but a mere personal recognition of the conjugal relation, in the presence of witnesses, but in his assumed name, can be called such.

Obeysing the call of honour and duty, to adopt his own explanation, anxious, perhaps, to re-establish his character and challenge criticism to the assertions in his "Confessions," of which he gave public readings, till stopped by Madame d'Épinay's appeal to the police, Rousseau returned to Paris in June, 1770. Here he hired an apartment in the Rue Platrière (now Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau), where, laying aside his Armenian dress, and almost wholly employed in copying music (his old method of gaining a livelihood or eking out his resources), he remained eight peaceful years. During this period, his sole productions were, "*Les Rêveries du Promeneur Solitaire*," characterized by tender eloquence and graceful melancholy; and an "*Essay on the Government of Poland*."

On 28th May, 1778, at the invitation of M. de Girardin, Rousseau exchanged the noise and glitter of Paris for the beautiful retirement of Ermenonville. The reason assigned for this was the ill-health of Thérèse, and the consequent necessity of country air. At Ermenonville, a further movement was talked of. Some vision of a home in Picardy or Normandy glanced momentarily before the troubled spirit of Rousseau. But this was to be the last of his flittings. Here, on 2nd or 3rd July, 1778, in the 66th year of his age, ended all the confused journeyings of the "*Apostle of Affliction*." According to some, he died the death of the unhappy, perishing by his own hand. According to others, his death was quite natural. In a few days, says M. de Girardin, he passed from an apparently excellent state of health to a rapid death. With the tranquillity of a man always ready to die, he said to his wife,—"*You weep. Is it for my happiness? I die in peace. I never wished to injure any one, and may safely count on God's mercy.*" Thérèse tells us that he then bade her open the window that he might once more behold the beautiful verdure of the fields. "*How pure and lovely is the sky,*" said he; "*there is not a cloud in it. I hope the Almighty will receive me there.*" "*So saying, he fell with his face to the ground, and when he was raised life was extinct.*"* A post-mortem examination was made. M. de Girardin assures us that the medical men found every part sound, and recognised, as the sole cause of death, a sanguineous effusion on the brain, which they call serous apoplexy. The sud-

* "*Blackwood's Magazine*," No. lxi.

denness of the catastrophe, the wound in the forehead, ascribed by Therèse to an accidental fall, a seeming prediction of his own death, the alleged discovery of Therèse's unworthy affection for the stable-boy, whom she soon after married, and other circumstances confirmatory of a foregone conclusion, are by some regarded as sufficient evidence that Rousseau voluntarily terminated a life which had become valueless in his eyes.

Those who are convinced that to abridge his melancholy sojourn on earth, the unhappy man, haunted by phantom terrors, persecuted by real or visionary enemies, and now cruelly wounded in his tenderest feelings, forsaken by the sole friend that, as he dreamed, remained faithful to him, had recourse to the slow-working poison-cup and the swifter pistol-shot, will ever see in the circumstances that favour their suspicion proof positive of the suicide.

Those, on the other hand, who are anxious to exculpate Rousseau from a real or fancied criminality (since in these days all questions are open questions), who are disposed to accept the certificate of professional men as conclusive, will find no difficulty in setting aside evidence which is demonstrative, or accounting for circumstances which indicate or suggest self-destruction. Those, again, who, like ourselves, are naturally incredulous, who are too sceptical to come to any decided conclusion, in the absence of authoritative testimony, will feel that there are doubts, and will be contented to rest in that state of conditional indecision so unsatisfactory to the intellectual impatience of the enthusiast or the moral sympathy of the partisan. Their verdict will not be the English verdict, "Guilty" or "Not Guilty," but the Scottish verdict, "Not Proven."

In the fairest district of Ermenonville is a little lake, environed with wooded heights. In the middle of the lake is an island planted with poplars. It is here that Rousseau sleeps.

Hitherto, the philosophical and personal characteristics of Rousseau have been intimated rather than asserted. We conclude with a summary review of the thinker, the writer, and the man.

"In the eighteenth century," says the author of the late noble 'Treatise on Liberty,' "when nearly all the instructed, and all those of the uninstructed, were lost in admiration of what is called civilization and of the marvels of modern science, literature, and philosophy, and while greatly overrating the amount of unlikeness between the men of modern and those of ancient times, indulged the belief that the whole of the difference was in their own favour, with what a salutary shock did the paradoxes of Rousseau explode like bombshells in the midst, dislocating the compact mass of one-sided opinion, and forcing its elements to recombine in a better form and with additional ingredients."

This antagonism of thought was sanitary and even fructifying. While "the current opinions contained more of positive truth and very much less of error" than those of Rousseau, they yet served to recal the invisible and forgotten fragments of that mangled body of Osiris, those "disjecta membra" of Truth, whose complete reintegration can alone be effected by the opposing and exhaustive researches of rival and provocative investigators.

Thus, if the State of Nature extolled by Rousseau was a fiction, it was a fiction that typified a distant but ever-approaching reality, the recognition of the real physical and spiritual laws which are "the secret strength of things;" the rejection of all the artificial regulations that impede our true personal and social growth; the acceptance of the plain healthy duties, the noble simplicities, the manly independence which an enervating and sophisticated civilization had so fatally impaired or discredited. As protests against the concomitant or accidental evils of society, as warnings against the fraud, the force, the misdirection of energy, which accompany the great social evolution, Rousseau's prophetic warnings are entitled to a hearing.

The "Original Contract" was equally a fiction with the "State of Nature;" but though such a fact never had a historical existence, it, too, denotes an indefeasible reality. For there is, to employ a Coleridgean expression, if not an original, yet an ever-originating contract, a political ideal determined by our personal and collective development, to which we are continually approximating, and which seeking to include all sociological phenomena, renders them available for the construction of a scientific theory of politics, in which the dogmas of the Divine Right of Kings and the Sovereignty of the People shall be alike superseded by corresponding formulas of superior accuracy.

Again, the dogma of Equality was proclaimed as the basis of the new social system. Though some departure from the standard implied by the term was conceded by the founder of this ideal constitution, the word equality seems to have been subsequently understood by the disciples of Rousseau as implying absolute equality. Equality of intellect, strength, beauty, or virtue, is of course a chimera. But even here the fiction covers a truth. Inequality in the sense of unjust privilege or unrighteous exemption is intolerable. Inequality, which irrevocably and wantonly subjects the poor, the weak, or the ignorant to the tyranny of the rich, the strong, or the cultivated, or which opposes artificial barriers to the legitimate development or reasonable ambition of speculative or practical capacity, in the ranks of a well-ordered democracy, can only be regarded with feelings of the strongest condemnation. So far, then, as Rousseau's gospel of equality was a protest against irrational and mischievous inequalities, it

was a true gospel. Nay more, while the dogma of equality conceals, as we think, the paramount truth, that not only has true capacity a right to generous recognition, that not only has personal dignity a title to respect, and individuality to free spontaneous growth; does it not also foreshadow the gradual evolution of social, or rather generic equality, the feeling of community of nature, the sentiment of brotherhood, and the ultimate realization of that "dream, which is not all a dream!" And as in the highest circles man meets man on what is allowed to be a perfect footing of equality, on the recognised basis of a common *gentlemanhood*, so should not the only cause of exclusion from the society of the wise, the great, the good, the patricians of the future, lie in the absence of the qualities that constitute the right to bear "the grand old name of gentleman;" the absence of the loyalty, tender-heartedness, generosity, courage, and liberal accomplishments which were once, perhaps not wholly without reason, assumed to be the characteristic attributes of those that were born of gentle race.

Turning from the political to the religious creed of Rousseau, we find his spiritualism sharply contrasting with the material doctrines of the time. Rousseau's theology had its basis in the metaphysical and theological arguments; arguments which, if vindicated by an array of illustrious names, candour compels us to acknowledge, are pronounced invalid by men whose fame carries with it an equal prestige of authority. Psychological considerations, though less 'prominently expressed, must have greatly influenced his religious creed. The excitement of the "Feeling Infinite," the sense of a transcendent Reality, the identification of the individual nature with the collective life, the devotional attitude spontaneously assumed by the soul in the presence of surpassing beauty, whether physical or moral, which enter so largely into the mystical creed of modern religionists, were not unknown to the poetic and tender-hearted Rousseau. These facts of our higher consciousness require recognition and interpretation, and that consciousness demands development, direction, and satisfaction. Imperfect, then, as Rousseau's theology may have been, it served to indicate the existence of those loftier affections and noble aspirations which the materialists of the age were in danger of utterly disavowing. It served to keep alive a faith in a Supreme Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, in a Holy Ideal, a Perfect and Blessed Life, without some belief in whose reality our portion "on this bank and shoal of time" were one of unredeemed misery or unenviable enjoyment. In Rousseau's view the soul of man was made for worship; and Rousseau, as the prophet of the age, asserted this truth in opposition to the teachings of those who doubted or denied it, till even Voltaire

knelt before the splendour of God, on the mountain-top, acknowledging a divinity in His works, while repudiating, in his mocking fashion, the superposed sanctities of an anthropomorphic theology. "Oui, Créateur du ciel et de la terre, je vous adore. Mais quant à Monsieur votre fils et à Madame sa mère je ne les connais pas."

No less did Rousseau feel the sacred significance of the life and death of Him "to whom eighteen centuries have done homage as the Almighty in person," refusing, indeed, to ratify his supernatural pretensions, with orthodox superstition, while vindicating the "moral grandeur" and "the renovating agency"* of the religion of the crucified God against the aspersions of the infidel school. Thus, in theology as in politics, Rousseau, with an integrity of view which sometimes accompanied a rich and impassioned, though intellectually incomplete, nature, assisted in directing the eyes of men, preoccupied with the contemplation of older truths, to the stars in the philosophical horizon which were scarcely visible above it, or solicited them not to overlook the existence of those verities which, in the revolution of social opinion, were disappearing below the present verge of human thought.

Passing to the general culture of Rousseau, we find him interested in botanical researches as well as devoted to music and musical composition. His study of botany does not seem to have been conducted on very scientific principles. He distinguished plants by their form and not by their properties. Humboldt, indeed, describes him as a zealous but ill-instructed plant collector; and there is, we imagine, no doubt that his labours, in this department, were rather valuable to himself than to others, serviceable as supplying suggestions for artistic reproduction, rather than available for the extension of botanical knowledge. In music he seems to have been somewhat more successful, cultivating it theoretically as well as practically. His "Dictionnaire de Musique," and other essays, occupy three octavo volumes of the Paris edition of his works, published in 1842. Rousseau was passionately fond of music. Besides his "Devin du Village," which, in the opinion of Madame de Staël, exhibits real talent, he composed music for about one hundred French romances, to which he gave the title of "Consolations des Misères de ma Vie." Simple, touching, melancholy airs were those which Rousseau loved best.

The literary and esthetic merits of Rousseau are entitled to a high appreciation. In spite of his melodramatic extravagances and scenic effects, in spite of his "perfuming his violets and rouging his roses," we feel that the picturesque in Rousseau has often that sustained and sedate character for which St. Beuve

* Mill "On Liberty," pp. 47-50.

admires his descriptions. The intense feeling of natural beauty, now so commonly expressed in prose and verse, must be referred to the inspirations of Rousseau. He was among the first, says the author of "Cosmos," who, by an exciting appeal to the imaginative faculties, powerfully animated the sentiment of enjoyment derived from communion with nature, and consequently, also, to give impulse to its inseparable accompaniment, the love of distant travel. In this reference nothing can be more charming than Rousseau's racy panegyric on pedestrian excursions. The mountain ramble, the pure fresh air, its connexion with the consciousness of internal purity and peace, the beautiful morning, with the songs of the nightingale dying away before the returning light, and the musical farewells to Spring that break from her sisters of the woods at the birth of the glorious summertime, are celebrated in language of magical eloquence. To Rousseau has been attributed the popularization of two other special elements in the picturesque or romantic. The ideal beauty of the lake scenery and central districts of the Alps, and the country retreat, the little white house with green shutters, with its courtyard, its stable, its orchard, and kitchen garden.

In this celebration of the beautiful in nature, Rousseau again acted as the apostle of his time. "The century, to adopt the language of an eminent critic, needed a new expression of sentiments vaguely felt and ill-defined. The flaming logic of Rousseau appropriately embodied the confused ideas of the epoch. Rousseau was the swallow that announced a new spring-tide for the French language."

In closing what we have to say of this influential but wild and questionable man of genius, we revert to our earliest proposition, Rousseau was the prophet of his era. An entire condemnation of the past was inevitable, for only thus could men be taught how far they had wandered from truth, nature, and simplicity. The principles of Rousseau, exaggerated by the men of the Revolution, dominated the whole of the Reign of Terror. Yet with all his sharp theories and hypochondriacal irritabilities, Rousseau would surely have turned horror-stricken from the terrible fanaticism of a revolution that preached his faith in blood. *Fraternité ou la mort* was the logical device of the French Revolution—a true and beautiful device; if we accept the obligation of death for the extension of human brotherhood, as Rousseau we hope would have done, not if we inflict it, as Robespierre did. A religion which insists mainly on the rights of men is too apt to forget the duties of men. A philosophy which in seeking to oppose false propositions, substitutes counter propositions, that in their excess of statement are equally false, must necessarily lead to disastrous practical results. Personally indeed no moral blame can attach to Rousseau, who, while predicting "the cycle

of revolutions," never attempted to organize political insurrection himself or encouraged others to do so. Yet his doctrine became an *organon* of terrible energy in the hands of his disciples, and he must be held responsible as a theorist for the evil as well as for the good results of his system, if they are its natural and necessary consequence. Rousseau, while carrying submission to authority to the verge of ignoble compliance, taught that you could manufacture at will a polity in which all men should be essentially free and equal. He uttered dangerous paradoxes, calculated though not intended to mislead; he excited illusory hopes, leaving it to others to realize them as they could. He denounced shams and falsehoods, but so recommended his own chimeras and extravagances that he misdirected men, and in their application of his theories, under the irresistible sway of circumstance and passion, in that groundswell of popular misinterpretation and preternatural panic, which you can neither foresee nor obviate, his utterances became "oracles that set the world on flame!" They did so, because it was their nature to do so, and in determining its participation in the good or the evil of the French Revolution, the philosophy of Rousseau must be accredited with its due proportion of malign as well as of beneficent influence.

Rousseau's character is too composite and many-sided to be easily read. Naturally he was a man of weak nerves. But he aimed in his irregular flighty fashion at the Roman or Spartan type; seeing what was right, struggling towards it, and never attaining it. Frugal, temperate, equitable, and independent, Rousseau was not serene, self-reliant, morally or intellectually robust. Preaching sincerity, he wished to be sincere, and making allowance for the melodramatic substratum in his character, which was ever bursting through the superficial deposit of acquired manhood, he was sincere. Consistent, harmonious, unconscious veracity he had not; but he loved sincerity and practised it, sometimes with a cynicism of utterance which we do not admire. His excessive self-love and egoistic absorption did not contribute to his happiness or that of others. Yet with all his predilection for torturing self-analysis, he was not an unloveable man. Hume describes him as very amiable; always polite, often gay, usually mild, modest, affectionate, disinterested. His simplicity, adds the English historian, was that of a child. He knew nothing of the world, and was the slave of impressions. He was timid and fantastically hypochondriacal. He invented dangers, dreamt conspiracies, fled from imaginary enemies, as Pascal trembled before an unreal abyss, which he believed was incessantly opening for him. In later life he was subject to incoherences and distractions that bordered on madness, if indeed he was not positively insane.

Altering slightly the language in which Coleridge describes

his fictitious Luther, we may apply it to the actual Rousseau, his revolutionary type. "His impetuous temperament, his deep-working mind, his busy and vivid imagination, were a trouble to him in a world where nothing realized his preconception of what it ought to be. His sensibility wept and trembled, and dissolved over scenes of earthly passion and the struggles of love with duty. His pity passed into rage, when he contemplated the inequalities of mankind, the oppressions of government, and the miseries of the governed. In the philosopher of Geneva we see indeed a great though visionary reformer, whose reason was employed in building up anew the edifice of society, and whose imagination was pledged for the possible realization of the structure."* "Nevertheless" (to supplement our characterization by a passage from another eloquent and thoughtful writer), "there lay in Rousseau's doctrine, and has floated down the stream of opinion along with it, a considerable amount of exactly those truths which the popular opinion wanted, and these are the deposit which was left behind, when the flood subsided."†

ART. III.—SPIRITUAL FREEDOM.

1. *On Liberty.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859.
2. *Signs of the Times: Letters to Ernst Moritz Arndt, on the Dangers to Religious Liberty in the present state of the World.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.D., D.C.L., D.PH. Translated by SUSANNA WINKWORTH. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1856.

IT is a significant, perhaps an ominous fact, that within three or four years two men of such wisdom and authority as Chevalier Bunsen and Mr. Mill should have felt themselves constrained to address their countrymen in tones of solemn warning, if not sad foreboding, on the subject of our liberties, and emphatically on that liberty which we Englishmen are accustomed to regard, with pardonable pride and thankfulness, as the most dearly bought and highly prized of our privileges—the freedom of thought and conscience. The illustrious foreigner surveys the recent movements and tendencies of thought and action that have

* "Friend," vol. i. p. 190.

† Mill "On Liberty," p. 85.

been, and are, exerting themselves, with the most influential and characteristic effects, on the field of European civilization, and finds—

“A state of things certainly very similar to that in which the Roman Cæsars ascended the throne of the world’s empire, but wanting in the fact of universal empire. . . . The prevailing mood of men’s minds throughout Europe is everywhere, and not only on the Continent, decidedly that of uneasiness. . . . The north is being invaded by those despairing views of the world prevailing in Southern Europe, which have found voice in the immortal lyrics and meditations of the noble Leopardi. . . . The unimpeachable results of investigation are rejected as infidel, and that which has essentially proceeded from a deep moral and religious earnestness stigmatized as godless. . . . The pretensions to a divine right of the clerical office over conscience, and as far as may be over the whole mental culture of the human race, are everywhere the same. . . . Every one feels that the most opposite extremes, indeed, apparently, at least, the most fundamental principles of truth—are standing face to face in an attitude of absolute defiance; that decisive conflicts are preparing; that a new order of things is shaping itself. But opinions are everywhere divided as to what is destined to remain at the close, or whether, perchance, that close may prove to be the end, if not, of the world, yet of the existing civilization, and social arrangements of Europe. The fears of one party are the hopes of the other; selfishness and passion not only step boldly into the foreground, but bear unblushingly on their brow the sign of the highest and holiest. The incredible, in one form or other, appears to all parties and peoples credible, nay, the impossible, probable; few or none of the existing powers or faiths are held to be secure.”

He sees on all sides gloom and menace. He does not despond, but his hope seems grounded, less on any definite evidences of progress or coming light and peace, than on a deep Christian faith in the moral order of the universe, human advancement, and the general triumph of good over evil.

Still more cheerless and discouraging is the prospect on which the eye of our countryman looks forth. In “the Signs of the Times,” Bunsen beholds the fortunes of civilization and freedom menaced by turbulent and destructive forces. The author of the “Essay on Liberty” sees causes of apprehension of our civilization expiring through sheer want of inherent vitality, by the suppression of an informing, quickening intellect and morality. Energy, however misguided, is preferable to inertia; it has life. And activities which, in their first irruption, might level existing institutions, might yet lay the foundations of another and better social structure. Nothing, on the contrary, can be more absolutely unpromising than a state of fixity and rest, in which change is ignored as either desirable or possible. When development is

arrested by prescriptive custom, when accomplishment supersedes education, and all fresh vital effort is repressed into a dead mechanical uniformity, then the established routine itself is insecure; even the level that is reached and considered as standard must ever tend to sink, as it ceases to be sustained by those powers through the agency of which it was attained.

“There is only too great a tendency in the best beliefs and practices to degenerate into the mechanical; and unless there were a succession of persons whose ever recurring originality prevents the grounds of those beliefs and practices from becoming merely traditional, such dead matter would not resist the smallest shock from anything really alive, and there would be no reason why civilization should not die out, as in the Byzantine empire.”

Public opinion appears to him with iron tyranny to be crushing out all individuality and original character. Yet “the initiation of all wise and noble things comes, and must come, from individual.”

“Already energetic characters on any large scale are becoming merely traditional. . . . The greatness of England is now all collective; individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining; and with this our moral and religious philanthropists are perfectly contented. . . . We have a warning example in China—a nation of much talent, and, in some respects, even wisdom, owing to the rare good fortune of having been provided at an early period with a particularly good set of customs, the work, in some measure, of men to whom even the most enlightened European must accord, under certain limitations, the title of sages and philosophers. They are remarkable, too, in the excellence of their apparatus for impressing, as far as possible, the best wisdom they possess upon every mind in the community, and securing that those who have appropriated most of it shall occupy the posts of honour and power. Surely the people who did thus have discovered the secret of human progressiveness, and must have kept themselves steadily at the head of the movement of the world. On the contrary, they have become stationary—have remained so for thousands of years; and if they are ever to be farther improved, it must be by foreigners. They have succeeded beyond all hope in what English philanthropists are so industriously working at—in making a people all alike, all governing their thoughts and conduct by the same maxims and rules; and these are the fruits. The modern *régime* of public opinion is, in an unorganized form, what the Chinese educational and political systems are in an organized; and unless, individuality shall be able successfully to assert itself against this yoke, Europe, notwithstanding its noble antecedents and its professed Christianity, will tend to become another China.”

Prognostications so gloomy, words of warning and appeal so grave and earnest, and issuing from quarters so influential, demand a review of privileges we are perhaps too ready to assume as esta-

blished, in order that we may truly apprehend our real position in respect to free thought and action.

What is liberty? What do we mean,—what object do we present to ourselves when we laud and claim liberty? How few men would agree in giving a rational and consistent answer to that question. We all have a vague idea of liberty, but with almost all it is only a vague idea. Yet is it of the last importance that our conceptions on this subject should be definite and fundamental. Mr. Mill concisely traces the origin of the notion. It is first seen conspicuous in early history in the contest between subjects and their governments. By liberty was then meant protection against the tyranny of the political rulers. The rulers were conceived as distinct from, and antagonistic to, the ruled.

“The aim, therefore, of patriots was, to set limits to the power which the ruler should be suffered to exercise over the community; and this limitation was what they meant by liberty. It was attempted in two ways:—First, by obtaining a recognition of certain immunities called political liberties or rights, which it was to be regarded as a breach of duty in the ruler to infringe, and which, if he did infringe, specific resistance, or general rebellion, was held to be justifiable. A second, and generally a later expedient, was the establishment of constitutional checks, by which the consent of the community, or of a body of some sort, supposed to represent its interests, was made a necessary condition to some of the more important acts of the governing power.”

From being viewed as consisting in restriction of an external and opposed governing power, liberty next appears in the idea of self-government. When the community came to be regarded as including the ruler, and the interests of the two identified, immunity seemed thereby secured from an oppressive government. And so it would, were the identity complete. But the identity is one of civil and social relations only. What belongs to a society is not the aggregate of all that belongs to its individuals. Certain properties and interests are sacred to the individual with which society has no concern, while the common council and executive have rights and powers no individual can arrogate. As in the logical concept, increased comprehension is accompanied by diminished extension, and *vice versâ*, so here, the higher the function, the narrower the field of its exercise. Liberty now, therefore, comes to mean the defence from encroachment on the part of the people in a governing capacity beyond its legitimate sphere.

“It was now perceived that such phrases as ‘self-government’ and ‘the power of the people over themselves,’ do not express the true state of the case. The ‘people’ who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the ‘self-government’ spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each

by all the rest. The will of the people, moreover, practically means, the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people, consequently, *may* desire to oppress a part of their number; and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power. . . . Like other tyrannies, the tyranny of the majority was at first, and is still vulgarly, held in dread, chiefly as operating through the acts of the public authorities. But reflecting persons perceived that when society is itself the tyrant—society collectively, over the separate individuals who compose it—its means of tyrannizing are not restricted to the acts which it may do by the hands of its political functionaries. Society can and does execute its own mandates; and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practises a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself. Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough; there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development, and, if possible, prevent the formation, of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find that limit and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism.”

The precise ascertainment of this limit—“the fitting adjustment between individual independence and social control”—is the problem to which Mr. Mill addresses himself, and of which his solution is,—“that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.”

In this conclusion, he adopts and carries out in application to unorganized social influence the principle of a merely negative function, so eloquently advocated by W. von Humboldt, in relation to State action.

Before we are prepared either to coincide with or dissent from this doctrine we think there is required a more radical explication of what liberty essentially is. In limiting our consideration to one side of human life, we must be careful lest we should obtain results that are partial and inadequate. To eliminate what may be merely temporary, special, or accidental, we must endeavour to ascertain the fundamental idea of all liberty,—that essential quality in proportion to the presence and recognition of which, however in

actual legislation modified by the difficulties of the particular case, any freedom is genuine and perfect.

According to Mr. Mill, the idea of liberty, as we have seen, was first consciously realized in a political relation, as a fence and barrier thrown up against the exercise of ultra-official power by Government. It is easy to see how readily and naturally it would come to be regarded simply as antagonistic to Government,—and to laws, the organ through which Government finds expression. In other relations, the same crude and indiscriminate generalization would not fail to be carried out, and Law and Liberty be regarded as in their natures opposed and contradictory,—as standing to each other in an inverse ratio, so that the measure of freedom we enjoy is less or greater, just as we are in a greater or less degree subject to law. But this is only the confusion of loose thinking. It is not government in itself that liberty is opposed to, but only government *ultra vires*,—only to an oppressive extension of its power beyond its proper sphere. The antagonism is not to Law as law, but to those laws only which the State is transgressing its true office in enacting. Constitutional law is not only in harmony, but, to its extent, is identical with freedom. But constitutional law, in theory, however far astray from this it may go in practice, is but an authoritative declaration and adjustment of the rights of its subjects. Law, therefore, so far as it is just and fulfils its end, has its foundation in its subjects, and, ideally considered, creates nothing, is nothing, but an artificial embodiment and expression of what has its real existence in them. It is only the counterpart and recognition of those rights, in the due exercise of which we are free. The vulgar misconception of the natures of Law and Liberty, and of their mutual relations, as incompatible and contradictory, is subversive of both. Keenly alive to individual claims, and impatient of impediment, we revel, at the expense of law, in what we deceive ourselves by calling liberty, merely because it is not restraint. Or, deeply impressed with the sense of a beautiful order, we deprecate freedom as a thing unruly, and likely to disturb that harmony and beauty, and so check the spontaneity, which thereon confers its highest quality as vital and unmechanical. Lawlessness is not liberty, but anarchy and chaos. Liberty is to be permitted not to do as we please, but to do as we ought. Law, based in truth and nature, in nowise interferes with legitimate Liberty, but is its bulwark, and, indeed, the very condition of its existence. As little does Liberty contradict Law; it depends upon laws, and is their natural and necessary offspring,—is but the result and expression of the harmony of laws. So far from there being any antagonism or incompatibility between them, the one is rendered possible only by the other. “Law alone,” says

Goethe, "can give us freedom."* Every infringement of law is a violation of liberty; every extravagance of liberty is a law broken.

To take up this question fully, would far exceed the necessary limits of this paper. But some of its more general aspects may be indicated, as a guide towards a broad and comprehensive definition of Freedom.

The essential connexion of Law with Liberty, viewed in their most general aspects, will become apparent by a consideration of what law really is. A clear statement of what is meant by law is the more requisite, as this is a term used in such various and ambiguous senses. We talk of divine law, of human law, of natural law, of physical and of moral law; and often without any clear or precise meaning attached to any of these phrases. So far as law can be truly predicated in these several relations, there must be a sense in which it lies at the root of them all, a view of it in which they are all comprehended. Here, then, the term is employed in its deepest and universal signification, as expressive of that constitutive and regulative principle in the Universe, in virtue whereof lies its organization and cosmical subsistence. It is therefore divine, inasmuch as its primary source and author is Deity†—inasmuch, indeed, as it is nothing else than the method of God's own working in His creatures. Natural also it is, in respect of its being the reflex of the principle or essential *virtus* operating in each creature, the expression of that wherein the being, as such, is—the nature with which its Creator has endowed it. Whatever is truly human, is included in it, as being a part of creation, one sphere of nature. But human law, when by that is meant the administrative enactments of men, finds a place under this broad general idea of the expression, only in so far as those enactments are the faithful reflexion and outcome of natural God-given law. Νόμος is not δόγμα πόλεως, but τοῦ ὄντος ἐξευρεσις.‡

We trace everywhere around and within *this* system and order; and these imply law. An order must have a principle of arrangement; a system must have a method of development, and a central connexion. In its highest generic aspect, therefore, law is that principle of consistence and relation which gives to the great

* Nur das Gesetz kann uns die Freiheit geben.

† It is not intended here to express an opinion that God's will is the ground or origin of law, or that He is not Himself necessarily subject to law, nor indeed, to raise this question at all, but simply to affirm that the law is divine, as being that with which, in conformity with His own divine nature, the Father and Maker of all has informed His creatures.

‡ Plato—Minos.

system of things—to creation—its completeness and harmony of method, its individuality and inter-dependence of parts, its unity in variety. Viewed more specially, it is that which confers on its own department, considered in itself as a whole, that same harmony, uniqueness, and character, which belong to the entire system. Contemplated in its most particular and circumscribed operations, it is that which regulates the particular *virtus* of the individual, in other words, the character of that *virtus*, the essence wherein the individuality subsists. Regarding it, therefore, in the sum of its aspects, we observe a regular series, as in ordinary genera and species, varying, as to its extremes, inversely in depth and breadth; presenting under the one, the greatest comprehension of parts, and consequently the most complex individuality in its subject, and under the other, the most particularly determined activity, and the simplest unit. Starting from any stage within the whole range of being, we find the same law operating in all the individuals on that stage, asserting and working out in each his own life. On a higher level in the scale, these individuals may cease to be units, and combine, as parts, with others, to form higher individuals, according to a more general law. And so on. Thus the lower laws are taken up, and harmoniously subordinated to higher ones; which again similarly find converging points in still higher; till the apex of all is reached, which is nothing else than the loftiest and most general expression of the universal constitution. Looking from the summit downwards, we see the great all-comprehensive idea, of which the actual order of things is the phenomenal development—we see the principle, the *αρχή*, branching off into restricted and departmental laws, and affording them their mutual harmony and unity; and these again spreading out into still more special limitations; and thus downwards, until, through science or imagination, the lowest units, the true elements, are reached.

The existence of such laws—or law, for it is but one variously modified*—is seen alike in the satisfaction it affords to the demands of our intellectual nature, and in the results of experience and investigation. So soon as the very conception of this fair world is awakened within us, we postulate, not always very consciously, but still decidedly and inevitably, its regulation by law. We cannot think of its forces as moving capriciously or arbitrarily, or without design and fixed method. What the

* "In fact, the diversity of laws conceals an analogy so perfect, that, taken separately, they are nothing more than the various formulas of one single law. God created the original law; and the world, with all its bright expansion, has thus been filled with harmony. In this law everything was included."—M. Jules Simon's "Natural Religion," translated by J. W. Cole.

method is we may be very far from knowing; but the existence of some regulated plan is given us as immediately in the conception, as is the axiom that a whole is equal to all its parts, in the knowledge of what a whole and a part are.

What is thus *a priori* postulated, is not only in science *à posteriori* verified, but what the law is, is ascertained. This regulated uniformity is the foundation of science. The bare knowledge of an isolated fact is not science, nor any number of such knowledges. Relation, uniformity, necessity, and universality are required; otherwise science would be an impossibility. Science, in fact, is the knowledge of Nature in her laws. Their existence and operation are therefore assumed by science as its necessary condition, and proved by its actual development. To enlarge on this would be superfluous and tedious; it is on all hands admitted and acted on.

To say that these laws are universal does not of course imply that each particular law is boundless in its operations: their plurality and difference disprove that. But each is limited only by its fellows. Each is universal with respect to its own province, and there is no sphere of creation without its law. Every living being, every natural unit or individual, has a law of being, a principle of organization, in conformity with which it is developed and maintained as an individual, and which is no sooner overborne and rendered inoperative than it ceases to exist as such. "Life is the principle of individuation," says Coleridge—as said Schelling before him. Every power in nature is regulated by such a law, otherwise it would be characterless and indefinite. Every faculty of mind is so, otherwise it could have no specific action, and could never rise above the naked level of indeterminate possible energy. So is every physical object which is a whole, which is not fragmentary, and in that respect dead and passing away to form other combinations; in which case, the inherent regulative principle is to be traced in the laws proper to the several elements, or in those of the new combinations. Every truth of science affords an illustration. Look to atomics: the law of definitive proportionals directs every combination. One part of hydrogen chemically combined with eight of oxygen invariably forms water, and no other proportions of these or of any other elements can be constrained to do so. By law, the crystal smooths its facets, and points its angles. The orbs of heaven are rounded by law, and move in curves and with velocities by law prescribed. Movements that long appeared anomalies are now resolved into the more recondite exponents of law. In the vegetable world branches are sprung at definite angles; leaves are clipped and veined at the same angle no less definitely: the leaf repeats the tree, and owns the same regulative principle. No art or science

can constrain the acorn to produce aught but the oak—the oak aught but the acorn. And in higher forms of life, if the laws are more complex, they are not less certain. Each animal produces in likeness of itself. An egg, however hatched, becomes always a bird the same in kind as the hen that laid it. It may rot, and may become subject in its various elements to their respective laws; but if its life is quickened at all, it is the same life. Each kind of animal has its own normal form and contour, its own normal action and function.—The universe and all its several parts are instinct with vitality, and no life can be without a law.

No portion of the universe, we say, is without its law, without its order; there is no want of form, no void. That the form, however, may be broken, that there may be deformity, we know. But the very fact, that such is acknowledged to be deformity, confesses the reality of a norm that is therein being outraged, and in that very outrage displaying its sanctions. And what are those sanctions? The law, we have seen, is nothing else than the formula of individuality. It is the rule and condition of life and being to its subject. The disturbance of normal action must therefore result in the life and individuality being lost or impaired. Dissolution of the creature must be the consequence and penalty of utter defiance of the law. The being is no longer the individual it was: vital unity is extinguished. Thus, if the law of water be interfered with, water exists no longer—only oxygen and hydrogen. If the law of animal life be interrupted, the animal as such ceases, the organism is resolved into its constituents, “the dust returns to the dust, and the spirit to God who gave it.” Conscience is injured by every infraction of the moral law, and by habitual and permanent disobedience, would surely become extinct. If the law of the spiritual nature obtains no respect, is not the judgment death?

It may seem as though we were insisting unnecessarily on a question so commonly considered an established point, as the government by law of all nature, animate and inanimate. If we have dwelt upon it, we have done so with the view, not merely of asserting the existence of such laws, but of guarding against an erroneous conception as to their nature and seat, as fatal as it is common. We refer to that false metaphysical conception that prevails of Law as something external, an entity different from the being itself, as “thetical and positive,”* instead of natural and inherent. It is not with loose and popular thinkers alone that this view finds favour. It numbers its adherents in the highest rank of science. In his discussion with Geoffroy St. Hilaire on the unity of composition in the animal kingdom,

* Cudworth.

Cuvier asks, "Wherefore should Nature always act uniformly? What necessity could have constrained her only to employ the same organic forms, and always to have employed them? By whom could this arbitrary rule have been imposed?" Elsewhere he declares that St. Hilaire's "pretended identities" would, if true, reduce nature to a kind of slavery*. According to this conception a rule or ordinance is instituted, and certain creatures placed under its edicts; or a race of creatures have a law *made* for them, and promulgated; and to secure the observance of its precepts—which in this view of the matter carry with them, considered in themselves, no inherent obligation or authority—a certain penalty or punishment is *attached* to their non-observance, which, by appealing to the capacity in its subjects for the painful and abhorrent, aims at goading them into doing what they feel no natural, constitutional obligation to do. All natural law, on the contrary, is within the creature, and is authoritative just because it is the principle of the creature's nature. Beings are not affected from without by forces acting according to certain laws; but they are endowed, each with its own proper inherent law, its constitutive principle, in virtue of which it is what it is. Natural action, whether material, intellectual, or moral, does not take place according to any compulsory power *superimposed*, and having its seat elsewhere than in the vital activity itself. The universe does not have laws impressed upon it; it is not the object of law; not the *materia circa quam*, but the *materia in qua*. It is the subject of laws by which it is informed and unfolded, and which are revealed and expressed in its varied life and action. It is, therefore, in the beings themselves that we are to look for and discover these laws. They are to be ascertained nowhere else than in the constitution of their subjects. Their actual spheres of operation are their own statute-book. By study of each life is to be learned its own law. Obvious as this may seem, it would appear from the evidence of history to be one of the latest lessons to be learned, and one of the most difficult rules to be practised; but important and valuable as it is difficult; for the disregard of it is one of the most fruitful sources of broken law, and of liberty unattained. The history of science is the history of our training and slow advance towards its recog-

* See Mr. G. H. Lewes's "Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences," p. 53, where he exposes this error as to the nature of law. He objects to the expression "laws of nature" altogether, as involving a mechanical theory of the universe, and tending to mislead us in speculation. But grant there is order, then law follows as its abstract expression. To say there is a law according to which a plan is worked out, no more implies that that law is prescient of its end, than in analytical geometry the use of "the equation of a curve" implies either a foreknowing or a controlling power in the equation.

nition and observance. Men have ever shown themselves prone either to forget the existence of law altogether, or to seek for and hypothetize it from without. The consequence of this to man is ignorance, false science without foundation in reality, a failing to subdue and control external nature as he ought, or to regulate or be himself. For God-given laws are perfect, and can be disregarded only with peril and loss. Whosoever does not recognise and bow to them, they will crush; and failing patiently and humbly to watch for and accept them, we never are what we ought to be, nor do we stand in our rightful relation to God's other works. And so to discover and learn them, our first and never-to-be-forgotten lesson is, that every constitution alone authoritatively proclaims the law of its own life—that not only the human nations, but every creature of God, “is a law unto itself, and will show the work of the law written in its heart.”

Here an objection may occur which must be met. The principle attempted to be established, it may be said, would constitute the existent and actual into the rightful and legal, and would necessitate the alternative, that either bondage or law is but a name and a fiction,—that broken law is impossible and a contradiction, since the actual state expresses the law and legalizes itself. But it is the constitution, not the present condition, that declares law. The actual often declares most plainly, that it is not a state of consistence and vitality, but of decay and disintegration,—not of progress and discharged function, but of incompleteness and arrestment or relapse. We do not mean to argue that phenomenal permanence is a certain condition of fulfilled law; the reverse. Here all is progress, and this can be attained only through the casting off of the old, and the putting on of the new; an advance towards the higher that lies before, by a retirement from the lower that is to be left behind. New life is only possible through death; and the law which determines the being, as a whole, subordinates those of the several parts which pass through the various stages of development necessary to the perfection of the creature. The law, in the nature of its action, may be terminal and conclusive, and like a converging spiral, running in to a point. But this, which is the perfect implementing of the law, is not to be mistaken for the abrupt arrestment of its action, any more than the shattered column for the capitalled pillar. There is no difficulty in distinguishing the searing of the seed-pod after its contents are matured and ready for delivery, from its untimely withering before its work is done; or the dying of the seed in the act of springing up into new vegetation, from premature, unproductive deadness.

Now if law, in any particular instance, fail of active operation,—if the idea it would express attains inadequate or no exposition, it must be from one of two causes.

It may be from inherent weakness ; the vital principle may be too languid for the organism, and its phenomenal determinations consequently weak and undecided. In animal or vegetable life we say the creature is sickly, morbid, dying a natural death, that is, death springing from causes within itself. The law is not fulfilled, because the quickening principle in itself, and apart from any counteracting influence, is too weak to run out into the full occupation of its sphere. The lamp is not forcibly extinguished, but fails for want of oil. The law is the *sine qua non* of the being, and from mere negativeness and inability of self-assertion the individual ceases and disappears.

On the other hand, constitutions the most lively and healthy may be attacked by forces foreign and external, so that the vital energy is either wholly repressed, or so bound and constrained as to attain only a dwarfish and deformed development. The law is in a greater or less degree not given effect to, and the creature is correspondingly abnormal. As the deviation, in the former case, from the fulfilment of the law, arising from internal weakness, implies disease when the observance is imperfect, and death when there is no observance ; so here, in the departure resulting from counteracting force, when the law finds no expression, we have murder or violent death ; when only a partial expression, slavery.

Liberty may, therefore, be defined the necessary external conditions of Law—as Health may, those which are internal and necessary. A creature is free when so conditioned *ab extra* as fully to permit the working out of the law of its own being. The fulfilling of it is ever the witness of liberty and health ; its infraction results from the absence of one or other, or both of these. But non-observance is of two kinds : we may either exceed, or fall short, of the legitimate limits. On the one hand, vital energy may be deficient, or a greater foreign potency may repress and hinder its action ; or, on the other, it may be uncontrolled, licentious, aggressive. But oppression and bondage are correlative ; and although expressive of contraries, relative to the subject, may, in the general question, be considered together. For tyranny in one quarter implies an exactly corresponding slavery in another ; so that the transgression of any exsursivo power beyond its proper sphere, may always be studied in the invasion to which another's domain is subjected. There is no natural void, all is replete with life ; and in their normal adjustments the sphere of each faculty adjoins and bounds those of others.

In reviewing Mr. Mill's doctrine in the light of the results we have obtained, the question arises whether, and if so, in what character and measure, society in itself, as distinguished from its components, is real, natural, and positive. We have spoken of

lower laws finding a common head and unity in a superior and more general law; but corresponding to this law there must be an entity of which it is the abstract formula, and which through it acquires unity and "individuation." Society in this view is not a mere collection of individuals, as a heap of sand is the aggregation of its particles, but is a body, has an organized existence and a life. That life does not jar or interfere with the several lives of its members, but rather, as they essentially involve in their nature certain social elements, completes and enriches them. What the constitution and life, therefore, of society exactly is, would fall next to be inquired into. But this would open up the whole field of social science; and instead of attempting even in the slightest manner to enter upon a province so large and difficult, we purpose, in the space that yet remains to us, limiting our consideration to a special sphere of individual liberty, in examining which we shall endeavour to illustrate and exemplify the principles we have enunciated.

Before passing, however, we may remark that in recognising in society a real and natural existence, finding its expression in a positive law, we inevitably differ from the view of a merely negative function which Mr. Mill assigns to it. With respect to Government, in so far as it is regarded as an artificial and economic arrangement, and therefore having only a factitious existence, its character and duties would fall within the negative class. Viewed, on the other hand, as the representative head and embodiment of national life, while it may be artificial and temporary in form, it is in its substance real and permanent, having its root in nature.

Among our liberties, those of thought and conscience stand first alike in importance and order of connexion. As intelligent beings, thought is the ground which underlies all our actions, or the condition under which they are consciously realized. Slavery here, therefore, taints whatever springs hence. Conscience, regarded as the regulative organ or faculty of our moral nature, cannot be held in bondage without disorder ensuing throughout that nature. If violence be offered to this regulating power, hollowness and untruth pervade the whole character. As more internal to the man, too, both it and thought seem more intimately our own than anything else, more nearly ourselves; so that both on account of their close personal relationship and wide influences, it is round these spheres of our activities that the question of freedom revolves. It is for these liberties that men have ever first and most determinedly fought; it is these, the enjoyment of which, to whatever other servitude a people may be reduced, still cheers and sustains them with the conscious

dignity and self-respect of men; and, deprived of which, they harden into a mechanical and perfunctory existence, if haply they sink not to a lower and more savage nature, however great the other privileges they may possess.

It is to this branch of his general subject that Mr. Mill first and chiefly directs attention. It occupies a third part of his whole treatise; and at his hands it receives a masterly, and, so far as he has occasion to entertain the problem, a thorough and comprehensive treatment. The question he proposes to himself leads him to consider only the relation of society to the individual, and, as this bears on the free exercise of thought and conscience, the rights of the individual have never received a more enlightened and dispassionate advocacy. But there is another field on which, beyond all others, these rights are most frequently violated, and where their vindication is the more called for because the injury is less patent. If a great wrong is done when society by law or force of custom represses our free activities of thought and conscience, or rather (for this it cannot very directly do) interdicts their natural issues in speech and overt action, the evil is at least readily felt and recognised; but it is quite otherwise when a man tyrannizes over himself. Yet is he not more free, but rather less, in the latter case than in the former. It is of secondary importance who the oppressor may be; the question is as to the state of slavery endured—only, the character of the one may throw light on the other; and as society, to quote our author's forcible words, "may practise a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself;" so self-tyranny is above all to be dreaded, as carrying with it all these formidable qualities in a superlative degree.

As we have seen, Mr. Mill shortly indicates the growth of the idea of liberty to that stage in which it is opposed to "the tyranny of the majority." But why stop short here? May it not be traced further? Considering society as the higher unit, the several members are the elements. But it is no new idea to transfer the analogy of the body politic to the body natural, where the individual is the State or community, and his several faculties its members. And here is it not equally true that "the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority, may oppress, and that precautions are as much needed against this as any other abuse of power?" The passions, avarice, hatred, lust, ambition—not by virtue of any natural authority or right to dictate—the reverse—often tyrannize over both reason and conscience. How often does fear unman us? the appetites enslave

us? How often is the whole order and constitution of the inner man reversed, every mental liberty outraged, and the nobler functions arrested, perverted by the excess of lower faculties? Just as politically considered, it has been found that society, though rid of its monarchical misrulers, has still to stand in dread of itself as its governor; so viewed individually, we have not only to be defended from society, but to guard against ourselves. Three stages of development in the conception of liberty are recognised, corresponding to that by which it is contradicted and defined:—by the despotism of superior rulers, then by the oppression of a political majority in representative governments, and next by the unlegalized, but not less tyrannical, intolerance of custom. Why not another in which it finds its negative in an unwarrantable predominance of some of the powers and faculties of the individual over others, analogous to the undue authority claimed and wielded by a real or so-called majority in the political state? Of these four positions Mr. Mill has reached only the third, and the fourth, though often handled partially from the point of view of the practical moralist, has yet to receive articulate statement and scientific consideration as a phase of liberty.

By our author, liberty of thought and liberty of discussion are considered together, as practically inseparable; and in general usage we find that when free thought is spoken of, it is free speech that is meant. It is, no doubt, true that in actual life they stand so related to each other that the former does not flourish apart from the latter. But the practice of identifying them has had this disadvantage, that when we have vindicated and secured the one we think we have made good the other also, and leave our work half done. The privilege and exercise of free speech by no means implies the enjoyment of free thought, or even the recognition of its true character, or the conditions under which alone it is possible. On the topic of religious freedom our minds naturally recur to the mighty struggle it occasioned three hundred years ago throughout western Europe, and a better representative instance could not be found than in it and the movements to which it has given rise, of how the very essential of individual liberty of thought and belief is lost sight of behind its more palpable and obtrusive social counterpart of free profession and advocacy.

Protestantism claims to have thrown off the yoke of the Pope, and to have vindicated the right of private judgment. It asserted individual life, and aimed at union through the combination of units, not at Catholicity to be attained in the suppression of individuality. This was the vital principle, and as an idea, ever so dimly apprehended, was an immense advance. But how has this idea been realized? Has it not, to a considerable extent, been forgotten, and even when kept in view, has it not greatly

failed to receive a thorough-going application to human life? The form has been changed, but the spirit is often the same. The former tyranny is revolted from, but are the laws of our constitution more revered? The despotism may be more enlightened, and may aim at another order and arrangement of things, and may, accordingly, enact other and less severe laws; but the order may not be that of free natural development, nor the laws native and proper. Protestantism revolted from Papal authority, only, it would seem, to adopt that of a book, and while freeing us from others (even where it has succeeded in this), has forgotten to carry out its principles and deliver us from ourselves.

Care must be taken not to confound things that differ. Protestantism in idea, Protestantism fairly represented, sustaining its implied character, and carrying out its original aim and effort, may be very different from what it has now very much come to be. It may be that the majority of Protestants very unworthily uphold the name, and exhibit an ungenuine and perverted Protestantism; they may have exposed it to charges to which it is not essentially liable. But if Protestantism is to be regarded, not as an idea and possibility, not merely as a system of doctrine and the results that ought legitimately to flow from it, but as a historical movement of human life, how is it to be dealt with, if not in its prevalent living embodiment? It is not Protestantism as it ought to be, or as it might be, but as it is to be seen generally manifested that is here spoken of. Many, and the best, Protestants will, no doubt, repudiate the belief of such an absolute, oracular character in the Bible, alike for themselves and their church. But whatever the sentiments of certain individuals and the *professed* teaching of the church, it cannot, looking to our religious history during the last two centuries and a-half, be denied that the prevalent view of both laity and clergy among us has been that the Scriptures are the most unconditional, irrelative embodiment of truth. The vagueness of the line of demarcation that fences the canon is by most apparently unthought of. The question of purity of text has been supposed to be of insignificant practical bearing. In spite of exposed contradictions, of misstatements of fact, notwithstanding what is irreconcilable, incredible, its perfect infallibility has been maintained, and the whole, without exception, unflinchingly imposed on the human intellect and conscience, which, on any symptom of opposition or impatience, have been too often summarily silenced by a "get thee behind me, Satan!" The depravity of the human heart is in nothing more seen, it is alleged, than in its unwillingness to receive the Scriptures, and the readiest reply that can be made to any objection to them is a reminder of Adam's fall and our descent. It might, no doubt, very plausibly, on parity of reasoning, be asked, if our faculties

are so crippled and uncertain in their action that they cannot be heard in opposition to the Bible, how they can safely be trusted in the ascertainment of its perfect truth. But consistency, as well as freedom, is occasionally at a discount.

That this is no misrepresentation, no unfair or exaggerated statement, might be shown by pages upon pages of our popular religious and theological literature. In selecting the one citation we shall adduce, from a pamphlet by one of the prize Burnet essayists, who enjoys a certain reputation of being "advanced and liberal," we cannot be considered as straining our point. His lecture,* which professes, and so far, from the author's position, representatively, sets forth the principles and spirit in which many of our religious teachers are being trained, doubly bears us out—now by explicit corroboration, and again by affording in itself an example.

"Is the truth to be held unquestioned and unquestionable in *any* outward formula,—at the simple dictation of *any* outward power? or is it ever only—for our time as for all time—the product of *two* factors—of Scripture and Reason, of Revelation and Free Inquiry? It is the implied principle of all genuine Protestantism that it is the latter. It is, however, we are forced to confess, the practice of much of our Protestantism to hold it for the former. And what is remarkable, and might be instructive to the Christian student is, that this practice is especially characteristic of certain sections of our Protestantism that consider themselves the furthest removed from all taint of Popery, as they are certainly animated by the most loud-voiced zeal against it. However it (the party these sections form) may profess to acknowledge the right of private judgment, there is nothing less known, and nothing less tolerated by the adherents of this school than any free and fruitful exercise of this right. *Authority*, in fact, has here, in certain cases, established itself in a far more inflexible, as in a far less dignified and impressive form than in Catholicism."

Meant as in contrast, he thus describes the position he himself fills and advocates.

"But while we assert the validity of the subjective critical element in theology, there must yet ever be recognised in Scripture an *objective* element, entitled not merely to inform, but altogether to guide and *rule* the other. If the original revelation of reason is not to be rejected, but to have its right freely acknowledged, the later objective revelation in Scripture must withal remain the standard and arbiter of the truth. To the law, and to the testimony, must ever be the final appeal. Here alone is the invariable *norma fidei*. . . . The Bible must be acknowledged as not only co-ordinate with reason, but as forming, in all points of religious truth, the ultimate *determining*

* "Theological Tendencies of the Age," Inaugural Lecture, by the Rev. J. Tulloch, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary College, St. Andrew's. 1855.

authority. For us, whatever may be alleged to have been the case with the early Christians, there can be no genuine Christian doctrine or sentiment apart from the Bible. It, and it alone, under God, is the *source* of divine wisdom and divine life."

He then strangely enough adds,—

"It (the Bible) is a symbol of sacred meaning, which never changing itself, may yet ever be read anew, under richer lights, and yield a deeper significance to the reader. Infallible itself, it lays no restraint on the freest inquiry. It, indeed, alters no more than the great symbol of nature; but just as we are ever finding, under the light of common science, a more glorious meaning in the latter, so, under the light of an advancing and wiser criticism, may we reach a more harmonious and perfect meaning in the former."

How such a view of the Bible can be maintained by men professing to fight for freedom under the banner—susceptible of illiberal and exclusive interpretation enough, no doubt—of the rights of private judgment, it is difficult to understand. Only, it may be regarded as a temporary phase of the struggle—as one of those failures that intercept, but prepare for, ultimate success—one of those eddyings into which rapids sweep, when, having spent their force dashing over the steep, they meet the mass of deeper waters, before they settle into renewed and steadier current towards the sea—one of those side movements which make up the zigzag path by which we onward toil and tack. The weak but struggling sometimes call in the assistance of another and foreign power, to aid in repelling the invading foe, and are for a time at the mercy of their helpers. The tyranny of the Church in certain realms of thought was resisted only by the strength and support obtained, through the revival of letters, from thinkers of the heathen world, to whom, for this service, men in return swore fealty; and in acknowledging the greatness of the power, that effected their deliverance from a yoke they had themselves failed to throw off, owned their inferiority, and yielded to that of the governor, till his more enlightened sway gradually raised them to assert their independence. So, in another sphere, men may have felt themselves so under debt to the power they obtained through the Bible, to defy the Pope, whom, without its aid, they had been unable to withstand, that they have abjectly clung to it as their only safety, their rightful lord and master.

The absolute infallibility and authority of the Bible, indeed, is no less contrary to liberty than is the infallibility of the Pope. They are equally cases of subjection to foreign law. Abstractly considered, wherein lies the difference? The sources are different, the edicts are different. The one is fixed and stereotyped, the other variable and capable of accommodation, and the world in its revolution may and will carry it along with it. The

ordinances of the Bible may be much nearer an accordance with the innate law of the creature than papal bulls—may, let it be said, be in perfect accordance. Then their dignity, truth, and influence depend upon that accordance. But this is not the authority and infallibility claimed. It is a controlling, regulating authority, a standard and criterion that is contended for; while the true standard and authority must ever be to each creature its own law and constitution. To attempt to constitute any Scripture into such a law for man, is to enslave him in every sphere of his nature to which that Scripture is addressed.

Such a doctrine interrupts the laws of thought, and presents a check to free inquiry. What Protestant doubts the painful effects of papal infallibility in this respect? And the principle is the same here;—it silences inquiry by determining the result. It will not do to say that the one is really infallible, while the other is not; that the claim of the Pope is unfounded and false, but that the claim in behalf of the Bible is no more than is true; and that, consequently, by an acknowledgment of the former we debar ourselves from the truth, whereas by owning the latter we prevent our aberration from it. Were this otherwise tenable, it would not be to the point. Belief in infallibility is objected to, as an obstacle to freedom of inquiry. But the reply is, that by admitting this doctrine we secure our attainment of the truth, not by the exercise, but by the exclusion of free inquiry. This promises the possession, only by denying the pursuit. “Did the Almighty,” says Lessing, “holding in his right hand truth, and in his left search after truth, deign to proffer me the one I might prefer; in all humility, but without hesitation, I should request search after truth.” But, that we have perfect truth offered us in any set of documents, is an assumption of the whole matter, and aims at settling the question by starting from the conclusion. Nothing could more betray the very spirit and principle of Popery, nothing could more trample under foot any real and distinctively Protestant right of private judgment.

The right of private judgment, indeed, like many more watchwords, whatever significance it may have had originally, has come to be little more than a mere watchword. For, if the Bible be regarded as the certain standard and arbiter of truth, without appeal, what does this much-vaunted title and privilege amount to? It involves a twofold action. It may stand related to the Scriptures simply as preliminary and positive, or as expository and applicative. In the former relation, it has to examine the claims to infallibility, to decide that there is a sure and perfect canon, and to draw its line of demarcation; in other words, it has to sign its own death-warrant. Like the insect that lives but to produce its young, it is roused to activity, only to elect its successor, and in that one act to

yield all title ever to act again. In this office its sole duty is to choose its executioner. Its interpretative function, on the other hand, is permanent. Having once for all examined and accepted the Bible, as an infallible guide and rule, to supersede and control itself, it has then to treat it in the way of criticism and analysis, to interpret and apply the rule, and bring forth its guidance into contact with ever varying human life. But is inquiry, limited to these functions, peculiar to Protestantism, or does it serve any of the great ends claimed? Does it protect us on any one side from the invasion of our liberties? Or is it not rather the engaged servant of our oppressor, labouring first to establish and impose the external rule, and then to explain and enforce it? Popery in its most unmitigated intensity could desire nothing more.

Criticism, in so far as it is merely explicative of the meaning of a symbol, and not a judging of its truthfulness, is inquiry, not regarding, but on behalf of, that symbol—a service rendered to it, not a test of its serviceableness. To this the most abject traditionalist could offer no objection, the most servile apostle of authority could desire nothing else. That the symbol should be examined and sifted of any foreign and fallible elements, with which in course of time it may have been mixed up; that its meaning should be set forth, its difficulties explained, any apparent inconsistencies in it reconciled, is all in favour of the cause. Criticism thus far is but labouring in behalf of that to which it is applied; like farmers separating any chaff there may be from the grain, irrespective of the nature or quality of what it winnows. So soon as it proceeds to test the grain itself, to criticize and discuss the symbol thus purged and sorted, then where is infallibility?

For what, in any case, are the grounds on which infallibility may be attempted to be established? As a matter of fact, the immense majority, in claiming that character either for Pontiff or Scripture, only conform to old custom or prevalent fashion; they believe it, because their fathers believed it before them. But this is not universal, nor could it have been so originally. To man the first grounds of credibility are his own immediate consciousnesses, his inborn undeniable beliefs, and to these must all ultimately be referred. The most absolute traditionalism, carried to its fullest consequences, must find its let somewhere, and, whether of church or *γραφή*, has its appeals to human faculty for credibility. How thorough-going soever, it must either have a higher traditional authority, and that a still higher, and so on, or must set forth its evidences, and submit its claims to be judged of by the human mind. Accordingly, we have our formally drawn up “evidences”—evidences external and internal, drawn from miracle, prophecy, and promise, from the nature of the contents of the books themselves, and from the supposed necessity of the

case. And the Papists have their arguments and machinery of persuasion; and so far as the necessity of the case is concerned, Bellarmin and his coadjutors can hardly be thought less successful than his opponents.

This necessary recourse to appeal to human faculty, requiring it, the fallible, to judge and bear witness to the infallible, is a yielding of the whole question. It is attempting to raise an indestructible superstructure upon a tottering foundation. It is submitting to our judgment that which, by the necessity that is claimed for it, is presupposed to be quite beyond our judgment. It is calling on man to decide regarding that to which, if it possess the character asserted, he needs himself to refer for decision. Man it is said is fallen, and prone to err. He requires a guide free from a similar liability, and to supply this want, he is offered, in the one case a *Papa*, and in the other a Book, for the infallibility of which he is himself the sole guarantee.

What is infallible, there is no need to ascertain; doubt or question is already excluded, and *hors de combat*. If it is already known to be infallible, there is no room for inquiry. If not, no investigation and decision of ours can establish it to be such. To do so, would imply our prepossession of what we desiderate. If we are to examine the Bible in detail, and to judge of the unmixed truthfulness of its contents, we must have the standard by which to try divine verities, and so have within ourselves what we are seeking from without, and which, therefore, we do not need. To endeavour to establish its infallibility on any averments or claims of the writings themselves, or by any deductions from their statements, would be to admit the testimony of a document, while itself *in statu probandi*, as already authoritative and conclusive—a clear case of *petitio principii*. Evidences from sources external to the book will serve no better. Collect and heap these evidences to the utmost, they can never amount to such a weight, but that their balance may be found in the book itself. A single contradiction is stronger against it, than all external testimony conceivable in its favour. Whatever is unthinkable, no evidence can prove. So far then from these, or any writings being a canon and authority to us, it is we who examine and admit their title and authority. Nor can what is thus conferred ever rise superior to its source. So that if any human faculty (unless it be a faculty which, by man's constitution, ought to be controlled by the understanding), ever clash or jar with their declarations, they can have no right to overrule.

The bondage of this infallibility has in some quarters been recognised, and inquiry has asserted its freedom. The firm and secure advance of science has in many directions exposed the truth of nature too palpably to be doubted by reasonable and edu-

cated men. By many, accordingly, the dogma of an all-comprehensive infallibility has been conceded; they have narrowed their ground, and limited the claims of infallibility to a certain class of subjects. Thus, Archbishop Whately says:—

“In matters unconnected with religion, such as points of history, or natural philosophy, a writer who professes to be communicating a divine revelation, imparted to him through the means of miracles, may be as liable to error as other men, without any disparagement to his pretensions.”

Similarly writes Bishop Hinds:—

“It is not truth of all kinds that the Bible was inspired to teach, but only such truth as tends to religious edification; and the Bible is consequently infallible, as far as regards this and this alone.”

Bishop Hampden goes beyond this; he yields even morals:—

“So independent is the science of ethics, of the support and ennobling which it receives from religion, that it would be nothing strange or objectionable in a revelation, were we to find embodied in its language much of the false ethical philosophy which systems may have established. This, I conceive, would appear to those who bear in mind the real distinctness of religion and moral science, nothing more objectionable than the admission into the sacred volume of descriptions involving false theories of natural philosophy.”

Such a position may be found as untenable, as it is unsatisfactory. These concessions are not enough. Our liberty is as precious in theology, as in physical science and ethics; and progress is as much the law of our life in the one as in the other. Humanity cannot be congealed. “‘The heavens journey still, and sojourn not,’ and arts, wars, discoveries, and opinions go onward at their own pace. The new age has new desires, new enemies, new trades, new charities, and reads the Scriptures with new eyes.” The reflex and scientific recognition of the religious life wherein theology consists, must so far depend upon our general culture and modes of thought. With these it must in the march “*Excelsior*” keep time, otherwise it will fall out of the rank, and be left behind. A realm of active thought will be vacant, its law hushed—or peopled only with the embalments of a former life, which we morbidly cherish, like the nations that refuse to bury their dead out of their sight. A theology to be other than a dead drag—between which and our general life there can be any harmony and reciprocity, must be progressive. But this it never can be so long as we bow to a fixed, infallible, and complete expression of theological doctrine.

Such a progressive character implies no uncertainty, no arbitrariness, no negation of real truth. That there is danger of a wilful, unscientific theology, if the Bible were not held as an in-

fallible standard and rule, is not to be denied. That the lifeless and fixed theology, which alone such a doctrine of infallibility can secure, is not much better, is, perhaps, as little to be denied; and that such a danger would threaten, is only in accordance with the common condition of all liberty. If we look to what is not law, but its violation, at what is not essential, but incidental and accessory, not to the universal, but the singular, neither certitude nor advance can be attained. So long as it is accounted a glory and a privilege, a token of salvation and of God's special favour, to be exceptional and select, while actuated by the spirit of thankfulness that we are not as other men, and till we believe that none of God's creatures are common or unclean, the results that will be evolved in religion and theology, will be as grotesque and disorderly as, under similar conditions, those in any other sphere of life. If we cherish and value peculiarities of endowment and "experience," if we indulge wilfulness and licentiousness rather than own law and liberty, unless we rest on our common humanity—in perfection realized in its Head and Fountain—universality and truth, manhood, and the knowledge of the Kingdom of God, are not to be expected. But, because we may do wrong, is no reason why we should be debarred from doing right. Because a man more accustomed to external than self-restraint, is not unlikely, especially on being first left to himself, not too scrupulously to observe peace and order,—this can hardly be considered sufficient ground for depriving him of his liberty by anticipation, the more so, that the longer he is deprived, the greater will be the difficulty he will have in learning rightly to use his freedom when he gets it. The theological developments of our own time afford warning of the peril; but without under estimating that peril, liberty is to be asserted, in the faith that it is our inalienable right, and God's will, and that it will prove its own vindication. The advance, the capability of extension and correction of other sciences in nowise makes them less determinate, less sure, less scientific. Has chemistry or astronomy become more capricious and fanciful, more dependent upon the fluctuations and inconstancies of individual, national, or secular character, since Bacon's time? Or have they not only since then attained their character of certainty, irrefragable truth, lawfulness, in a word, science? Why should it be otherwise with theology? It can be unscientific and untrue only when we neglect to study the laws, the operations of which it professes to set forth, and seek to find the principle of its determinations elsewhere, whether in our own whims, fancies, and emotions, or in the recorded thoughts and feelings of others. The soul is surely not less lawfully constituted, less orderly, less divinely moved, than the material atoms that surround it; nor are the dignity and trust-worthiness of

science and law the less, the nobler the subject. Science, in itself, is not vacillating and arbitrary; it is based on eternal law; but to us it is and must be progressive; for while the law ever is, our relation to it ever changes.

“For I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns.”

Science—knowledge of laws—can advance only when we condescend to learn law—where alone it is authoritatively taught—in the constitution of its subjects. To seek it anywhere else must result in failure; to attempt to impose anything else is despotism. As a science, Theology is the product of the mind in form, and of the object of that science in matter. Now the Bible is not the subject of spiritual law, and cannot therefore be the proper object of Theology. That object is God's dealings with man. It is no true parallel to argue that, as physical science is to be promoted only by careful investigation of external nature, so, patient and exclusive study of the Bible is the proper means to perfect Theology. The Bible is not the field of operation of spiritual law, and is not therefore its direct effluence and product; it is not pretended to be such—only a reflex expression of it; and when that expression is held to be already perfect, progress is impossible.

But the evil of the thralldom appears in its full magnitude only when we consider its influence on spiritual life. It is bad enough in paralyzing our Theology, but unspeakably worse in its effects on that, of which Theology is but the scientifically elaborated expression. And it is remarkable that in this relation, where the denial of freedom works most perniciously, the necessity for an external infallible rule is mainly insisted on. While the Scriptures themselves everywhere point us to the true and sovereign fountain of divine life, how often do we persist in making them the measure and the mould into which it must unfold itself, and sometimes even in upholding them as its source—forgetting that “where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.” How often are they used not as a lesson-book, but as a teacher; not as a mere teacher, but as an oracle! How often are they taken, not as the “man of our counsel,” but as our Lawgiver! And all this is done as the only means of accomplishing that which, if accomplished at all, is so, notwithstanding and irrespective, if not despite of, these appliances so misused; just as animal life sometimes resists and discharges the poisonous medicine which friendly hands administer. The subtle life of the spirit may, by the very galling of its chains, be roused with irresistible might to vindicate itself, and burst its fetters, as many a struggling soul in these our days is doing, nobly often, but often too, alas! not without

self-injury and wound; or, penetrating less within the reflective intellectual arena, it may, as was perhaps more commonly the case with a former generation, elude the grasp that would enslave it, by keeping beyond its range, and avoiding those positions where alone its influence could be felt. But any way, and under any circumstances, the natural and proper issue of an enforced external rule, without regard to inner law and principle, however correct an exponent of the principle that rule may be, cannot be spiritual growth; and this has the more urgently to be insisted on, since for such teaching the main plea is its influence.

Whether ostensibly or not, the real argument for this doctrine is its utility, and in this it is eminently Romish. Its chief attraction is the supposed character of its practical tendency. The good it does, the difficulty of doing without it,—this, and not its truth, is the ground-reason of its being so strenuously maintained. Men have been led to it, not by fearless, trustful, unbiassed inquiry, desiring only truth, but by the want they felt of such a revelation and guide; and just in proportion as they lose sight of the true light that has come into the world, and of a present revealing of their Father to themselves, will they more and more substitute for the ever-living Word of God this expression of a past revelation to others. We have felt it to be desirable, and have argued ourselves into its belief. There must be some certain rule and guidance. Many things seem to point to this as such. This *must* be it. Therefore this *is* it. It hardly admits of a doubt, that if the need, the usefulness, of an external infallible canon were no longer felt, there would be much less anxiety shown for the assertion and recognition of its existence. How indifferent should we become to it, though still as true as before, if it ceased to minister to aught, save our pure, chaste love of truth. This fond belief begotten in secret by expediency, has been nourished by fear, and prudential considerations are the staff of its old age. Oh! that we had the courage to look things in the face. We have valued it for what it could do for us, rather than for what it is. And have we missed our reward?

That an external authority may be of a certain service and benefit is not to be denied. Where all is open, flagrant outrage of order, it may restrain outward action and secure a certain superficial regulation;—a service not to be lightly esteemed, both for the protection it affords to the weak, and for the reflex influence the outward decorum may exert upon the character. Considered in its outward and social results, the establishment of order, by whatever means, is desirable. Whether it at all improve the aggressor, it at least provides protection and safety for the oppressed. But, in relation to the offender, the operation of enforced order may be in one or other of two directions, according

to the class of character to which it is applied: it may be hardening or reformatory. It may provoke resistance and an assertion, with intensified energy, of individual determination; or it may meet with compliance, and may mould to its pattern. In the one action it only accelerates the catastrophe of utter dethronement of law and extinction of liberty in the individual; and even in the case of its best and most softening effects, the order of Nature is inverted; and the only good it can do is to awaken the inner life to take up its rightful position, in other words, to render the external authority useless, by securing the outward observance without its assistance. Its position and character, therefore, in reference to the repressed power, is but temporary and provisional, if not altogether without advantage, while, in the general system, it occupies the place only of a substitute and makeshift.

In religious matters, however, there can be no such variety of action. As religion is personal, and not between man and man, the element of constant good, which, in the social problem, may be traced in enforced law—to wit, the protection of the aggrieved—is here out of the question; and, in its bearing on the individual on whom the rule is imposed, an outward conformity can have no inward beneficial reaction; because outward life, which, in the social consideration, is the issue and consummation of the law's action, forms no part of religion; and while an outwardly moral conduct has its value, from whatever motive it may proceed, the rites and ceremonies of religion, if performed only in compliance with external authority, and unless they are but an utterance of the hidden spiritual life, are worthless, if not worse, by being and begetting a species of hypocrisy. Any reflex influence it may exert is detrimental.

Here consequently, either way, whether it call forth opposition or is submitted to, its tendency is injurious—and in the case of submission especially so; for, what is the necessary mode of its imposition?

In establishing a social order, brute force may be employed: conformity, with the alternative of physical suffering, is proposed; and if a man cannot be compelled to obey, he may be walled in from disobeying; but within the sphere of the spirit, force is of no direct avail. By torturing the flesh, by threats, or by bribes and seductions, we may subdue him to the profession of certain religious doctrines, but by no such means can we make him really believe them. Persecution wielded by the material hand of Might, may be a most outrageous violation of civil rights and individual liberty, but can effect no direct entrance within spiritual precincts, and is therefore, although proceeding on the ground of a profession of faith, really outside religion altogether, and falls to

be considered rather as an invasion of civil than of religious liberty. While certain forms of word or deed, held as of religious import, are taken as the occasion to call it forth, yet it has nothing of religion in its own nature and operation. In a certain sense it is a curtailment of spiritual freedom; for, from the harmonious and sympathetic constitution of human nature, as a whole, expression is, in a manner, the natural complement of the spirit's action. Without utterance nothing is complete and co-ordinate with general life, but seems to belong to the generations yet unborn into the world of form. The genial atmosphere favourable to full expansion is wanting, when expression is denied. Still the real and immediate limitation of spiritual freedom takes place, only when the unfolding of the Spirit's own law is interfered with, and for this, something more subtle and penetrating is necessary than vulgar force or coarse materialism. The world of thought and feeling can be fought only by like powers. External authority can obtain internal application only through the instrumentality of the mind itself. A traitor within the camp is required here to impose the yoke, and in such imposition consists true direct mental bondage.

Spiritual bondage consists in the soul's action being controlled by a rule, if not originating in the mind itself, yet applied through the intervention of one of the mind's own faculties, which, though internal to the man, is external to the spiritual organ. Thus sense may completely overlie and stifle spiritual life, so that the unseen is treated as the unreal, the doubtful, the unsubstantial. Symbolism is elevated from its secondary and ministering place, to be essential and primary. Sinai has no glory, unless crowned with the terrible manifestations of physical power. Miracles are cogent, not the still small voice. The prevalent form in our own time is perhaps the substitution of logic and calculation for faith, the inability to believe, the glory and boast of not believing, save what is proved; and the introduction of futile syllogisms into fields that underlie the deepest premiss, and mock the widest notion; and the blundering attempt to bring within the measuring line of the understanding, the illimitable, the infinite, all that belongs to the soul;—which, the further conceptionally traced, becomes only the more untraceable, and issues ever into profounder and more awful faith-and soul-nourishing mysteries.

The revolt from such a tyranny may not secure true freedom and unimpeded action of the native law, but it will, at least, effect immunity from that particular yoke, and give assurance of a vitality and vigour which may be hoped eventually "to work out its own salvation." The danger is that common to all violent reactions—that the extreme servitude may be recoiled from only for an excess of license. Rejecting the cramping form illegiti-

mately imposed, the spirit may spurn all order and restraint: bursting its prison-doors, it may rush forth in fear and disgust at any limitation of the expanse, and wander homeless. How many, cooped up within creeds too narrow for their expanding souls, have escaped, not to fitter habitations, but to dwell desolate among the tombs. Yet, even in such cases, there is much ground of hope; they have life and strength; and the impulses of their own nature, which urged them forth from their bondage into exile, may bring them back, after weary wanderings in the wilderness, to their fatherland. The prodigal may return, and in the home of his birth become a truer son than his brother, who never left it. Hence at once the prevalence of what is called the infidelity of our times, and the hopeful and healthful character by which much of it is distinguished. Vigorous and earnest minds disdain the circuit prescribed to them, and with centrifugal impetuosity rush forth at a tangent, from which, haply, they may in time deflect into curves of wider sweep suited to their natures; and although we should not be able to trace them falling into regular orbits, is not even this independence a token of something better than mere passivity and negativeness? It at least shows life and power, which may yet be regulated and legalized; and of such a consummation it gives the greater promise, that this outburst is referable to the elasticity of the inner law to resist compression. It is the full tide of life breaking forth, and cutting out a channel for itself—which is surely better than that its waters should stagnate, pent up and still. There is no greater mistake than to class much of the present rejection of popular forms of religion with the superficial, heartless, thoughtless, free-thinking of a former century. It is often a mark of fundamental soundness and robust spiritual constitution. Unspeakably sad and distressful were it ultimate and final; yet, when not manifestly passing into anything more mature and perfect, may it not often be a pause or arrestment (by a sudden and, to our eyes, untimely withdrawal of the process from our ken) in the advance towards perfect life, rather than any real permanent aberration from it?

Passive acquiescence, on the other hand, when the inherent strength sinks under the despotic sway, has little to redeem or alleviate its evil. For whatever the enactments of the foreign rule, free natural growth is impossible. True liberty consists in such a relation, as provides the external condition necessary for the legitimate operation of internal law. Dictation, therefore, to our spiritual nature from any source extrinsic to itself—whether in the result differing widely or not from the working of its own law—is, in principle, and abstractly considered, quite contrary to freedom. The greater the divergence, of course, the greater the evil. But how coincident soever in the resulting objective action, the

very principle of liberty is outraged, when the basis and origin of that which regulates the action is external. The vital principle is transferred from the soul to something without it, in other words, all real life in the soul is suppressed, and it reduced to the condition of a puppet and an automaton, and this, equally, whether the automatical movements be in close imitation of the natural action or the reverse. The very idea, therefore, of spiritual freedom is ignored, and equally ignored, whether we constitute the Pope, or the Bible, or anything else, the authority for our spiritual development. Nothing but the laws of the soul's own divine constitution can legitimately authorize its action; any impression or controlling influence from without, save such as it is of its own nature to receive, and which, by that adaptation to its nature alone, is ratified, can prove only an interference with the operation of its normal energies, and a cause of deformity. It is not the mere abstract idea of liberty which is set at nought. That is something: truth is precious in and for itself. But the practical working is altogether injurious, and so far from calling forth and training the spirit's life, crushes and distorts it. Let the authority be in the interest of the most perfect form of spiritual development, its influence is baneful. The attainment of such a development is desirable, but not by such means. By such means, in fact, it cannot be attained *as a development*; the form would be a thing imposed, not unfolded. It would, therefore, be a form put on it, but not its form, and, therefore, a form through which no quickening life could circulate. The principle of non-intervention is as sound here as in politics; it is essential to all liberty that no one power shall dictate to another. Any attempt to force the constitution of any State upon another has ever proved fruitless, if not disastrous. However sound its principles, however skilfully contrived its machinery, it will, at the best, hamper and lie as a clog upon the free energies of any other people, than that out of whose national life it has sprung. Most assuredly, there are eternal principles of government, and what is essential can nowhere, and under no circumstances, from what is good be wanting; because humanity is one. But not only, along with what is radical and essential, must each particular case have its own varying complement of the adventitious and circumstantial, but the degree in which, at any time, and under any circumstances, the necessary and universal can healthily find development in different cases, cannot with impunity be interfered with; so here, as elsewhere, it is wisdom and duty to

"Trust the spirit

As sovran Nature does, to make the form;
For otherwise, we only imprison spirit,
And not embody. Inward evermore
To outward."

Still while the real moulding constructive power lies within, it is of the nature of life to derive nourishment, and even means of subsistence, from without; while the nature and amount of food, as well as the forms into which it must be elaborated, to become instinct with life, depend on the inner vital principle itself, it again is dependent on what is out of itself for the means of support and growth. It is nothing self-included, independent, and exclusively subjective, that is argued for. The divine life must be within, supreme, welling up from the inscrutable and infinite depths, where our being has its root; but the means and conditions of its manifestation, work, and culture lie beyond and about itself. Whatever can contribute to the attainment of these ends, therefore, must not be neglected or undervalued. Every vehicle of enlightenment, of strength, of growth, is to be welcomed, and used with thankfulness; and it is in this capacity that the Bible finds its true place and service. This, and not that of an infallible canon, is its rightful relation to us; and in such a relation it is a pearl beyond price.

Such a position and agency, alike the constitution and requirements of man, and its own nature, assign to it. It claims an oracular character, no more, than the freedom of our souls could admit such a claim. It nowhere assumes to be an infallible canon, but line upon line would teach us otherwise. It has neither the subject-matter, nor the tone, and form of an inflexible standard and absolute guide. Much the greater portion of it could not by any exercise of ingenuity be represented, or misrepresented, as a fixed, stereotyped pattern, after which to conform human life. A large portion is devoted to the history of a marvellously privileged, but withal a very wicked nation. It contains the narrative of the lives, the doings and sayings, the thoughts and utterances of men of like passions as ourselves; and of one Life "in all things made like unto his brethren," yet "without sin;" but even this, only as seen through the vision of men themselves sinful. It abounds in passages both of national history and individual biography, which we dare not imitate, and which can teach us only as implied warnings. It lays before us alike the good and the bad, and appeals to our own consciences to discriminate, and to approve or disapprove. In straightforward terms it relates to us the domestic history of Isaac and his family, but leaves us to form our own thoughts, and draw guidance for ourselves, from the picture of the weak, deceived old man, of the artful wife, and unjustly partial mother, of her apt son, the subtle supplanter, and of the bold, manly, reckless hunter. It shows us Jacob, the exile and adventurer, outdoing by his patient affection, and not too scrupulous worldly shrewdness, the insincerity and avarice of Laban. It shows us Jacob, the successful man, of calculating spirit and mean heart,

conscious of his past injustice, seeking by gifts to appease the wrath, the full-hearted, forgiving Esau, does not cherish. It tells us of David, the man according to God's own heart, the murderer, the adulterer. It records his struggles against sinfulness, his failings, his penitence, his exultation, his "*suspiria de profundis*," but gives us no reason to suppose that all he spoke, and wrote, or sung, was true and pure, any more than all he did and thought. It reveals a centre Life, the wonder and the joy of ages—One who spake, indeed, with authority, yet appealed ever to the latent life and suppressed law—of which he himself was the hidden Head and Fountain—that yet lingered within the breasts of those about him, making them still human. We see in it the little band He had chosen, dimly, imperfectly, falsely conceiving the truth, painfully struggling towards its apprehension. Farther on, we find them differing, quarrelling among themselves; but it offers no empire for their disputes. It never warns us that although they in their own lives erred, although they sometimes taught their contemporaries wrong, it was impossible they should leave to posterity anything but unblemished truth. On the contrary, in it they argue and address themselves to our own power of discussing the truth, instead of enunciating verities to be accepted implicitly as such, and to which natural faculty has no relation. As a canon it has no clear line of demarcation. Many writings, which on its own testimony are of equal authority, and, indeed, on some points are quoted as its authority, are lost. As a perfect, infallible canon it is therefore incomplete; and, as in some parts it is deficient and secondary, so, it has often been thought to include more than it ought. By far the greater portion of it has no direct didactic statements. Much is certainly highly figurative, much is open to question, as to whether figurative or literal, much is hard to be understood, if not unintelligible. Not only are the matter it contains, the forms in which it presents that matter, and the tone in which it addresses us, unsuitable to an infallible canon, but it contains statements impossible and inconsistent with well ascertained facts, and is even self-contradictory. To impose such a set of writings on us as an infallible absolute *norma* of our faith, is as tyrannical towards the human mind, as subversive of the real uses and value of the Scriptures.

But these features, which as much disqualify it from being an infallible rule, as such a rule is unnecessary and undesirable, in no wise render it less adapted to the uses for which it is required and intended. Quite the contrary. The life-law, overborne and silenced, cannot be stimulated and roused to self-assertion by a mere rule, however perfect, but only by the pleadings of the same law, working more freely in a corresponding sphere; and

this is what the Bible, as being the words of "holy men of old who spake, moved by the Holy Ghost," displays to us. Every good and just man, in a greater or less degree, shows us the same thing, and so far his life is an evangel. The Bible is the collected records of such lives, or rather it exhibits such lives in contact and conflict with all that is evil and at enmity with their law, now overcome, now triumphant, and working out that law in various degrees, from—it may not be said who is lowest—to that Life, which was the fulfilling of the law, the victory over Death and the Adversary. It has no specialty in kind. But, that it shares its character in common with all the gifts of our great Teacher, cannot detract from its dignity or degrade its office or efficiency. Its glory is, that in doing this common work it rises conspicuous above all else, in that it does it in measure beyond comparison. It is special, and stands *per se* in its teaching, not because there is any reason to believe its dogma alone authoritative and infallible, but because, as a matter of experience, it accomplishes the end altogether incomparably. And this it does, just because it is the accumulated expression of the noblest fulfillings of humanity's law, which our race, in its progress of millenniums, has achieved. Not by its enforcement as a rule of faith and practice, at once necessary and perfect, not by its being professed as an indispensable and unfailing instrument of salvation, not by its being fastened by any cord ever so finely intellectual, and worn as an amulet, can it do any good. It can prove a means of eliciting law into actual life, only by its own appeals to the law. The seeing the law more perfectly fulfilled in another can teach us, only in so far as it is recognised to be such. ●

Wholly at variance with this is it, that ourselves or another should argue us into its implicit belief, and the necessity of its unqualified acceptance. That it thus by the understanding should be presented and applied to the soul, is to supersede and paralyse spiritual life. What is desired is to nourish and stimulate that life, and the Bible is offered as the food God has given for this purpose. Such an end it can subserve, only through the spontaneous acceptance and appropriation of it—not as it is crammed into us, but as it is digested and assimilated. But in this, reference must be had to the condition of the recipient. St. Paul himself warns us to discriminate between those who, as babes, require milk, and those to whom, as grown men, strong meat is suitable. Food—even wholesome food—may, under certain conditions and to certain constitutions, prove in effect little else than poison. So far as it is unassimilated and incapable of assimilation, its introduction must be injurious. Not only must we avoid the presentation of what is noxious and false, but we must be

careful against urging home upon ourselves or others, by weight of any authority, even what is true, if it fails to be apprehended as such. What we cannot recognise as truth, whatever it may be, is to us, until we can so recognise it, practically untruth; and to press it—however exalted and pure others may see and feel it to be—by force of argument, that is, by the authority of the understanding, on a power to which the understanding has no title to dictate, is not to foster, but to do utter violence to our love of truth—to do our best to trample it out, and to replace it by a love of opinion. If anything in the Scriptures, therefore, contradict our higher intuitions, it must be impossible to produce conviction that such a statement comes from God, unless the whole order of our being be perverted and overturned, in the subjection of these intuitions—these whisperings of God to the soul—to the mere notional understanding. Let evidence, for example, be ever so accumulated, it can yet afford no proof that the prophecy of Deborah, in what appears to many its obvious meaning, is of divine inspiration, so long as God gives the power to believe in Himself, as just and righteous. Whenever conviction ensues, faith is so far lost in God, as “the Judge of all the earth who will do right,” or power is so far lost, to recognise and appreciate moral distinctions. To require of ourselves, if ever such a collision should occur, to ignore our most undeniable beliefs, to silence the deepest utterances of “the man within the breast,” to set at defiance the most imperious dictates of conscience, and disregard the most urgent claims of duty, in compliance with any writing, the authority of which is established only on the lower basis of cumulative evidence, is abject slavery—is a *religio*, not to Truth and Right, but to the usurped supremacy of our own understandings—at the best, to a symbol which, however good in itself, when worshipped becomes an idol.

This, as it is the degradation of what is noblest in man, is the deepest of all slavery, and the encouragement and furtherance of it, the most terrible of all persecution. It may be the least palpable, but only because so insidious, the more to be dreaded. Against physical compulsion, even when submitting, a man may inwardly protest. The soul may be turned towards Jehovah, while the body is bent in the House of Rimmon. But when the mind is enslaved the protesting power is itself in fetters. Who can reckon the nights of anxious tossing and the days of sorrow and self-torture, or tell of the settled gloom and despair, the misery and the madness, of the crime, the mortal anguish, and the lost lives this slavery has caused? It is, indeed, a thralldom to which a man, while true to himself, can never be reduced, and so far, therefore, his freedom is in his own hands. But others may repress healthy efforts, and tighten the cords. His weakness

or want of balance may be taken advantage of, and it may be, with the most benign intention, turned against himself. It is a slavery and persecution which no civil enactment, no law but the law within, can prevent, because it presents no tangible result to be seized and dealt with as an offence. There cannot be free intercommunication between man and man, and the mutual exercise of intellectual and moral influence, without suasion to evil being as possible as suasion to good—destruction as instruction. We cannot enact that all teaching shall be of a given character, and tending in a given direction. Thus to legislate would presuppose our knowledge and agreement as to what alone is good, and what alone could operate for its furtherance. Nor could any political machinery reach and test personal influence. This life is too fine and delicate to be safely guarded by Act of Parliament. The greater need, therefore, for jealousy and watchfulness against any encroachment with which it may be threatened. The influence to enslave must just be met by a counter effort, with the same powers, to deliver. All that the free can do is to exhibit in themselves the free and joyous working of constitutional law, appealing with quickening sympathy to the repressed law in others. The constitution of man owns a spirit of progress, and reason and conscience must advance to the perfect assertion of their inalienable rights and liberty. Philosophy, in her progress towards emancipation, in her first successful rising, fell subject to the authority of antiquity, in throwing off the yoke of the Church. Religion, perhaps not unnaturally, oscillated from the same bondage in the first instance, only into another servitude, from which it must in turn recoil. It has certainly not been prompt to make very vigorous movement in the direction of that recoil. Any attempt has been either partial in its nature and aim, or confined to a few scattered rebel minds. Yet mutterings of the coming struggle have been heard, and the crisis seems approaching for the determination of "this momentous question, which," as Dr. Arnold says, "involves in it a shock to existing notions, the greatest, probably, that has ever been given since the discovery of the falsehood of the Pope's infallibility. Yet it must come, and will end, in spite of the fears and clamours of the weak and bigoted, in the higher exalting and more sure establishing of Christian truth."

ART. IV.—MODERN POETS AND POETRY OF ITALY.

1. *Opere complete de Ugo Foscolo.* Florence. 1857.
2. *Rime scelte di vari poeti moderni.* Parigi. 1857.
3. *Poeti Italiani.* •Lugano. 1859.

THERE was a time when the literature and the arts of Italy were at once the pride of the nation they adorned and the wonder of surrounding lands. Such a galaxy of genius the world had scarcely ever beheld and may perhaps never see again. The general belief, indeed, is, that the intellectual, like the material glory of the peninsula is decayed and faded to revive no more; that after the splendour of the age of Dante, and the scarcely less marvellous Renaissance of that of Ariosto, this race, at once so gifted and so unfortunate, must be content to live on the memory of the past; that they must not even *hope* to serve for a third time as models for mankind. Yet surely it is rash to hazard such a prediction when we remember how strange and marvellous have been the destinies of Italy; to what a height of power and splendour she has more than once soared, after having sunk, as it seemed, into the depths of ignominy. In one form or other she reigned for centuries supreme over Europe. At the very moment when her pride and power as a nation vanished she shone more resplendent than ever in the sphere of intellectual greatness, and imposed her literature and her arts on the civilized world. So long as freedom was not utterly destroyed upon her soil, that soil resounded with the immortal strains of her poets. Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, succeeded each other on the breach. When the spirit of liberty was broken, when speech was forbidden, the genius of Italy took refuge in sculpture, painting, and music, all of which expressed, under a thousand varied forms, what words dared no longer utter, and if the two former now are mute for a while, music, that inarticulate language of the soul, still breathes forth the complaints and the aspirations of the land, which has produced so many great men and accomplished such mighty deeds. Shall we believe that a nation which, at the interval of centuries, has given to the world a Virgil, a Tasso, an Alfieri, a Galileo, a Columbus, can have sunk into complete intellectual decay? "Let us not insult the genius of Italy because it slumbers," said a celebrated orator.* "The immortal

* Lamartine.

spark which once lighted it may have become faint and weak, the armed heel of foreign despots may have trodden it down, but it cannot extinguish it, for it is immortal! It needs but the breath of independence to shine forth again in all its ancient lustre." When these words were spoken Italy scarcely gave a sign of life, either national or mental; she seemed crushed, body and soul; wrapped in a sort of lethargic slumber. Since then she has awoken, and who shall deny how much there is glorious and encouraging in that awakening? Who shall deny that the Italian spirit has become strengthened by endurance, ennobled by suffering, ripened by reflection? We have only to study her literature during the last half century to perceive, that if no mighty genius has sprung up to emulate the fame of a Dante, some durable conquests have been won; that a path has been opened which will probably lead to greater things hereafter. This literature likewise proves beyond a doubt the ever-increasing aspirations of Italy towards unity and independence. These once achieved, may we not hope that the "immortal spark will again shine forth?" We are well aware that liberty alone will not create poets, that poetry owes its being to some mysterious and intangible law which has hitherto baffled our researches. The eras of Pericles in ancient, of Lorenzo di Medici and of Louis XIV. in modern times, may perhaps be adduced as an argument that despotism, far from crushing genius, often fosters it. We will not here enter into the much-debated question how far the lustre to which literature attained at these different epochs may be owing to the era of freedom which preceded them. Be this as it may, the plea will not hold good in the present instance. In all the cases adduced, the potentate, however absolute, was a national potentate, linked to the people whose destinies he swayed; his interests were identified with theirs; he was, in their eyes, the personification of the realm, his glory, far from crushing, inspired their imaginations, for it shed a new splendour on the land to which both equally belonged, the ruler and the ruled. Moreover, under all, literature enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom, and its votaries, courted and honoured, basked in the sunshine of supreme favour. But show us, in any age, *one* instance where genius has preserved its energy unscathed in a nation bowed, like Italy, beneath a foreign yoke (for Austria, we know, has been, for forty years, the real mistress of the peninsula), more especially where the oppressors are inferior in civilization and refinement to the oppressed. When, too, it is remembered that every approach towards liberty of word or thought has been denied, alike in Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome, or Modena; that literature and learning have been systematically persecuted, and every noble aspiration punished as a crime, we shall wonder, not that the intellectual condition of Italy has

fallen to so low an ebb, but rather that she has still preserved so much vitality in her degradation.*

The contempt which, rightly or wrongly, has fallen on the Italians as a people has extended itself to their literature. In England especially it is little valued; our poetic affinities incline us towards the north, towards Goethe, Schiller, and the poets of the "Fatherland." Another reason for the neglect into which Italian poetry has fallen among us, is the difficulty attending its study. The Italian minstrels have adopted a language peculiar to themselves, abounding in the most daring inversions, which demand a long and careful study, and for this few of us have either time or patience. So we turn coldly away and take for granted what detractors both abroad and at home are continually repeating, or have at least been repeating till the present moment, that Italian modern poetry is weak, affected, and inflated; even as we have been in the habit of repeating, that modern Italians, the countrymen of Balbo, Gioberti, Manin, Cavour, are all either triflers or conspirators, opera-singers or revolutionists.

Manzoni is known to us, principally if not solely, by his "Promessi Sposi." To Leopardi's productions we are almost strangers. With two of the Italian poets of the nineteenth century alone are we familiar, Silvio Pellico and Ugo Foscolo. The long and cruel imprisonment of the former, and its narrative in his "Prigioni," have done more to win him our sympathies than his verses; all his compositions, though distinguished by exquisite taste and delicacy, are deficient in force and virility. His "Francesca de Rimini," still one of the most popular of Italian tragedies, owes its success rather to the elegance and purity of style than to loftiness of sentiment or development of character. It is possible, indeed, that had he not been struck down by the implacable vengeance of Austria, in the very bloom of manhood, that his tone of mind might have acquired more strength and vigour. His gentle spirit was completely broken by suffering and captivity; and from the moment of his deliverance to that of his decease, but a few months ago, he remained in complete retirement, abjuring all publicity, political and literary. Despite the favour which the "Prigione" still enjoys, and deservedly, from the touching simplicity of the recital and the evangelic resigna-

* As soon as Austria became mistress of Lombardo-Venetia in 1814, all liberty of word and thought was at once suppressed. "I want obedient subjects, not men of science," was the observation of Francis I. When the celebrated astronomer Oriani was presented to him by the members of the Institute of Milan he turned his back on them! The documents lately discovered in the Archives of the Duke of Modena, and published by order of the provisional government, prove how well the minion of Austria follows the example of his master.

tion of the narrator, the impression is, on the whole, painful and enervating. We pity that long and cruel martyrdom, we admire that utter abnegation of human will, but we feel, with a gifted contemporary,* if Italy had *such* virtues only, all hope for her would be over—that nothing would remain but to weep upon her tomb. No! the duty of the patriot is not to bow humbly to injustice; it is to renew in the holy cause of liberty and independence the protestation of Galileo in that of truth—"E pur si muove."

Widely different from Silvio Pellico was Ugo Foscolo. Haughty, vain-glorious, but resolute and undaunted, he formed a striking contrast to his no less gifted friend and contemporary.† Foscolo's correspondence, first published in 1854, while dissipating to a certain degree the haze of romance which had hitherto encircled him, elevated his character in the eyes of all right-thinking men. It showed him as he really was; neither the ideal hero to which his partisans had exalted him, nor the sensual debauchee his enemies had painted him. To a certain degree, indeed, he partook of both characters; he was at once the stoic and the sybarite, the martyr and the man of pleasure. His genius and his virtues were alike of a high order, but they were alike incomplete. His private life is far from stainless; in youth he was the sport of every passion, in riper years he was often headstrong, imperious, querulous; but these were only spots on a nature of noble mould. To Italy his name will ever be sacred, and with justice; for he loved her with no common love, "not wisely," perhaps, "but too well," and rather than seal what he believed, and rightly, was her death-warrant, he sacrificed all! country, home, friends, and fortune!

Foscolo was born at Zantè, of one of the most ancient of Venetian families. One of his ancestors had been generalissimo in the last Candian war. But, like the city of the sea herself, little was left him save the recollection of former greatness. Foscolo's mother was a Greek, and the boy was nourished from his cradle in the love of liberty and democracy. Burning for action, he fretted impatiently at the listless existence to which he seemed condemned. Venice, indeed, was still an independent state; but the degree of decrepitude and corruption into which she had fallen made the young republican blush to call himself her son. So stood matters when the waves of the French Revolution broke over Italy. Foscolo hailed it with rapture, and no sooner was the Cisalpine republic proclaimed than he flew to

* Edgar Quinet.

† Silvio Pellico had been the intimate friend of Foscolo in youth, despite the dissimilitude of their natures, and before his own captivity he frequently aided the exile by sending him sums of money under the pretext that they were the profits of his works.

breathe this new air of liberty. The treaty of Campo-Formio, by which his native city was handed over to Austria, inspired him with little indignation and still less sympathy; *his* fatherland was not Venice, but Italy; not Italy as she really existed, but as his imagination loved to picture her, regenerated, united, and independent. Entering into one of the corps formed by the French, he shared in the perils and glories of the campaigns of 1797-98, distinguished himself at Castiglione, and was promoted to the rank of captain at Marengo. After a while, however, his enthusiasm for the French began to cool; he found them less convenient allies than he had anticipated; the hopes they had excited were but partially fulfilled. So, laying down the sword, he turned to more peaceful pursuits. To wile away the time—perhaps to forget his deceptions political and amorous, for the latter were not wanting—he began to write a romance. It was a safety-valve for his impetuous nature. The leading idea and the title of his work he owed to chance. A student in the University of Padua, Jacopi Ortis by name, had committed suicide; the cause was enveloped in mystery. By some it was attributed to baffled love, by others to despairing patriotism. Foscolo, whose philosophy partook more of the Pagan than of the Christian element, had always maintained the right of man to put an end to his existence when it became a burden. He selected Ortis as his hero, because he found it easy to identify himself with him, and thus give vent to his own burning and tumultuous thoughts. In many respects, Jacopi Ortis resembles Werther. But in the German romance, love, and love alone, absorbs the mind of the hero and drives him to self-destruction. In the Italian, that passion is shared by another not less ardent, patriotism. In “Werther” there are few incidents; nothing to draw our attention from the principal figures and the main action. Werther destroys himself because she whom he loves is the bride of another. Not so Ortis. There are in him two men, as in Foscolo himself. It is the phantom of an expiring country, as well as that of a rival, which places the dagger in his hand. Thus, there is not the same degree of universal truth in the Italian as the German romance. In every land and age there are men driven by disappointed affection to suicide, while those who are urged to the fatal step by despairing patriotism belong only to peculiar periods and to countries, happily few, bowed down beneath the iron yoke of foreign oppression. The success of the romance was immense, for it touched the two chords that vibrate the most powerfully in the human heart; but that success was confined to Italy. The popularity of “Werther” was European. Foscolo’s poems are less remarkable than his romances. They are powerful and fervid, like everything he wrote, but they are, generally speaking, turbid and exaggerated. From this censure,

however, we may perhaps except the "Sepulchri," a poem in "versi scolti," or unrhymed, composed in memory of his friend, Parini. Interment in cemeteries (a practice far more recommendable in most respects) outside the town had been substituted for the ancient custom of burial in churches or churchyards. Unfortunately those who do not leave sufficient behind to pay for a funeral monument are often confounded in the common crowd, and the very spot where their mortal relics lay forgotten. This was the case with Parini, who had died poor. The "Sepulchri" does not appear to us to merit all the eulogies lavished upon it. There is too little simplicity, too much erudition; allusions, mythological, historical, and literary, are heaped one upon the other; and these allusions are often so abstruse that the author is obliged to act as his own commentator. The verse, indeed, is exquisitely harmonious, and there are certainly here and there passages of considerable force and beauty, but they do not form the staple of the poem. The main characteristic is a reverent admiration, a deep regret for the days and the customs of antiquity. The author laments the lachrymatory vases, the "ambient flame," that, destroying the corruptible portion of the human frame, "left but its ashes to this earthly sphere." Our tombs, in the midst of shrubs and trees, watered with the tears of fond mourners and decked with flowers by loving hands, have no religious poetry for him. One of the most striking passages in the "Sepulchri" (in the original at least) is the following:—

Cypress and cedar mingled in the breeze
 Their faint perfume; o'er the sepulchral urn
 Bending eternal shade. The precious vase
 Embalmed the votive tear; devoted friends
 Sought in their loving care to steal a beam
 From the bright sun to cheer that night of gloom,
 For still the dying eye with lingering glance
 Turns to the orb of day. The last faint breath
 From the expiring bosom sighs for light.
 The murmuring fountains shed their silver stream
 On beds of violets and of amaranths,
 Which strew'd the funeral grass, and he who came
 To offer a libation on the tomb,
 Or whisper to the dead his secret woes,
 Inhaled a fragrance sweet as that which breathes
 In the blessed regions of the Elysian fields.

Foscolo's tragedies, though for a time most popular, are now nearly forgotten. The thoughts are noble and the language sonorous and eloquent, but the scenes and situations are generally forced and unnatural, and the personages deficient in warmth and passion. This, strange to say, is eminently the

fault of Italian tragedy. It was that of Alfieri himself, who, in his desire to avoid the reproach of effeminacy, exaggeration, or meretricious ornament, so often addressed to his countrymen, carried severe simplicity beyond even the limits the Greeks had assigned it. The outlines of his characters are always nobly and vigorously drawn, but they are often deficient both in relief and in colouring, while the excessive laconism and terseness which is the main characteristic of the great Piedmontese poet, prevents that development of the passion, that revealing of the inmost soul, which can alone excite and maintain the interest of the spectator. The tragedies of Alfieri are perhaps more fitted for the closet than the stage. Foscolo has not attained the *beauties* of his model, while he has exaggerated his defects; but as his dramas, whatever their subject, always breathe patriotic ardour and national enthusiasm, they obtained great, if ephemeral success. Foscolo had been appointed to the chair of eloquence instituted by Napoleon, and all seemed to smile on him, when he was called from his theatrical and literary success to take part in a more stirring drama. It was September, 1813. That gigantic power which had bade defiance to Europe had begun to totter beneath a mightier than mortal hand. Foscolo had not loved Napoleon; he had never concealed his feelings, but he was too clear-sighted not to discern all that wonderful man had done and was doing for Italy. Not only did he see great works accomplished, agriculture encouraged, commerce extended, but (it is to his honour that while rejecting the imperial favours he everywhere repeated the declaration) he beheld a powerful kingdom established in the very centre of Italy, the government of which was confided to the Italians themselves; he beheld a national army in a country which for fourteen centuries had possessed *none*, and six millions of Italians united beneath a standard which bore the national colours; he saw equal justice everywhere administered, men of letters protected, encouraged, seated at the council-board and at the senate. This was not, indeed, all that had been promised, but it was much, and Foscolo had the good sense to perceive that his countrymen, degraded and stupified by centuries of servitude, effeminacy, corruption, must be regenerated ere they could be restored to national unity or complete independence. He felt, therefore, that the fate of Italy was bound up with that of the Empire. He saw at once through the falsehood of the fair promises made by the Austrians and their allies. He lamented the blindness of his countrymen—he predicted the result. For himself, his duty was clear; he resumed the sword and joined the army under the Viceroy Eugene. After the fall of the kingdom of Italy, Foscolo offered his resignation. The regency of Milan replied by conferring on him the brevet of chef

d'Escadron. But he felt his part was over. From that moment till his departure for exile he remained a silent but sad spectator of those events which were to plunge his country in a misery and degradation deeper than she had ever before known. Meanwhile arrived the turning point in his own destiny. He was called on to take the oath of allegiance to Austria. With his sentiments this was impossible. Openly to refuse was dangerous. Nothing remained but to temporize. He affected to yield—ordered his uniform, and, seizing an opportunity, escaped over the frontiers to Switzerland. “My honour and conscience,” he writes, “forbid my swearing allegiance to Austria. My mother—you will not condemn me, for you yourself have inspired me with these sentiments, and bade me guard them untainted.” When he left his native soil, Foscolo’s literary career may be said to have terminated. True, his mind was full of vast projects—a history of contemporary Italy, a translation of Homer, epic poems, tragedies—all floated before him in bright array; but the necessity of providing for the wants of the present hour left him no time for their realization. After eighteen months’ residence in Switzerland, often reduced to the very depths of misery, he found his way to London. Here at least he could enjoy that for which he had so long sighed—the liberty of writing and saying whatever he pleased; but of what avail was this liberty to an exile without friends or fortune? “In England,” said Niebuhr, “the crime of not being wealthy is atoned for only by the continual and successful effort to become so,” and of the means of gaining wealth poor Foscolo was utterly ignorant. Proud and independent, he submitted to the direst privations rather than let his misery be known, and thus forfeit, as he said, the “title of a gentleman.” “I am living in a little country village to hide my misery from those who have invited me and continue to invite me; here poverty is a disgrace which no merit can wash out; it is a crime not punishable indeed by law, but pursued with so much the more severity by the world. Such a mode of thinking procures great advantages to the nation at large; but it prevents the unfortunate sufferer from seeking either aid or consolation; for he can do neither without exposing himself to humiliation.” In these last words lies perhaps the secret of Foscolo’s destitution. It would be surely injustice to our English hearts to doubt that among the admirers of the poet and the patriot, and there were many, some at least would have rejoiced in aiding him in his distress—but the general reverence for wealth which he saw around him had impressed him too forcibly, and he preferred the most cruel suffering to what he considered would have entailed degradation. He wrote articles for the Reviews; but he was compelled to compose in French, then have them translated at his own

expense into English, which absorbed a considerable portion of his profits. How often too, when he had put his thoughts to the torture, to express them in a foreign tongue, and had seen them torn to pieces by mercenary hands, he had the misery of finding his article rejected! He endeavoured to eke out a livelihood by literary publications, criticisms, by editions of the Italian classics, &c.; but his gains were small, and his disappointments frequent. Prudence, too, was not his cardinal virtue. If for a moment Fortune seemed to smile; he was too apt to count upon her favours for the future, and the expense of building a cottage in which he hoped to pass his declining years, put the finishing stroke to his calamities. He struggled manfully to fulfil his engagements, but in vain; and the author of "*Jacopi Ortis*," the colonel in the service of the kingdom of Italy, the professor of eloquence at the University of Padua, the celebrated poet, the eminent critic, was arrested and thrown into prison for debt. Considerable obscurity rests on this melancholy period of the poet's life. Utterly deserted he was not. We know that a few faithful friends rallied round him, but the blow was struck. The degradation was too much for that haughty spirit; he never recovered the shock. He expired the 14th of September, 1849. His remains rest in a little English churchyard at Chiswick. Foscolo's correspondence is the image of the man himself; sometimes full of passion, energy, firm and serious convictions; sometimes doubt, uncertainty, and discouragement. It is his very soul which he pours forth to his friends, by turns eloquent and graceful, grave and witty. It breathes a heart at once burning with patriotism, and easily seduced by love, pleasure, and vanity. In this correspondence—not meant for the public—we find much to admire, much to pity—little to condemn.

The destiny of Foscolo and, alas! of many of his compatriots, would seem at first sight to contain a terrible warning to all those Italians who conceive that the poet and the citizen are one, and who would seek to regenerate their country by ennobling and elevating her literature. Exposed to the gibbet or the dungeon, at best driven forth to exile, to poverty and neglect, their works proscribed, their families persecuted—such is the fate that has hitherto rewarded their efforts. Yet these efforts, far from slackening, have become each day more energetic. Let it be the consolation of the many who, like Foscolo, have endured and are enduring a living martyrdom, for daring to express noble and patriotic sentiments for their beloved country, that the sacrifice has not been in vain, either in a national or an intellectual point of view. Already Italian literature has entered on a new and more hopeful phase, even as the Italian character is acquiring more vigorous development. Those who start with the impression

that they shall find in its modern poetry no accents save of love and tenderness, of weak complaint, and ecstatic raptures, long-drawn sighs, and sentimental prettyisms, will be surprised to discover that, as a general rule, its present characteristic is brevity, force, and earnestness; that conciseness of expression is often carried to the utmost, even at the risk of marring poetic beauty. This is especially the case with the school of Leopardi, which seeks to model itself as closely as possible on the antique. In that of Manzoni more attention is paid to colouring; but even there all meretricious ornament is in most instances avoided.

It is not only as a poet that Leopardi has a claim to admiration. One of the most profound and subtle thinkers of his age, he united varied knowledge to the deepest and keenest powers of observation and reflection. As a classical scholar, he was almost without a rival, and more than one of his Greek odes might pass—for a moment at least, even in the eyes of the erudite—for those of Anacreon. The characteristic and the originality of his genius, consisted in the rare alliance of vast and positive acquirements with the fire of inspiration. Leopardi was born June 7th, 1798, at Ricabuta, a village in the vicinity of Ancona; the eldest son of a noble Romagnuol family, he received a careful education under the parental roof. His progress in his studies was marvellous; at eight years old he was already no contemptible master of Latin and Greek, and at the age when others are only studying dictionaries and grammars, he was a master of erudition. In 1814 he published commentaries on the life and writings of certain orators in the second century. The following year we find an essay on the Popular Errors of the Ancients, (*Saggio sopra gli errori popolari degli Antichi*), in which the various prejudices of the Greeks and Romans, as regards oracles, witchcraft, are treated, &c. &c., and it concludes with an ode to religion, the enthusiastic tone of which is in strong contrast with the incredulity of his later years.

Hitherto Leopardi's life had glided away in monotonous tranquillity. He had lived not in the present, but in the past, devoting his days and nights to the study of the ancients. Confined to his native village, he knew little of what was going on around him. The conquest of his country by the French; the establishment of a kingdom of Northern Italy; her prosperity and comparative independence during some brief years; her relapse into worse than her former degradation, had all occurred ere he had reached his sixteenth year, and had scarcely attracted his attention. A visit to the north of Italy in 1818 roused him from his apathy, but it also destroyed for ever the tranquillity of his soul. Other causes tormented him. Doubts as to the justice of that providence which could condemn his beloved country to so

cruel a fate, strengthened, unfortunately, by certain writings which fell into his hands, exercised a depressing influence on his mind. The trusting religion of his childhood changed into an incredulity which no argument could ever banish. Perhaps his delicate health, his personal deformity, the result of over-application in childhood, may have served, as with Byron, to embitter his mind. To this must be added the alienation of his father, who could not forgive his patriotic aspirations, and who, while rendering his residence at home unendurable, refused him the means of living elsewhere. At length, in 1822, Leopardi quitted his birthplace and repaired to Rome, where he obtained the commission of preparing the catalogue of the Greek library of the Barberini Palace. Here, too, he made the acquaintance of Niebuhr, who appreciated him as he deserved, and endeavoured to induce him to settle as professor at Berlin. But to Leopardi the name of Germany was associated with that of the oppressors of his country, and he at once rejected the proposal. Yet at Rome he was far from happy; perhaps wherever he went it would have been the same; the darkness was within. Compelled by the severity of his father to have recourse to his pen for support, he had little time for original composition. A few of his canzones appeared in 1827; marked by the rare purity, the nervous eloquence, the energetic conciseness which characterizes his style, and which renders all translation so incapable of conveying a just idea of its beauties. At the same time his "Essays on Morals" excited attention and admiration, though pervaded by that breath of scepticism which darkened all his existence. His health meanwhile became worse and worse every day, so that in 1830, when he was but thirty-two years of age, he was already able to study only two hours a day. His position was likewise most painful; his liberal opinions rendering him obnoxious to the government. By the advice of his physician, he established himself at Naples, where he slowly dragged on his existence till 1831, when he expired; consoled, however, by the devotion of a friend, whose whole life was spent in seeking to alleviate his sufferings, and whose name must be for ever associated with his, Giulio Ramiro.

Leopardi is at once the poet and the philosopher of grief. His is no affectation of despair. To feel certain that it is his own sorrows and sufferings he records, we need but read attentively certain of his verses, the "Quota dopo la Tempesta," the "Canto Notturmo," the "Ricordanze," or the pretended biography of Fillipi Ottonieri, in which he paints *himself* even as Machiaveli wrote his own history, under pretence of recounting that of Castuccio Castricani. It cannot be denied that this continual suffering, physical and moral, too often bounds his horizon and

lends a certain melancholy monotony to his verse, while his profound study of antiquity inclined him to regard with too much favour the condition of humanity in the days of paganism, to blind him to its demerits and exaggerate its advantages. The most celebrated of Leopardi's smaller poems—those poems on which his fame principally rests, are “Ultimo canto di Saffo,” exquisitely beautiful and touching; “Il Resorgimento,” an ode in which the very spirit of Dante breathes; “L'enfanto,” “La sera del dì de festa,” the well-known and often translated, yet untranslatable “Imitazione,” “Lungo del proprio ramo,” and the “All' Italia.” The latter is one of the few poems in which he gave vent openly to that patriotic anguish which darkened his existence, though its traces are sufficiently evident in the tone of deep sadness which pervades all his productions. It is in *versi sciolti*, his favourite measure. We venture to translate a few verses as literally as the different idioms of the two languages will permit:—

ALL' ITALIA!

Oh Italy, my country! I behold
 Thy columns, and thine arches, and thy walls,
 And the proud statues of our ancestors;
 • The laurel and the mail with which our sires
 Were clad. These I behold not—nor their *fame*.
 Why thus unarmed, with naked breast and brow?
 What means that livid paleness—those deep wounds?
 To heaven and earth I raise my voice, and ask
 What hand hath brought thee to this low estate,
 Who, worse than all, hath loaded thee with chains,—
 So that unveil'd, with dishevell'd hair,
 Thou sittest on the ground disconsolate,
 Hiding thy weeping face between thy knees?
 Aye, weep Italia! thou hast cause to weep!
 Degraded and forlorn. Yes, were thine eyes
 Two living fountains, never could thy tears
 Equal thy desolation and thy shame!
 Fallen!—ruined!—lost! who writes or speaks of thee
 But, calling unto mind thine ancient fame,
 Exclaims—Once she was mighty! Is this she?
 Where is thy vaunted strength?—Thy high resolve?
 Who from thy belt hath torn the warrior sword?
 How hast thou fallen from thy pride of place
 To this abyss of misery! Are there none
 • To combat for thee?—To defend thy *cause*?
 To arms! *Alone* I'll fight and fall for thee!
 Content if my best blood strike forth one spark
 To fire the bosoms of my countrymen.
 Where are thy sons? I hear the clang of arms,
 The din of voices and the bugle note;

Sure they are fighting for a noble cause!
 Yes, one faint hope remains—I see—I see
 The fluttering of banners in the breeze,
 I hear the tramp of horses and of men,
 The roar of cannon—and like glittering lamps
 Amid the darkening gloom—the flash of swords!
 Is there no comfort? And who combat there
 In that Italian camp? Alas, ye Gods,
 Italian brands fight for a foreign lord!
 Oh miserable those whose blood is shed
 Not for their native land—for wife or child,
 But for a stranger lord—who cannot say
 With dying breath—My country! I restore
 The life thou givest, and gladly die—for thee!

The school which boasts itself as the successor of Leopardi has its leader in Mr. Marchetti, a friend of Pius IX., and his Minister of Foreign Affairs during the perilous movements of 1849. Mr. Marchetti's principal work is "*Una Notte di Dante*," a poem in four cantos, which has been the object of considerable eulogy. Yet it is difficult to assign it a very elevated place in Italian poetry. The style indeed is rich and polished; but it is wanting alike in unity of design and vigour of execution. Far superior are his "*Canzones*," his odes and his sonnets. Despite the analogy of name, the canzone has nothing in common with the chanson or song; we must renounce all attempts of translating this word, for the *idea*, it awakes, is exclusively Italian. It was invented, it is said, in Provence, by Giraud de Borneil, the father of the troubadours. The canzone had no difficulty in naturalizing itself in that fair land of Italy, of which Provence was, so to say, an extreme province. Forgotten by the heirs of the troubadours, who adopted a style of poetry more in harmony with the genius of their new country, the canzone soon became in the hands of the Italians an instrument of inexpressible value for the utterance of graceful and poetic thoughts. Marchetti is not *par excellence* a patriotic poet, the independence of Italy is not the one great theme of his verse, but as with all his countrymen, it occupies a prominent place in his thoughts; he does not curse her tyrants, and urge her to break her fetters; but he dwells with tender melancholy on her ancient glories, and implores heaven to restore them. In his "*Canzone*" to the celebrated Archeologue Eannio Visconti, he exclaims:—

Upon the shores deserted and oppressed
 Stands Italy, once queen of realms, begirt
 With diadem of glory!—humbled now,
 And strewn with ashes—see, she wrings her hands
 And groans in agony—but it is well,
 At length she feels her suffering and her shame.

The canzone "a la tomba de Petrarca" is considered by the Italians themselves as one of the finest lyric poems which has appeared since the death of that illustrious writer. This praise seems to us exaggerated, but the verse is exquisitely harmonious, and the sentiment is just and touching. Mr. Marchetti acknowledges that the lover of Laura is the involuntary cause of that taste for exclusively amatory and effeminate poetry, which long prevailed in Italy, which has called down upon her so many contemptuous reproaches; but the fault he declares lies in those imitators without force or genius, who disdained the Latin works in which the poet had poured forth his noble thoughts, and devoted their whole attention to his sonnets. The canzone consists of a conversation between love and poetry. Both lament the degradation to which they have been respectively reduced, and mourn over that great master, the honour and glory of Italy.

Less celebrated, and yet perhaps more richly gifted than Marchetti, was Alexander Poerio, the brother of that Charles Poerio, whose virtues and sufferings, so nobly endured in the cause of constitutional freedom, have rendered him the object of admiration and sympathy throughout Europe. In 1815, Alexander Poerio, then thirteen years of age, left Naples as an exile with his family, and returned only in 1826, when the Neapolitan revolution gave some brief hopes of liberty and law. The momentary dream was soon quenched in blood by the bayonets of Austria, and the young Poerio was once more forced to fly his native land. He took refuge first in England, then in France, and afterwards in Protestant Germany, and thus had an opportunity of cultivating that marvellous gift of languages, which not even Cardinal Mezzofanti himself possessed in a higher degree. At Weimar, he became acquainted with Goethe, who though caring little enough about any nationalities, even his own, was touched by the misfortune, and attracted by the amiable qualities of the young exile. Restored to his country by the revolution of 1848, he shared in the brief hopes of Italian independence. Under the command of General Pepe, he hastened to the defence of Venice, and was one of the little band who followed their venerable chief into the besieged city instead of obeying the orders of a triumphant reaction. Wounded in the attack on Mestre, 23rd of October, 1848, he died at Venice the 3rd of November following. Few of those who mourned the patriot imagined that they had also lost a poet of no mean order. Exiled almost in childhood, condemned by the rigorous prohibition of which his works were the object throughout the whole peninsula to a very limited sphere of popularity, the modest Poerio was little known even in his native land. His productions cannot be called *chefs d'œuvres*; but they prove that the spark of inspiration existed, and was

kindled at a noble shrine, and his poem entitled the "Resurrection" is animated by the loftiest spirit of patriotic ardour. In another poem entitled "Speranze," and somewhat resembling in its tone the more celebrated "Terra dei Morti" of Giusti, he, too, protests against the declaration of foreigners that Italy is dead, and exclaims:—

"Why then these Austrian hosts which night and day
Watch every movement, menace every word?
How! Can the dead arise in armed array,
Can the dead seize the lance or wield the sword?

No, no! 'Tis not the silence of the grave,
Hark! o'er our shores the waves of hope are breaking,
We yet have hearts to beat and hands to save,
They only need the signal for awaking!

The iron tread of despot's armed heel,
The long and bitter martyrdom of years,
'Twas needed—all—the patriot's heart to steel,
Freedom must be baptized in blood and tears.

Italy dead! The memory of the past
Still bids us hopes of brighter days to cherish;
Strike then, my lyre! thy loudest note—thy last,
And bid her sons throw off the yoke, or perish."

Mr. Mammiani owes, perhaps, some portion of his literary renown to the part he has played in the history of his country. Born in the Papal States, he early consecrated his life to the cause of constitutional liberty, and when, in 1848, that cause obtained a momentary triumph, he was called on to put its principles to the test as Minister of Foreign Affairs to Pius IX. We know how brief was that golden era, when it seemed as if the Vatican was to become the centre whence the light of regeneration was to radiate over Italy. On the retirement of the Pope to Gaeta, Mammiani remained at his post; but finding his efforts to prevent the proclamation of the Republic unavailing, he retired to Piedmont, where he has become a distinguished member of the Legislature, and—happier than A. Poerio—has lived to see at least one great step towards the renovation of Italy. As a poet, Mammiani is distinguished rather for grace, delicacy, and exquisite finish of style, than for strength, originality, or vigour. The composition by which he is best known, is the "Violetta," an allegory, partly rhymed—partly in *versi sciolti*, presenting the religion of the past and the present—the former personified in the Angel Ithuriel—the latter by a sylph. The sylph entreats the angel to repose—

“ Upon this grassy bed
 Beneath the shadow of the spreading trees ;
 Meanwhile I'll fly where yonder violets shed
 Their balmy fragrance on the evening breeze,
 And steal their dewdrops sweet
 To bathe thy sacred feet.”

The angel entreats her rather to abandon *these childish sports*, and devote herself to prayer and contemplation. The sylph thus replies :—

“ 'Tis not alone to play,
 Oh angel pure and holy,
 That 'mid these bowery glades I stray,
 Or stealing to yon dwelling lowly,
 Enter upon a moonbeam bright,
 Or on a ray of morning light ;
 No ! 'tis to gaze upon a scene
 That seldom eye may hope to see,
 Charity, virtue—love serene—
 Worthy of heaven itself, or thee,
 None e'er approach that sacred spot,
 But half their sorrows are forgot ;
 An aged widow dwelleth there,
 A son of generous soul possest,
 A partner, gentle, modest, fair,
 With a sweet infant at her breast,
 To all she gives—but most to those
 Who dare not ask. The virgin rose
 Is not more pure.”

The angel smiles and turns his glance towards the house indicated to him. A young girl, who has been imploring alms for her sick mother, steps over the threshold. She holds in her hands a paper ; she opens it ; it contains a piece of gold. The maiden kneels down, pours forth a blessing on her benefactress. The angel repeats the benediction, and renouncing his desire of conversion, wings back his flight to heaven. The details of this little poem are charmingly touched, and the protestation in favour of the virtues and charities of daily life, as opposed to the excess of asceticism, and detachment from all human ties or interest which it too often inculcates, is at once moderate and energetic. But if the “ Viletta ” is the most celebrated, the “ Rispetti d'un Trasteverino ” is the most popular of Mr. Mammiani's compositions. In this love-song the author reproduces with skill and truth the peculiar features which mark the Roman peasant, his mixture of good-nature and haughtiness, love and ferocity. After having adjured his cruel mistress by every flower that blooms on hill or meadow to listen to his suit, the lover thus continues :—

"Thou art very wrong in sooth, my little heart,
 To scorn me thus because I am but poor,
 Nor have a sequin always in my purse.
 How! seest thou not that neither count, nor lord,
 Nor Monseigneur, give themselves airs with me?
 Because, by heavens! my blood is Roman blood!
 I am Roaster at St. Andrea, but what then?
 I do not owe a farthing in the world:
 If I am poor, I am honest; and can fast.
 I wear no mortal livery on my back;
 I am neither Palfrienier nor flatterer,
 And yet 'tis not, but that on gala days
 I have my plumed cap, my pointed shoes,
 My velvet jacket, and my silver chain,
 And thus array'd, I'd match me with the best.
 Show me the arm more deftly flings the ball,
 Or on the Corso stops the fiery steeds;
 Show me the foot that's lighter in the dance.
 In force and courage I will yield to none.
 As to my verses! like a stream they flow.
 Hadst thou but heard me, sweet, the other day
 I sang the fair Virginia—Scaevola,
 Who plunged his right hand in the Tuscan fire;
 I sang Lucretia and her deadly wrongs,
 Ay, to the very geese of the capitol!"

Feeling, however, that all this does not touch the heart of his belle, and suspecting a rival, he concludes with a terrible and characteristic menace, and asks what her feelings will be when she sees him brought back captive writhing under the hand of the executioner.

The disciples of Manzoni are more numerous than those of Leopardi. Happier than his illustrious rival, the venerable poet has lived to behold—not indeed the complete independence of his country, but at least a new and brighter phase in her destiny. Manzoni's principal work, the "Promessi Sposi" has been translated into almost every living tongue. His tragedies are feeble, but his "Carmagnuola" contains some magnificent bursts of lyric poetry. It is not however with him, but with his followers, that we have now to do. The most celebrated of these are Berchet and Giusti. By many they have been ranked together as poets of the same class, closely resembling each other in characteristics and in genius. To a certain degree this appreciation is correct, but to a certain degree only. Both indeed are patriotic poets. Both have devoted their muse to one great aim and end—the deliverance of their native land from a foreign yoke. But Berchet, in his passionate enthusiasm, beheld the sufferings of that country only; Giusti saw likewise its

errors. Berchet believed that independence would at once bring with it regeneration; Giusti, that regeneration must precede independence, and indeed was indispensable to achieve it. Berchet threw all the odium of his country's misery on the oppressor; Giusti rightly deemed that a portion at least might be referred to the vices of the oppressed—those vices generated by slavery and corruption. Both were the apostles of national liberty; but Berchet was the patriot only. Giusti was likewise the satirist, whose lash fell as unsparingly on his own compatriots as on the Germans and their myrmidons. If he detests the latter as tyrants and interlopers, he is indignant with the former for their cringing, cowardice, and hypocrisy. Giusti exercised perhaps a more lasting and more salutary influence over his countrymen; Berchet enjoyed the greater immediate popularity. Perhaps this popularity and the celebrity attending it may seem exaggerated to English readers. But to judge impartially on this subject, we must not forget the position in which Italian poets are placed, the difficulties which surround them. The public know these obstacles, and are not only indulgent but grateful to those who brave them. A mightier charm than that of mere literary merit attracts the reader towards the writer. He knows that here at least he shall find—often indeed timidly expressed or veiled under some ingenious allegory—the reflections of his own feelings: he knows, too, that beneath that which is uttered lurks that which dares not find utterance. Thus he accepts all, excuses all, forgets the errors of the poet in the enthusiasm of the patriot. Through her literature, at last, Italy has begun to realize in a certain measure that unity which seems to fly from her political destiny. Manzoni's glory belongs no less to Naples than to Rome; Leopardi is not a Romagnole but an Italian. This voluntary participation in glory as well as in suffering proves the depth and the truth of that aspiration to which—as existing events amply attest—every day lends new force and vigour. We must know all this fully to understand the almost rapturous enthusiasm of the Italians for the poetry of Berchet. To this may be added the charm of mystery which attached to his works. They long circulated in manuscript only, and among those whose devotion to the cause of their country was beyond the shadow of a doubt, while the author, suspected, tracked, and persecuted, wandered for twenty years an exile on a foreign soil. His suffering enhanced his popularity. Not to love Berchet—not to love him without restriction—was to be false to the cause of Italy. To judge of a writer with whom imagination is the mere instrument of conviction, we must begin by fully understanding, if not sharing, the feelings and sentiments of which he is the apostle. This will not blind us to the faults of the poet, but it will enable

us to read him rightly, to sympathize with him more completely, and to form a more correct estimate of his errors and his merits. It can scarcely be denied, that in beauty of poetic form, in wealth and variety of imagination, in finish of execution, Berchet is deficient. His simplicity sometimes degenerates into prosaism. Engrossed exclusively with his subject, he neglects the form in which he clothes it. Imagery he casts aside as vain and superfluous. Doubtless fine phrases do not make a fine poem. It is better to have noble and original thoughts carelessly expressed than mere commonplace truisms decked out in the richest garb that fancy can devise. A rough diamond is more precious than the best-cut pebble. But the real poet knows how to combine the two—the purest outlines with the most exquisite finish of detail, the noblest conception and the most perfect execution.

But despite his faults, Berchet is one of those whose works go to the heart, because they come from the heart. He wrote not for fame, not for wealth, but from the fulness of his own soul, overflowing with fire and patriotic ardour; and it was on this account that his feelings communicated themselves, as by an electric touch, to his readers. The most considerable composition of Berchet, and, in a literary point of view, perhaps the best, is "*I Profughi di Parga*," the Song of Parga, which narrates the struggles and the destruction of a tribe of Thessalonians, abandoned in 1819 to the Turks, we are ashamed to say, by the English, whose aid they had implored. Hellenism was then in fashion. Subjected like the Greeks to a foreign yoke, the Italians felt that sympathy for their sufferings with which the woes we have ourselves endured so easily inspire us, and the enthusiasm with which the poem was hailed was great and general. But it is his "*Romans*" which have most contributed to popularize his name, because there he defends no longer by allusion, but openly pleads the national cause, and depicts the political misery of Italian life. In "*Giulia*" he paints the anguish of a Lombard mother, who beholds the youngest of her sons forced to enlist under the Austrian banner, while the other, long exiled, returning at last in one of the many insurrections by which the Italians have sought to recover their liberty, finds himself in arms against that very brother whom he so fondly loves, and whose sentiments are as patriotic as his own. The "*Remorsa*" presents us with a picture, the truth of which will be recognised by all who have been introduced into Italian society, and which more than the most eloquent discourses attests what was, until this very moment, the melancholy condition of that unhappy land. A woman, young, pure, and lovely, yet shunned by her countrymen, because—almost unheard-of fact—she is the wife of an Austrian officer. We have ventured to present our readers with a few verses of this romance almost

word for word, in order to give some idea of the sentiments of the Italians depicted by their national poet, conscious as we are how much it must lose in so literal a translation.

She is alone, though many are near her,
Alone in the brilliant and glittering crowd,
With none to comfort, with none to cheer her,
Beneath some mysterious agony bow'd.
The mazy round is just beginning,
But none has asked her to join the dance;
Each word is gentle, each look is winning,
To her is turned neither word nor glance.

A lovely boy through the circle presses,
Close to his mother's embrace he flies,
And kisses away, with fond caresses,
The tears that tremble in those bright eyes.
The boy is fair as the summer morning,
Yet none on his infant glee have smiled;
No! the mother hating and scorning,
How can they look on the innocent child?

If ye should ask with kindly feeling,
Who is that lady so young and fair,
Sadly her beautiful face concealing
Under that cherub's golden hair.
See! how their brows are scowling upon her;
Hark! how their voices echo the word;
She has forgotten her country—her honour!
She has wedded an Austrian lord.

In these brief hours thus snatch'd from sadness,
In God's own temple—while prayers arise—
Amid a people stung almost to madness,
Tortured, imprisoned, surrounded by spies,
Still she can read in their darkened faces
The hatred their lips can scarcely suppress—
Cursed be she who with her embraces,
Dared her country's oppressor to bless!

In "Matilda" we are presented to a young girl who even in her dreams is tormented by the dread that to insure his own safety, her father may be induced to give her to an Austrian lord—a fear that exists only in her own heated imagination. She implores him not to mingle "the blood of the oppressor and the oppressed;" to remember Italy and its sufferings, not to force her into the arms of one "on whose odious visage, in whose harsh language, brutality, violence, and base submission to servitude are alike depicted." But of all his poems the "Fantasia" glows with the most patriotic ardour, the most passionate love for his country, the most intense hatred towards her oppressors. Here,

too, we find him urging the women of Italy to devotion to the holy cause. Berchet well knew that if the love of independence is to survive centuries of degradation and servitude, it is in the heart of women that it must take its deepest root; that the mother must instil it with her first lesson to her offspring; that the maiden must whisper it to her lover at the hour of betrothal; that the wife must recall it to her husband at the altar. But his exhortations were scarcely needed. Every page in modern Italian history tells us how truly Italian women have fulfilled the great task imposed on them. Who can forget the courageous devotion of the Countesses Bentevolia and Giusteniani, of the Marchese Casselli, the Countess Grisani, of Emilie Manin, Maria Corneli, and so many others of less note, but not less heroism? When bread ran short at Venice in the memorable siege of 1848-49, the women were the first to suggest that what remained should be reserved for the use of the hospitals; to give up their own portion to the defenders of the city; to endure every suffering, every hardship, rather than consent to a surrender. When the fire of the Austrian batteries drove the inhabitants of the quarter Santa Croce from their abodes, the women were seen calm and fearless among the falling bombs and blazing houses, with their infants in their arms, or in their hand, soothing their childish terrors. "They may force us to quit our homes, but they cannot terrify us," they exclaimed to each other. Everywhere the same spirit animates them, despite the brutal treatment with which the slightest expression of patriotism has been, and at Venice is still, visited, despite imprisonment and flagellation.*

Like Berchet's, Giusti's works for many years circulated only in MS. and anonymously. It was not till the year 1847 that he ventured to publish them, and, as may be supposed, they were suppressed the moment the Revolution was vanquished. Of his private life little is known, or at least little has come down to us. His biographer, Gualterio, represents him as a gay, joyous lad, often led into scrapes by his over-vivacity, and at times rambling in the meadows or reading Ariosto under the shadow of a tree, when he ought to have been poring over the Pandects. His course of study completed, he settled himself at Florence as a law-student. Celebrated as a jurisprudent he never became. Indeed, a career less fitted for his ardent spirit can scarcely be conceived. Italy, "flung back by Europe into its old servitude," but no longer soothed and flattered by those old traditional recollections which had once softened that servitude, fretted and chafed beneath

* Only three months ago a woman of Como was brutally flogged at Milan because her son had entered the service of Garibaldi. At this moment some of the noblest men and matrons of Venice are lingering in the prisons of Josephstadt on suspicion—of what?—of loving their country.

the yoke. Insurrections had broken out in various States; all had been crushed—not by the rulers of those States, but by Austria, to whom the maintenance of absolutism throughout the Peninsula was necessary for the security of her own dominion in Lombardy. Thus the rule of the House of Hapsburg became gradually as abhorrent to the rest of Italy as it was to Milan or Venice. It was felt that while it existed on that side of the Alps, good government, reasonable freedom, was out of the question. One common suffering brought about one common hatred and one common desire—that of national independence—a feeling awakened during the comparative regeneration of Italy under Napoleon, but which now took complete form and shape, never to disappear again.

The first of Ginski's productions which attracted public attention, though it circulated in MS. only, was the "Stivale," or Boot, a favourite illustration of the fate and fortunes of Italy.* The Boot narrates how, after passing for centuries from leg to leg, not one of which had the slightest right to wear it—after all sorts of ill-usage and patching—it has at last fallen into its present deplorable condition. It demands instant repairs, but neither

From German nor from Frenchman—both I scorn,
By my own countrymen I must be worn.
True, once there was a sire with giant foot,
Who might in me have had the strongest boot
Man ever wore, had he but stayed at home,
Nor 'mid the ice of Moscow dared to roam.
There a fierce snow-storm caught him one fine day,
And froze his limbs and stopp'd his march half-way.
And now 'twill be a costly work to mend me;
Take care, for heaven's sake, to whose hands you send me.
You see yourself I'm full of shreds and patches;
There's not one colour, one material, matches.
If you'd repair me, bid this botching cease,
And let my colours be all of a piece.

The ode on the Coronation of Ferdinand at Milan, in 1837, is in a different tone. Stern, passionate, full of the keenest irony, the most intense indignation. The occasion was one which may well have called forth every bitter feeling in the heart of a patriot. By a show of clemency, the promise of an amnesty, and

* During the Revolution of 1848, when Germany, thrilled with delight at her own acquisition of liberty, sympathized for a moment with the Italians, the journals were full of caricatures representing Ferdinand of Austria trying in vain to draw on an old weather-beaten boot, and exclaiming, in his Austrian patois, "Devil take the boot! For forty years it has gone on well enough with a few hard tugs now and then, but to-day it cracks and turns, bursts, and there's no managing it. Devil take it, I say!"

above all a magnificent display, the Austrian government had contrived to get up a strong momentary enthusiasm among the population—a sort of fictitious popularity—which could not, indeed, deceive any keen observer, but which, nevertheless, tended to reflect humiliation on the nation which could be induced by so poor a bribe to forget, if for a moment only, its sufferings and its wrongs. To attempt any translation in the brief limits assigned to us would be useless. The poet introduces, one by one, the Italian Princes who figured, or, as he believed, were to figure at that ceremony, loading them with the obloquy they merited; then, throwing aside the pen of the satirist and seizing that of the patriot, he passionately exhorts his countrymen to remember their triumphs, in other and nobler days, over the tyrant Barbarossa—to recal the glories of the past—to blush at their present degradation and the frenzy which he compares to that of the madman who “laughs while his clothes are in a blaze, and murders him who would extinguish the fire.”

From these lines, and many others, we perceive that at this period (1837), despite much partial discontent, though the dominion of Austria was hated by the more intelligent portion of the nation, the population at large did not thoroughly share this feeling, or at least did not venture to confess it. How great was the change in the next ten years!—in 1848, when all Italy, as if moved by one electric shock, rose, though in vain, to break her fetters. Are we wrong in attributing some portion of this change at least to the influence of Giusti and his brother poets?

Giusti did not confine his irony to political themes. The social condition of his country furnished him with matter enough for satire, and he did not spare the lash. The “Gingenello,” or “Rascality in Office,” is one of the most keen, fierce, cutting sarcasms ever directed against that swarm of vile, abject officials which a bad government so sedulously fosters, knowing that the surest means of enslaving a people is to debase and corrupt them.* Giusti was no democrat; he did not belong to that numerous class which overthrows existing forms of government and institutions without having anything ready to replace them. His political faith may be said to be contained in a short poem, supposed to be a reply to certain accusations:—“We are neither destructives nor conspirators. I can tell you in two words what we want: we want every son of Adam to count for a man—we want no Germans. We wish the heads of our affairs to have brains—we want no Germans. All, all we want is Italy for ourselves, and no Germans!” This poem is dated December, 1846. Another year,

* For a detailed account of Giusti's life and works we refer to a volume just published by the late F. Lushington—“Giusti: his Life and Poetry.”

and the hopes here expressed seemed more than realized. Giusti, who, thanks to his own prudence and the comparative mildness of the government of Florence, had hitherto escaped persecution, now ventured to publish a small volume of poems, and to append his name, adding a hope that, "instead of tolling the funeral bell, as he had hitherto done," he might now be enabled to ring the peal of rejoicing for a new birth. These bright illusions were soon to be dispelled. Giusti did not long survive them, but yet long enough to see his expectations disappointed, alike for Italy at large and for Tuscany—to see the Grand Duke, whose assurances he had believed, and for whose return he with so many other true patriots had voted, fling himself and his country at the feet of Austria; but the anticipation of a better future never deserted him. "It will come too late for me," he murmured, "but it will come!"

Thomas Grossi, the beloved disciple of Manzoni, was a poet of a different stamp. Not but that his heart likewise burned with hatred to the foreign despot. Indeed, as a youth, he had produced a satire in the Milanese dialect which exercised a powerful and baneful influence on his future career. Napoleon had been vanquished at Waterloo. The Lombards, forgetful of all past benefits, and lured by the promises of complete independence, turned against the Viceroy and demanded an Austrian archduke. In the violence of the reaction, the finance minister, Prina, an honest and talented man, was ruthlessly massacred, and the murder was regarded as a propitiatory offering to their new masters. The pleasant delusion did not last long. It was at the moment when the scales began to fall from the eyes of his countrymen that Grossi ventured to rebuke their guilt and folly by a satire, in which humour, keen and cutting, good sense, and right feeling emulate each other. He supposes that the shade of the unhappy minister appears in a dream to one of those Milanese of the lower order who have become the popular type of puerile superstition and naïve malice, the personification, or rather the caricature of the Lombard character, something like "John Bull" in England, "Jacques Bonhomme" in France. Sur-Roch (it is thus the poet calls him), narrates the vision which appears to him. The spectre, pale, bloody, with dabbled hair and torn garments, thus addresses him: "What has happened to the Milanese from the 20th September, 1814, to this day—what have they gained by killing me like a dog?" "Nothing, I replied, but a little more aid in St. Fideles."* "How! he exclaimed, and the independence so solemnly promised!" "Hush, Excellence,

* The palace of Prina, which was destroyed by the populace, was opposite the church of St. Fideles.

hush! or they will *throw you into prison*." What a world of satire is conveyed in this last line. Sur Roch then naively describes the melancholy condition of Milan. That the "Patatouches" (the vulgar name for the Austrians), being tired of repeating their "Zuruck, zuruck," had begun to talk with the stick, a language with which long practice had made them peculiarly familiar. "We are dying with hunger," he continues, "nevertheless the holy council is deliberating at Vienna, if we may be permitted to eat, and as it never acts without long deliberation, it puts a bone in our mouth *en attendant*. It preaches resignation and religion; very good things when our stomachs are full. As to plebeian merit it has now no chance. It is not talent that is demanded, but ancestors, baseness, and intrigue. These pills we swallow as best we may, for the love of our little Francis,* for he is an Italian and his wife too—was she not born under the shadow of our dome? We are well-intentioned towards him and he towards us; we are incapable of doing any harm, and he—of *doing us any good*; still the truth has once or twice *almost* reached him." "What has he done for you, then?" asks the minister. "Why," says Roch, "truly—till now—he has done nothing. He is very slow, poor man, and rather deaf—he cannot hear our cries, but it will come in time, if we are patient, for our little Francis is the king of good fellows and of honest men." "Of honest men!" retorts Prina, indignantly. "Where then is the independence he promised you? What mean all these German faces? What the bastinado and the dungeon?" Prina concludes his harangue with an epithet applied to the emperor absolutely untranslatable. Sur Roch, terrified, does not let him conclude the word, but, he continues, with malicious naïveté, echo took care to add the syllable that was wanting.

This satire, to which the Milanese dialect lent additional force and vigour, flew like lightning throughout Lombardy. Though published anonymously, the police had no difficulty in discovering the author. Grossi was thrown into prison and menaced with that corporal punishment which the paternal affection of the House of Hapsburg had substituted for the Code Napoleon. His youth, the intercession of certain influential individuals, saved him from the results which were at first apprehended; he escaped with a few months' imprisonment and a prohibition to enter into any civil career whatever. Many a nature would have been roused to tenfold hatred by this severity. Grossi was of gentler mould. Thankful to escape so easily, he retired completely from the public gaze, supporting himself as best he could by giving

* At the beginning of 1814 Francis was regarded as a simple-minded man, whom Metternich led by the nose.

lessons, and confining his poetic effusions to themes which could by no possibility excite the susceptibility of his masters. On the death of the Emperor Francis, Grossi, with considerable difficulty, obtained permission to purchase the business of a notary, and in this modest position passed the remainder of his existence. Even 1848 could not rouse him from his lethargy. The only part he took in that Revolution which stirred Italy to its very depths, was, at the desire of the provisional government, to prepare the act of union between Lombardy and Piedmont. Since the death of Grossi, Prati, Aleardi, and Tomaseo alone have maintained the honour of Manzoni's school. The style of the first is diametrically opposed to that of Berchet and Giusti. It is fluent, elegant, elaborate, but deficient in nature and simplicity, often overburdened with ornament. Besides, Mr. Prati has adopted a preconceived system of philosophy which he reproduces on all occasions, whether in its place or out of it. He does not perceive that he who regards his verse only as the vehicle for embodying new theories or abstractions, runs the risk of being neither philosopher nor poet. This system is the struggle which is perpetually going on in the heart and mind of man between the genius of good and evil, God and the devil, peace and fatality. All that we do well is due to God acting within us; for all that we do ill, Satan is responsible. Maidens can defend themselves against the temptations of the evil spirit by the Latin of some monk only. For youth Mr. Prati sees nothing possible but a wild course of pleasure; for age an expiation by penitence and devotion; all his men are Rénés or Werthers, their lives a long course of satiety, desire, or remorse; his women are invariably weak and tender, the victims of seduction, full of the most passionate devotion towards those they love, but utterly incapable of self-control or mental discipline. Surely the days for despair without aim or end are long over. It would be unjust to deny Mr. Prati considerable fancy, command of language, and harmonious versification; but contrary to the rules imposed on themselves by most of his contemporaries, he is fond of exaggerating and multiplying his images, and in his attempt to astonish and to dazzle, he fails to touch the heart. 6

Inspired by a nobler aim Alessandro Aleardi has devoted his muse to loftier themes—to the sufferings of his country and humanity. In 1849, though still very young—he was scarcely twenty-three—his verses had already brought on him the persecution and suspicion of the Austrian authorities. Accused, not untruly, of hatred to the yoke, he was thrown into prison, subjected to personal ill-usage, and a severe inquisition made in his lodgings, in the hopes of discovering something which might seriously inculpate him. Luckily he had a sister, devoted like himself to the

cause of independence, and the watchful guardian of her brother's safety. With courageous resolution she burned all his papers, and the police, unable to find any evidence against him which animosity itself could construe into crime, was compelled, after many months of weary captivity, to set him at liberty. But he has ever since been the object of jealous surveillance. Still, though writing under the very cannons of the Austrians at Verona, he ventures to be faithful to that law of literature which compels the Italian poets to gravitate invincibly towards the one national thought—*independence*! Mr. Aleardi has a peculiar predilection for *versi sciolti*, or blank verse, a form, indeed, which, free from the trammels of rhyme, adopts itself with peculiar facility to every poetic inspiration.

A few verses from a piece entitled “An Hour of my Youth” (“Un ora della mia Gioventù”), shows us at once the man and the poet:—

“Restore me, Lord, one single day of youth,
Let me behold, if but for one brief hour,
Those parents whom my heart so fondly loved,
Whom now the churchyard's tall rank grass conceals.
Still do I hear my much-loved father's voice,
And listen to his counsels; still I see
My mother's glance so fondly fixed on mine—
That eye so dark, so chaste, so sadly sweet!
My mother! it was from thee, from thy pure breast
I drew that fervent love of poetry,
Which is the ruling spirit of my life.
And if that Italy my heart adores,
Wreath but one laurel leaf amid my locks,
It shall be laid upon thy hallowed tomb,
For 'tis to thee, thee only, it belongs.”

A little further the pious and tender son becomes the ardent and devoted citizen.

“The hoofs of Italy's victorious steeds
Shall tramp on my forgotten sepulchre!
My spirit, roused at that long hoped-for sound,
Shall burst its stony bonds, and raise a hymn
Of joy and triumph to the glorious band!”

Tomaseo is better known as the patriot and journalist, the defender of Venice, than as the poet. The interest which attaches to his life may perhaps have lent to his works a charm which in themselves they scarcely possess. The friend and confidant of Manin, he stood side by side with him during that heroic defence which has for ever illustrated the name of Venice in modern times. During the two years that she remained free from the Austrian yoke, Tomaseo was chosen by his fellow-citizens as

ambassador to Paris, in the hopes that his celebrity as a writer, and his political friendships, might enable him to render useful services to the Italian cause. But the French Republic, despite the brilliant declamations of Lamartine, was either unable or unwilling to aid the unhappy city. Tomaseo returned from his embassy to share the struggles and sufferings of his unfortunate country.

The choice of Tomaseo as an ambassador was not perhaps a happy one. For a true poet—that is to say, a man of fiery imagination, of inspiration—to be a good diplomatist, is almost impossible. Till the Revolution of the 22nd of March, Tomaseo had lived in almost complete retirement, devoting himself to those intellectual pursuits he so much loved. With the most loyal and chivalrous nature that ever existed, he had much of the susceptibility of a man accustomed to live alone. The tortuous paths of diplomacy, the puerility of form, the mania of protocols, the patience demanded, the thousand and one nothings which compose so large a portion of that mystic science, were little suited to his free and haughty spirit. The slightest delay irritated him. One day having called on General Cavaignac he was requested to wait for his turn, when perceiving the Princess B. quitting the general's apartments, he set off immediately, exclaiming aloud, "I have a pen which can wound worse than a sword." Previous to leaving Paris he had requested an audience of the President of the Republic. Louis Napoleon received him most graciously, spoke to him of his works, which he had read, of the Italian cause, for which he himself had fought, of Venice, which he loved and admired. "Unfortunately," he added, "the majority of the Assembly will not leave me at liberty to prove my sentiments by my actions." When Tomaseo left the palace of the Elysée, "It is easy enough to see," he exclaimed, "that this one is a Prince, and the other only a parvenu." When, after eighteen months' glorious struggle, Venice sank beneath the combined force of famine, cholera, and the enemy, Tomaseo accompanied Manin and a few other noble exiles to France, in a vessel freighted by the French consul, Vasscur, who had shown throughout the most generous sympathy with the unfortunate city. There he still remains. Worn by long suffering, half blind, prematurely old, his soul still burns with a patriotism equally fervent as in youth, though tempered by time, suffering, and experience. When, but a few months ago, his long-cherished hopes seemed on the eve of fulfilment, he warned his countrymen not to expect too much. Now that these hopes (as regards Venice) are so sadly blighted, he does not suffer this cruel disappointment to blind him to the advantages which have been secured to Italy as a nation, and of which his beloved city may, let us hope, ultimately share; and his letter to the French army and

its Emperor is a model of nobility of soul and of generous self-sacrifice. Who shall despair of the future destiny of a nation for which such men have lived, thought, and suffered?

The list of Italian poets of the nineteenth century is far from complete, but our limits will allow of but brief mention of those who remain, though many occupy, and deservedly, a high place in the opinion of their countrymen. The "*Campo Santo di Brescia*," a poem of considerable length, in *versi sciolti*, is much admired for the sustained and religious loftiness of its sentiments, and the harmony of its versification, and the lessons of wisdom, patriotism, and union which the writer draws from the history of the past, which he records. The ballads of Carrel and Perticari are full of fire and energy. The "*Urta de Cosacci*," by the former, has been not undeservedly compared to the famous song of Béranger, and his sonnets, particularly that beginning "*Perché tu scenda ó Notte*," are remarkable for the perfection of their form, and their melancholy sweetness. The "*Per Monaca*" of Vittorelli will be familiar to most of our readers by Byron's translation. Emileo Carcano is perhaps better known by his romance of "*Angiola Maria*," than by his poetry; yet among his compositions two merit peculiar notice from the chastened tenderness of the style and the purity of the sentiments, "*La Sposa*" and "*La Madre*." The "*Esule*," or *Exile*, of Mr. Cautu, is at once touching and noble, and possesses a deeper interest when we know that it is not the inspiration of the poet only, but the real adieu of the exile to the land he loves. The names of Rosetti, the fiery apostle of liberty, whose verses "*All' anno dell' grand speranza*," poured forth in banishment, but glowing with fire and patriotic ardour, have thrilled many an Italian heart; of Bellini, Scholari, and a crowd of others attest, that despite the systematic discouragement thrown on their efforts by all the governments of Italy (Piedmont the last ten years excepted), despite the perils which attend, or have till now attended, every generous aspiration, every lofty sentiment, lest their expression should awaken a feeling of nationality, contemporary poets are not wanting to Italy. If none of them can claim genius of the loftiest order, great originality of thought or wealth of imagination; if none attain the heights of sublimity or sound the abysses of passion, if some mistake noble enthusiastic emotions, clad in harmonious rhyme, for the real music of the soul, it would be unjust to deny that many possess poetic qualifications of no mean order, glowing picturesqueness, mellowness of colouring, power and pathos; and that nearly all display a pleasing talent of description, elevation of soul, an eloquent earnestness which touches the heart more than the most brilliant and elaborate painting. If we are told that their productions can boast com-

paratively little variety of tone or theme, that with certain exceptions they are generally mere variations on the same tune—modulations in the same key; let it be remembered that this key is the only one to which the hearts of true Italians respond, and will remain so till better and happier days. Surely we should hail as the best and surest evidence of Italy's regeneration, both national and intellectual, that no work of imagination, however admirable in itself, which does not touch the chord of patriotism and national independence, can expect popularity or attention. This is a hopeful symptom; it proves that Italy has awoko from its slumbers—awoke to a new and healthy existence.

The poets of the south feel that the moment for songs of love and tenderness is past, their lyres are tuned to martial music only, as were those of the Germans during the war of liberation in 1813; when—and that day will surely yet arrive—the Peninsula has for ever broken the galling fetters of Austria; when continued independence and free political institutions have restored that peace and tranquillity which are necessary to permit of our feeling an interest in the descriptions of domestic life and home enjoyments, doubtless her poetry will take a wider range and enter into another phase. May we not hope that without losing that lucidity, conciseness, and energy which now distinguish it, it will acquire greater variety in form and expression, more analysis, more imagination, that it may thus blend the tendencies each so admirable in itself, each so prone to mislead when followed alone to an extreme—the real and the ideal.

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ART. V.—PHYSICAL 'GEOGRAPHY OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.

1. *Physical Geography of the Sea.* By M. F. MAURY, LL.D., Lieutenant U. S. Navy. 3rd Edition. 1 vol. 8vo. London. 1855.
2. *Deep-sea Soundings in the North Atlantic Ocean, between Ireland and Newfoundland, made in H.M.S. "Cyclops," Lieut.-Commander Joseph Dayman, in June and July, 1857.* 8vo. London. 1858.

THE attempt, however partially successful, to connect Europe with America by a continuous cable adapted to convey telegraphic messages across the Atlantic ocean between two stations,

one in Ireland and the other in Newfoundland, will probably be regarded in future as a great epoch in the history of science. Like the introduction of steam, at first awkwardly and with little economy, but gradually displacing all other kinds of power for large classes of work, the progress of electric telegraphs has advanced by rapid steps, until men are inclined to believe that though checked for the moment, it must advance; and in this, as was the case with steam-power, mechanical and physical difficulties seem to vanish as the necessity for new inventions and modifications becomes felt. There was, perhaps, as great a distance to be accomplished in the way of practical advance between the conveyance of a wire on land from one station to another, and the obtaining a safe and permanent communication through a wide, deep, and unknown sea, as there was between the Marquis of Worcester's invention and the construction of a modern locomotive engine; and while all must regret the partial and temporary failure in the attempt to lay the Atlantic telegraph cable last year, few are perhaps aware of the real nature of the difficulties overcome, and the great amount of information that has been obtained in preparing for the gigantic and costly experiment and securing its success when it shall again be attempted.

A great deal of this information is of a scientific nature, and bears quite as much on physical geography and natural history as it does on telegraphs. Every step made in one department of science is certain to lay open some truths and laws that will be found useful and applicable in others, and the special investigations made for the purpose of laying the cable successfully, have already thrown a flood of light on the constitution of a large area of ocean floor, have discovered relations and differences between various portions of the earth's surface, have shown what are the marine animals influential in modifying or producing deposits in deep sea, and have proved that while the successful deposit of an unbroken cable across the vast breadth of the Atlantic is possible, there is still something more to be done before this whole question is solved, and a practicable communication established. On the other hand, the results already obtained, and the advances made in cognate sciences, cannot fail to assist in the future attempts that must be made, and that will doubtless terminate in perfect success. Already have distinct propositions been made to carry electric communication by other totally distinct lines from Europe to America, and it has become a question merely of time whether we or our children shall see the most distant parts of our own empire brought into instant communication with the central Government.

The electric telegraph, in its simplest state, requires that a
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wire should be so placed that an electric current passing through it shall not communicate with the earth except at will. In this state the wire is said to be insulated, and the conveyance of an insulated wire is the great problem to be solved.

On land there is comparatively little difficulty in ensuring insulation. The wire can be conveyed through the air, supported at convenient intervals on poles by porcelain or other non-conducting ledges, or enveloped in a non-conducting casing of caoutchouc or gutta-percha; or it may safely be carried through the earth itself. A nearly similar provision enables the wire to be carried across rivers, and through tracts of water of inconsiderable depth, and for small distances.

When, however, a sea is to be crossed, the difficulties become magnified in proportion to the breadth and depth of the ocean to be traversed; and this is the case partly from the larger scale of the operation, but partly also because the sea bottom and its irregularities of form can only be approximatively determined. A wire so placed is also subject to the mechanical action of the waves, especially at the two shores, where the stones and shingle constantly shifting, inevitably and rapidly wear the wire to pieces by constant rubbing and pulling. It must be evident, too, that the occasional storms that occur, greatly increase the risk of injury; and that ships anchoring in the vicinity of a wire, and dragging their anchors, must always be regarded as possible events wherever the wire approaches a frequented shore. It thus becomes necessary to strengthen the line, and make it capable of resisting all these chances of injury; so that instead of a mere wire, a stout twisted cable of iron, or copper, of the strongest kind has been generally employed, and this cable is insulated by successive coatings of substances which are as bad conductors as possible of electricity.

A cable thus made is, however, a heavy and very unwieldy thing, and the quantity sufficient to cross a very few hundred miles of sea is a troublesome, and even dangerous cargo for any ship even in fair weather, and one which is almost unmanageable when the sea is rough, and the ship labours and pitches. The cable laid to communicate between England and France by way of Dover and Calais, is an example of this. It weighs no less than eight tons to the mile, and thus even in the very narrow sea separating our island from the Continent, and easily crossed in two hours by a steam-boat, the weight of cable required is nearly 250 tons. Notwithstanding its weight and great strength this cable has been frequently damaged, not only at its two ends but at various points across. The submarine cables in the Mediterranean are likewise of some magnitude and very unwieldy, but are less subject to injury when once laid.

If, therefore, the question should be asked why a cable cannot be carried across a wide, deep sea as easily and safely as across a narrow and shallow strait, it may be answered that the mere magnitude and weight of such cables as have generally been selected would render the conveyance of the line an impossibility; and when this difficulty is overcome by reducing the weight of the cable, many others still remain. The unknown depth of the water was for a long time a still greater obstacle, while the ignorance till lately of the nature and form of the sea bottom under deep water, the possibility of the existence of deep currents that might drift a light cable, or prevent its sinking at once to the bottom, the chance of icebergs drifting over and grounding upon it, the questionable nature of the inhabitants of deep water, and numerous mechanical and electrical difficulties, all presented themselves to those engineers who first imagined, and ultimately carried out the scheme of laying a telegraph cable across the Atlantic.

The mechanical and electrical difficulties, although of a very interesting nature and requiring great ingenuity and perseverance to overcome, it is not proposed here to consider. Some idea may be obtained as to their extent, when we are told "a series of upwards of 2000 distinct experiments was carried out on the subject of signals and the rate of transmission alone, while as many as sixty-two different kinds of cable were tried before that ultimately adopted was decided on." Although, however, we do not here enter into details concerning these matters, and it is probable that in any future attempt a considerable modification will be made in respect to many of them, it is necessary that a general outline statement of this very important part of the work should be given.

The cable ultimately selected consisted of six strands of pure copper-wire, of one-sixteenth of an inch diameter, twisted about one central wire of the same dimensions. All seven wires must break before contact would be destroyed; and this construction rendered the whole sufficiently elastic to stretch to the extent of one-fifth of the total length without breaking.

The weight of the cable was as nearly as possible one ton per mile in air (equivalent to 14 cwt. in water), and it was calculated that the greatest strain it was likely to have to bear was not more than two and a-half tons. Much trouble and risk was anticipated and experienced in paying out the cable, from the vessel in which it was carried to sea, and it is well known that several partial failures occurred in this matter before the whole of the line was completed. The various matters, whether mechanical or electrical, that had to be either tried beforehand or risked at the last moment, must not however detain us longer, as the main object

Bonapartism in Italy.

scruples the iniquitous work of partition, and the sack of Praga is said to have out-horrored even the horrors of Ismail. Catherine died soon after, and was succeeded by Paul, a madman, who asserted a sovereign right of monopoly of eccentricity, and sent Suwarrow home to vent his disappointment on his serfs. Austria had not forgotten her worthy partner in the partition of Poland, and when another blow was to be struck for her Italian possessions, surprised the Russian general with an intimation that he was created an Austrian field-marshal and generalissimo of the allied army. When he arrived at Verona to take the command he was sixty-nine years of age, and yet as active, as vigorous, as full of ardour, tricks, and mischief, and only more hideously ugly, dirty, and slovenly, than when he used to divert Catherine by drilling his soldiers in his shirt-sleeves, with one boot off and his stocking hanging down to his heels. His eccentricities, however, won the heart of his soldiers, whom he called his children, and proved the sincerity of the relationship by inflicting no more lashes than were likely to do them good, while he ate of his children's too savoury food, and would sleep only on straw. The preparations made for the commander-in-chief in the city of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" made it doubtful whether the house was not fitted up for the horse instead of the field-marshal. The looking-glasses were all removed lest the general's sense of beauty should be shocked by the sight of his own face. The beds were turned out, and fresh straw laid in. The general was an early riser, and his way of waking up his military flock was quite in keeping with his habits. He uttered a crow like that of an early village cock, and his soldiers immediately sprung up to the familiar sound. When we hear of the Allies separating we must not be surprised that men of the grave bearing and courtly habits of the Austrian Staff could not long endure the grotesque superiority assumed by this worthy representative of a master almost mad. The Russians treated their Allies as inferiors. They had beaten the Turks and trampled on the Poles, and were now to show the Austrians the way to beat the French, by whom they had been beaten.

The unfortunate French General Scherer was allowed no peace. His line of defence on the Adda was pierced, and Suwarrow inaugurated his command by the victory of Cassano, 28th of April, in which a whole French division was cut off, and compelled to lay down its arms. Scherer, on the evening of that fatal day, begged Moreau to assume the command. Moreau hoped to be able to make a stand in Piedmont; but the people, wearied of French oppression, as soon as they felt the chain loosened, rose to assert their deliverance, and Moreau found himself compelled to take refuge in the Apennines, in such a position as would

water; but though these succeeded beautifully in moderate depths, all failed when attempted in really deep water.

One person, for example, tried the effect of exploding heavy charges of gunpowder by dropping a shell, expecting that the distance would be determined by the time the sound took to travel, the moment of explosion being known by calculation. Another constructed a deep sea lead having a column of air where compression could be registered; a third constructed a delicate apparatus, marking the number of turns of a screw propeller, which revolved once for every fathom of depth. But no sound from the explosion reached the air above; no instrument could be constructed to bear the enormous pressure of many hundred atmospheres, exerted by the vast column of water which it was necessary to penetrate; no machinery was at the same time strong enough, and manageable enough, to render available the action of the screw propeller. Again and again were experiments tried, and as much as 50,000 feet of line have been run out without any indication of a bottom. The parts of the ocean thus experimented on were spoken of as unfathomable, and mysterious enough, to all appearance, were those vast depressions of the earth occupied by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

It must be quite clear that no attempt could reasonably be made to sink a telegraph cable to the bottom of the Atlantic between England and America; no estimate even could be formed as to the quantity of cable that would be needed, until this first great problem as to the depth of the water was satisfactorily solved, and at length an approximate method was suggested. Special sounding twine was constructed; 100 fathoms of it weighing only one pound, and of strength sufficient to support a weight of sixty pounds in air. By a series of experiments, and using always a sinker of the same size and weight, it was found that a law of descent could be established, at least approximately, so that by watching the time the line took to run out 100 fathoms, at each successive 100 fathoms of descent, and tabulating the result, the final termination of the experiment could be obtained, and the instant of striking the bottom discovered, because then the weight of the sinker ceased to carry out the line, and the currents alone began to act. Thus it appeared that the average time of the lead descending from the depth of 400 to that of 500 fathoms was 2 minutes 21 seconds. Between 1000 and 1100 fathoms, the time was 3 minutes 26 seconds, and between 1800 and 1900 fathoms, 4 minutes 29 seconds. Something like an approximation of the true depth could thus be obtained; but of course no idea of the nature of the sea bottom was communicated, and the method was subject to considerable doubt.

At length a very simple and ingenious contrivance was sug-

gested by Mr. Brooke, of the United States Navy, by which, when the bottom was reached by a heavy weight acting as a sinker and carrying down the line and an apparatus attached, the sinker or weight was immediately detached by a simple mechanical contrivance, and the frame-work carried down, being lightened of its load, could be lifted back again through the water, and bring with it to the upper world some proof of its having really reached solid matter. The contrivance in question consists of a rod, at whose lower end is an inverted cup, provided with a valve, and from the upper end of which is slung a cannon ball hollowed to receive the rod. The mode of slinging the ball and suspending the rod is such, that the moment the bottom of the rod rests upon the sea bottom, and the weight is thus removed from the line, the ball is released from its sling, and drops off. The rod, which is of no great weight, can be lifted with the line, and the cup carries up indications of the bottom, and a portion of the bottom itself when sufficiently soft.

With an instrument of this kind a number of soundings were made in various parts of the Atlantic, first by the American hydrographers, and since by the officers of our own navy; and in most cases with results exceedingly satisfactory. A modification of Brooke's apparatus by Mr. Massey has been generally adopted by English navigators, and weights varying from 32 to 96lbs. each are now generally used, the detaching apparatus itself weighing about 30lbs. To sink these, three kinds of line are employed, one being the usual deep sea line, weighing 23lbs. per 100 fathoms, another a whale line, weighing 96lbs. per 100 fathoms, and the third a light silk line, about one-tenth of an inch in diameter, made in France. Supplied with an ample provision of the various kinds of line (in all 27,000 fathoms), and with eighty self-detaching iron weights, each fitted with a valve for bringing up the bottom, besides twenty of Massey's sounding machines to check the time-law, on which so much depended, H.M.S. *Cyclops*, Commander Joseph Dayman, set sail in the early part of June, 1857, to repeat and confirm the soundings of Lieutenant Berryman, in the United States steamer *Arctic*, who had discovered not long before the very important fact, that the Atlantic Ocean, so far from being generally unfathomable, was really of very ascertainable and uniform depth, for the greatest part of the distance between Ireland and the coast of Newfoundland. His statement was, that a kind of depressed plateau existed for almost the whole way across, commencing about 250 miles from the Irish coast, and terminating within about 400 miles of the American shores; that for upwards of a thousand marine miles of distance, the average depth of this plateau was about 12,000 feet, and with one exception (nearly midway), there was no difference of level to the amount

of 2000 feet; that at the two ends there was a sudden and very considerable elevation, corresponding to steep submarine cliffs, rising on the European side 7000 feet in a very few miles, and on the American side 4000 feet in about fifty miles. Moreover, it was stated, that the bottom consisted for the most part of soft mud. It will be interesting to follow the narrative of the operations, which, in confirming this statement, made the estimate of the length of cable required; and the mode in which it might be expected to rest, matters much more clear than many engineering operations for which contracts are readily taken.

The *Cyclops* was specially fitted for taking deep soundings. In addition to the apparatus and line already mentioned, she had a 12-horse-power steam engine to heave in the line. She was also provided with six sets of Burt's buoy and nipper of very large size, by means of which the ship could be kept up to and over the lead as it went down, and by this means was enabled, with steam and sail combined, to keep her position without drifting during the whole time of the descent of the line.

It was found on trial that soundings could be obtained not only in calm but in windy weather, and even in a fresh breeze with a high sea. Generally, however, the weather was fine and the sea calm during the trials actually made.

It was required that the soundings should be taken on the arc of a great circle, from Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland, to Trinity Bay, in the island of Newfoundland. In deep water the intervals between each sounding were to be from thirty to fifty miles, and near shore a much shorter distance. Sixteen casts were taken before the steep cliff facing to the west (two hundred and fifty miles from the coast) was reached. Judging from these, it is now known that the water deepens gradually from the west coast of Ireland to the depth of 540 feet, and everywhere with a sandy bottom. It then deepens more rapidly, until at a distance of 120 miles from land the depth is 2500 feet, with a bottom of hard rock. It then shallows gradually to a depth of 1100 feet, deepens rapidly to 3300 feet, and shallows again to 1320 feet, and at a distance of 22 miles further west, the lead dropped at once to 10,500 feet, a fall steeper than that of the Alps on the Italian side. In this first really deep sounding the weight employed was 50lbs., not detaching; the line (an ordinary deep-sea line) was upwards of an hour running out, and required an hour and three-quarters to haul in. The lead brought up, both in the receptacle intended for it and adhering to the rod and line, a soft, mealy, sticky substance, light coloured and mud-like, which is designated "oaze." On the return voyage, with the advantage of more experience, with a much heavier weight, consisting of 90lbs. of iron with a deep-sea lead attached, in all 120lbs., a cast

was taken at a distance of about 25 miles to the west of the same point. In this case the time of runing out was only 42 minutes 16 seconds, but the depth recorded was the same and the bottom of the same nature.

From this starting-point the depth was taken and the nature of the bottom ascertained, at tolerably regular intervals, all the way across.

The existence of the plateau was fully determined, the depth being almost everywhere between 10,000 and 12,000 feet,* and the bottom almost everywhere of the same peculiar oaze, which is presumed to be of no great thickness, as small pieces of rock were occasionally brought up with it. In two instances only, between the 15th and 45th degrees of west longitude, was the bottom of any other material, and in one of these broken shells, in the other two small stones were brought up. West of the 45th degree of longitude, the water became gradually less deep as far as the 50th meridian, after which the depth is nowhere so much as 1200 feet.

The evidence thus obtained as to the form and depth of the bottom was fully corroborated by the actual laying of the telegraph cable, which was completed, as is well known, on Wednesday the 4th of August, 1858, the quantity of cable payed out amounting to 2050 miles, being about 350 miles in excess of the actual shortest distance from point to point at the surface from Valentia, in Ireland, to Trinity Bay, Newfoundland.

It will be evident to any one who considers the subject for a moment, that the errors in depth as calculated by the observations recorded can only be in excess. In other words the ocean is nowhere deeper than determined by soundings, when those soundings bring up specimens of the bottom, while, on the contrary, it is quite possible that the depth may really be very much exaggerated. Some confirmation, therefore, is needed to satisfy us as to the value of the estimate of these depths which we are told are equal to the height of Mont Blanc, and which are measured with so little difficulty and in two or three hours by a plumb-line. It is true that the uniformity of the result over so wide a space is some evidence that there can be no very enormous error, but it occurred on several occasions during the cruise of the *Cyclops*, that observations were made which tended in a remarkable way to give confidence to those occupied in the survey, and satisfy them that the error was really very inconsiderable. The repetition of the sounding as nearly as possible in the same spot

* Only in one spot, between 32° and 33° West longitude, is the depth less than 10,000 feet, and a little to the east, in 26° West longitude, is the only great depression, the water being there nearly 15,000 feet deep.

where the sudden drop, already mentioned, occurred, and again under very different circumstances, with different kinds of lines, but still with the same result; and the obtaining identical results with double casts under precisely similar circumstances, gave ample proof that the error must be small and was at least constant. The employment of the sounding machine, as constructed by Massey, and the comparison of its results with those obtained quite independently, also constituted a satisfactory check. Moreover a remarkable occurrence is mentioned by Captain Dayman, which goes far to show that the effect of under currents on deep soundings is so small as to render it very doubtful whether such things can exist.

The case was this: on an evening when the sea was too high to employ smaller lines, a cast was taken with tapered whale-line and a sinker of 96lbs. weight. The depth, as given by the sounding machine, corrected from former observations, was 2176 fathoms (13,056 feet), but on this occasion 2400 fathoms (14,400 feet) of line had been paid out to make sure of detaching the weight, and the result was that 200 fathoms of line next the sinker came up to the surface in a tangled coil. "The sinker itself was detached and the valve full of soft ooze, but that part of the line which had lain at the bottom as a coil was in many places covered with the same kind of ooze, which had adhered to it throughout its passage to the surface."

The amount of line, therefore, which had been out when the sinker was detached could only have been 2200 fathoms, or about 24 fathoms more than that shown by the machine. As the ship was throughout the sounding exactly over the line, and the depth marked by the sounding machine agrees so nearly with the quantity of line required to reach the bottom, it would appear that the line must have been carried down perpendicularly, and that, therefore, no under current affected it.

It must not be supposed that a line can be sent down to these vast depths and brought back to the surface without showing some marks of the change of condition to which it had been exposed. The pressure of the air at the sea level being 15lb. to every square inch of surface, the pressure of the water at a depth of 15,000 feet will be upwards of 400 times that amount, or nearly three tons to the square inch. About one ton weight of whale line would be required to reach the depth of 2400 fathoms, and as the surface of that quantity of line is as much as 2400 square feet, the friction in lifting it through the water becomes enormously great. We are told that, starting with the 12-horse engine to haul in, "it was necessary to raise the steam so as to obtain a pressure of 12lbs. on the square inch before overcoming the inertia and moving the line." "The tar

was forced out of the rope in an extraordinary manner, several of the splices started and the rope was much stretched."

The mere determination of one line of soundings across the Atlantic, although a very important work and a great step in advance in the science of hydrography, is yet a very small fragment of the knowledge that must be acquired sooner or later of the great tracts of ocean covering so large a part of the surface of our globe. Much has been already done, chiefly by American authorities, in determining approximately the form of the ocean floor of the Atlantic generally, and obtaining contour lines of equal depth by which ultimately the maps of this ocean will be marked. As far as we know at present, the deepest part of the North Atlantic is on the American side south of the great banks of Newfoundland, between the fortieth and thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. There appears here to be a great basin whose axis ranges east and west for nearly a thousand miles, and whose depth below the sea level is believed to exceed the extreme elevation of the highest point of the Himalayan mountains. Far away east of this depression, the islands of the Azores rise suddenly out of deep water, and are separated from the shores of Portugal and Morocco, and the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean, by a trench varying in depth from 15,000 to 18,000 feet. South of the same great depression of the Atlantic, the coralline group of the Bermudas is separated in like manner from the more continuous land of the West Indian Islands by more than 20,000 feet of water. Parallel to the north east coast of South America is very deep water, apparently a continuation of the deep trench, already alluded to, off the west coast of Europe. The central part of the Atlantic is far less deep—a million of square miles at least having a depth of 10,000 feet, or less, and partaking apparently of the nature of a plateau, of which the so-called telegraph plateau forms a part, but is a little deeper. The Cape de Verd islands appear to rise abruptly out of exceedingly deep water, and on both sides of the mid Atlantic, though chiefly on the western or American side, the water continues deep to within a short distance of the respective continents.

Such, in a few words, is the result of deep soundings in the seas of which we know most, as being most immediately within our range. Already does the complete form of that important portion of our earth begin to loom obscurely in the distance; already are engineers beginning to speculate on new lines for conveying telegraph cables; already does the geologist endeavour to trace the effect of forces of elevation and depression, in reference to these outlined valleys and depressed plateaux, so singularly corresponding to the mountain plains and elevated plateaux of the land. It is clear, however, that the line and plummet have

still much work to perform; that great classes of facts have still to be accumulated; and that the outline, only shadowed forth at present, has to be filled up with innumerable details; but it is also clear that another department of exact science has been opened out for investigation, and that the results, whatever they may be and wherever they may lead, must, in the course of a few years, be subjects of careful study to practical as well as scientific men.

While experimenting on the depth of the sea, observations have been made at the same time concerning the temperature at various depths, and these are not without important bearing on the subject of telegraphy.

It has been known for many years that the temperature of deep water, especially in warm seas, is much lower than that of the surface; and so long ago as 1823, Colonel Sabine communicated to the Royal Society the result of experiments with register thermometers in tropical water supposed to be a thousand fathoms deep. In the case reported, the temperature at that depth was 45.8° , that of the surface being 83° . The temperature of surface water varies, as a matter of necessity, in different latitudes and under the influence of the numerous oceanic currents which flow like rivers through the great ocean.

Combined with the sounding operations of the *Cyclops*, systematic observations were made of the temperature of the bottom.

Seven such observations are recorded out of twenty-five soundings, and in four of them the temperature varied only from 38.8° to 40.8° F., in differences of depth varying from 3000 to 14,000 feet. In a fifth observation, the temperature at 8500 feet was only 37.2° ; and in a sixth, at 8000 feet, it was 44° ; while in the seventh and last case there was probably an error, the temperature at 1500 fathoms (9000 feet) being recorded as 40.9° , and at 2000 fathoms (12,000 feet) 49.5° , no doubt a clerical error for 39.5° .

On the whole, as well from these observations as from others in different seas, the temperature of deep water in all latitudes appears to be very low, but not, as far as yet observed, nearly so low as that of greatest density of sea-water, which is 25.4° F. The temperature generally diminishes with considerable regularity in descending.

It has already been remarked that the evidence obtained by the *Cyclops*' soundings went to prove that there were either no important currents in deep water, or that if any such existed they were too inconsiderable to affect the observations made. As rarely more than an hour elapsed, and often not more than thirty or forty minutes, in reaching the bottom, the effect of a small current would not, perhaps, be very perceptible; but the con-

clusion arrived at by Captain Dayman is, that the effect of deep currents on the deep soundings may be regarded as inappreciable.

After what has been said of the nearly uniform depth of the great plateau over which it was proposed to carry the telegraph cable, and the very small rapidity of submarine currents, if, indeed, any such exist, it will hardly be necessary to say that no danger to the cable can arise, either from the chance of its being moved along the bottom after being once deposited or from the drifting of gravel along the bottom, nor yet from icebergs grounding on any part where the cable is laid. It is true that the magnitude and depth of these fragments of polar glaciers is sometimes sufficiently large to justify alarm, for some have been described measuring upwards of two miles in circumference, and rising as much as 300 feet above the surface, corresponding to a depth of nearly 2500 feet. But nothing of this kind could interfere, except, indeed, at the entrance of Trinity Bay, near the great bank of Newfoundland, and the most that could arrive in the vicinity of the wire would be such mud and stones as are deposited during the partial melting of the icebergs while travelling southwards many thousand feet overhead.

The material of the sea bottom; the kind of surface on which the cable would have to repose; the possibility of the cable being exposed to any destructive influence from the presence of marine animals; these were all-important practical questions which needed some investigation. To all of them replies have been obtained by the experiments and observations already made, and not a little interesting are the facts determined.

By means of an ingeniously-constructed valve adapted to the sinker, considerable quantities of the soft mud, shells, or small stones are brought up on almost every occasion when the bottom is reached, unless the bottom consists of naked rock, and in that case there is sufficient indication to place the fact beyond doubt.

We are indebted to the Americans for the first successful attempt to bring to the upper world and to the light of day the secrets of those deep, dark dwelling-places, till now so utterly without relation to human interests, but through which hereafter all the important events of the world will be communicated. By the aid of Brooke's sounding apparatus, about six years ago, samples of bottom from a depth of upwards of ten thousand feet were brought up, and being labelled and carefully preserved, were transmitted to competent naturalists for microscopic examination. Professor Bailey, of West Point, United States, immediately detected their true character. These samples seem to have consisted of the same kind of tenacious mud since called ooze; and on examining the minute particles of which the mud is made up, it was found that a very large proportion was composed of little

skeletons or shells constructed by minute inhabitants of the sea.

When, however, the soundings were taken systematically across the Atlantic at intervals of thirty or forty miles, and occasionally repeated, and in every case, with one or two exceptions, the same peculiar tenacious mud was brought up, it became evident that some important widely-acting cause had been at work, and that the condition and nature of this mud, whatever it might be, was the ordinary condition of mud at the bottom of deep water, at least in the North Atlantic Ocean on the great platform. And we have already seen that this platform occupies at least a million of square miles. The specimens obtained by the *Cyclops* were transmitted to Professor Huxley for examination, and he at once noticed a singular uniformity of character, all the specimens consisting of an impalpable powder with a mixture of slight grittiness. A large proportion of the whole readily dissolves in dilute acid, and the residuum is made up of angular fragments of some clear mineral, and frequently of a peculiar transparent green mineral. Of the soluble matter, composed of carbonate of lime, one portion consists of a multitude of very curious rounded bodies, to all appearance consisting of several concentric coats round a clear centre, somewhat like single cells of the plant *Protococcus*; the rest, fully nine-tenths by weight of the whole deposit, consists of the minute skeletons, rather than shells, of a class of animal beings known but little to the great mass of mankind, but certainly playing no unimportant part in the history of the world. These creatures are called *Foraminifera*, and it adds to the extraordinary character of this deposit that almost all the skeletons are but infinite repetitions of varieties of form of one single species.* The particles which are not calcareous, and are, therefore, insoluble in acids, are partly of vegetable origin and belong to the class *Diatomacæ*, chiefly of the remarkable kind termed *Coscinodiscus*, and partly animal, being either *Polycistinae* or the spicules of sponges. A little information as to these forms of animal and vegetable life will be useful, and is, indeed, necessary to the right understanding of the nature of this deep sea mud. The reader must not be frightened at the hard and unfamiliar names, and he will find that in this curious department of natural history there is abundant material of interest.

The study of those simplest forms of existence which can only be recognised under the microscope, and which require all the

* This species is called *Globigerina*. It has been found that in these early forms of life the varieties of species are so great, that it becomes difficult to distinguish more than one species of a genus. The specimens not referable to *Globigerina* are many of them other foraminifera, referable to four or five different species.

perfection of optical knowledge, combined with mechanical skill, to render them visible even to the cultivated eye, is of very modern date, and has hardly yet become popular. It is, indeed, the case that very vague ideas are entertained as to the value of the evidence in microscopic investigations generally, and many intelligent and well-informed persons are to be found who, while they fully admit the accuracy of measurements as to the distance of the planets from the sun, and even of the nearest fixed stars from the earth, who can count the number and estimate the rapidity of the waves required to produce sounds of a certain pitch, and calculate the rate at which a message is conveyed along the wire of an electric telegraph, will still regard as fabulous the measurement and accurate delineation of objects of which thousands would be required to become perceptible to unassisted vision. Yet nothing can be more certain and satisfactory than the evidence offered by the microscope. The optical and mechanical improvements that have aided the astronomer have been no less efficacious when applied to this instrument, and the advance of natural history and physiology within the last few years has been mainly owing to the improvements in its construction and in the mode of handling and managing it.

Among the most curious of the investigations that have hence arisen are those to which we would now direct attention—namely, the forms in which life, or rather the result of life, organization, first shows itself in nature. The adaptation of inorganic or mineral matter to organic or animal and vegetable existence involves, no doubt, mysteries not yet solved, but vast strides are being made towards their solution. As at present known, the formation of a simple individual cell, or closed membranous bag, consisting of a solid cell wall and fluid contents, is the foundation of organized existence. This cell, in the case of a plant, is enclosed by a double membrane—the inner one albuminous, and agreeing in its composition with animal tissues (containing nitrogen), the outer consisting of a substance nearly identical with starch, and containing no nitrogen. The fluid contained is albuminous near the cell-wall, watery towards the interior, and often charged with some colouring ingredient.

In the simplest cases these various parts of the cell are not to be traced very distinctly, often passing from one into another, and in many of them the simple cell is an actual isolated individual, having separate existence. All degrees of combination of cells may be found in nature, and the largest and most complicated forms of vegetation are but multiplications of the cell. The cells themselves multiply by division, each one elongating, contracting in the middle, separating into two, and thus doubling, this being essentially the nature of *growth*.

The animal cell in its simplest form almost exactly resembles the vegetable cell, except that it has no outer coating of starch and that the fluid contents are without colouring granules. The simplest animal forms are thus even more simple apparently than those of the vegetable kingdom, but from their very simplicity they present marks of a higher organization. They are capable, by the mere wrapping round of the walls of the cells, of assuming the functions of a stomach. The vegetable cell obtains food—that is, matter by which it grows—by the absorption of inorganic elements by its surface; the animal cell is dependent for nourishment on organic compounds already formed (whether animal or vegetable), which it takes somehow or other into the interior of its body, either possessing a separate stomach or becoming a stomach for each separate occasion. This very brief outline of the state of knowledge on the subject of the lowest forms of existence will be sufficient to explain the nature of those animals and vegetables whose remains have been found at the bottom of the Atlantic.

Among the simplest tribes of simple plants there are two especially interesting to the microscopist, presenting the most remarkable forms, and an appearance of volition which has caused them to be regarded by many as animated. One of these tribes inhabits fresh water exclusively, the other occurs in the sea. Of these two the latter are further remarkable for having the firm external coating of the cell of which they consist consolidated by siliceous, this silicious or flinty envelop taking the form of two concave valves or plates, perfectly symmetrical, closely applied to each other, and leaving a cavity between them for the fluid contents of the cell. The form of the cavity differs greatly, admitting of a marvellous variety of exquisitely beautiful patterns which these singular bodies present to the eye of the microscopic observer. As, however, some communication is required from without, apertures are provided along the line of contact of the two valves, presenting curious rows of dots wonderfully complicating the appearance of the valves and rendering it extremely difficult to determine. The multiplication of these cells is by division, and is very rapid, and each cell appears capable of assuming different forms in the various stages of its growth. Thus each peculiarity may be perpetuated, and the variety in detail is almost infinite. In their earliest states of existence such organisms possess a power of spontaneous movement, although no organs of locomotion have been detected.

These very singular vegetables are called *Diatomaceæ* or *Diatoms*, and amongst them the *Coscinodiscus* is exceedingly abundant in a fossil state, especially in Virginia, United States, Bermuda, and Oran (Algeria). It is also the genus which is found abundantly

in the submarine Atlantic mud, at all depths over all parts of the great plateau.

The Diatoms, whose remains thus form a sensible proportion of the silicious part of the ooze on which the telegraph cable rests, inhabit fresh water as well as the sea, and scarcely any water is without them. When circumstances are favourable they multiply so rapidly as to close up harbours and diminish the depth of channels. They are found not only in temperate latitudes, but in the arctic and antarctic seas enclosed in newly-formed ice, which they stain of a brown colour. One deposit of mud, chiefly consisting of their valves, is mentioned by Dr. Hooker as being not less than 400 miles long and 120 miles broad, its thickness great and continually increasing. This bed exists on the flanks of Victoria Land, in 78° South latitude, and many others of large dimensions are known.

Let us next consider the nature of those forms of animal life of which the cases or skeleton frames are accumulated in such large proportions in the submarine mud. These include all the calcareous (which, it will be remembered, form nine-tenths of the whole), and part of the silicious particles. They represent three groups, into which the simplest forms of animated nature are divided, but they are not *Animalcules*, in the sense in which that word has long been employed, for under this name have been included a heterogeneous assembly of plants, zoophytes, minute crustaceans (water fleas, &c.), larvæ of worms, and molluscs. Neither are they true *Infusoria*, or infusory animalcules, which are for the most part more complex and have no skeleton. The group we find at the bottom of the Atlantic is called by naturalists *Rhizopoda*, or root-footed animals, and they consist essentially of cells of irregular and very variable shape, vaguely extending long root-like appendages by means of which food is drawn within their range. Any part of the surface of each cell is capable of doubling over the food presented, thus forming a temporary stomach, but after assimilation the surface returns to its original state, or assumes some other form. In most of the animals of this group a kind of *carapace*, or shell, is formed in the cell-wall, either by the secretion or mechanical aggregation of mineral matter, generally the former, and the root-like projections then pass either through one opening of the carapace or through many perforations in it. Large compound structures or accumulations of individual cells exist, each cell to a certain extent independent, each secreting either a carapace or some silicious or horny framework, and together constructing a complex skeleton singularly resembling some of those shells which belong to the most highly organized of the testacea.

Under the name *Foraminifera* are included such of these sin-

gular beings as secrete many-chambered calcareous shells, the chambers of which do not communicate with each other, although all of them are perforated outwards. Every so-called shell is the habitation of a group of individuals, each having its own cell coated with carbonate of lime; and the compound animal, although its shape is often the same when formed under similar conditions, admits of almost indefinite varieties, a fact which will not seem surprising when the mode of accumulation is considered. Each individual extends its projecting root-like filaments irregularly into the water from every exposed surface, and at intervals divides itself and becomes two individuals, each coated with its shell. Should the direction taken previous to this division be a straight line, the newly-formed double or compound shell is straight; should it be spiral, however, the shell is spiral. There seems no necessary limit either to the form or the magnitude attainable by this mode of increase, and thus these so-called shells, originating with individuals so minute that they require the highest powers of the best microscopes to perceive, are occasionally developed into habitations as large as a crown-piece, and composed of chambers whose numbers are beyond count. In one of the types of these singular animals there may be seen, when the calcareous shell is removed, a central mass of that peculiar animal matter which corresponds to the contents of the simple cell, nearly surrounded by a larger concentric mass of the same material not adhering except at one point. From this are given off stalk-like processes, each terminating with a nodular mass, or bud, and from each of these others, so that the compound body is formed of a number of concentric rings, each made up of such buds, and each as it enlarges requiring an increased number of buds to complete it. Another type (including the *Nummulites*, a well-known group exceedingly abundant in a fossil state), is more complicated in the structure of the shell, each partition wall being double; but this does not prevent the root-like processes from being projected, nor is there any essential difference in the compound animal mass.

The species of foraminifer which composes, almost to the exclusion of all others, the deep Atlantic mud is called *Globigerina*. It has been traced through a complete series of gradations from less than a thousandth of an inch in diameter, when it consists of only one or two cells, up to more than a sixtieth of an inch. In the single cell the wall is smooth and thin, but as it adds cell to cell the older ones become beset with tubercles, the wall thickens, and the whole appearance becomes modified.

The natural home of the foraminifers appears to be in the deeper parts of the ocean, commencing where the regular inha-

bitants of limited depths terminate. Whether, indeed, the unnumbered myriads, whose remains form the mud of the telegraph plateau really inhabited in a living state the vast depths at which these remains are found, or whether, inhabiting moderately deep water, their skeletons sank to the bottom after death, there is hardly sufficient evidence yet to say, although, according to Professor Huxley, the balance of probabilities inclines in the former direction. However this may be, it is certain that they have lived at no great distance, and that where they abound no animals occur capable of producing so marked an effect on the floor of the ocean.

Besides the foraminifers, whose calcareous skeletons form so large a part of the mud, there is another group of almost similar, but much more minute animals who have the power of secreting flinty, instead of calcareous valves, and who have evidently played an important part in the waters of the Atlantic. Marvellous indeed, and fantastical almost beyond conception, are the forms assumed by these little bodies. Their shells are prolonged into spines, and the cell contents of the shell generally only occupy the upper part of it, being there divided into four parts. They appear to be very widely diffused, but are much less easily recognised than the foraminifers, owing to their smaller size. Notwithstanding their small dimensions, important beds are made up of them in many parts of the world. These are the *Polycistine* of naturalists.

Sponges are animal substances composed of a fibrous network, strengthened by spicules of flint, or more rarely carbonate of lime, and clothed with a soft flesh consisting of a multitude of soft cells of the simplest kind. They are, however, provided with small hair-like filaments, which can be kept in constant vibration, and these filaments line canals, or cavities in the cell, which commence in small pores at the surface, and terminate in large vents. Through these canals, by the vibration of the filaments, currents of water are kept constantly passing, bringing in food and carrying out matter not assimilated.

The simplest skeleton of the sponge is an irregular network of fibres. Sometimes these are horny, as in the common sponge used for domestic purposes, but more frequently they are stony, often extending in sets of three from a common centre. In form they are sometimes knotted, sometimes conical, and sometimes perfectly straight.

It is thought that each spicule was originally a cell on which a case of stony matter has been secreted. A few of these spongo spicules complete the list of substances which form the mud of the Atlantic, and cover the wide expanse of its vast floor between Europe and America.

Where, then, it may be asked, are—

“ the thousand fearful wracks ;
The thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon ;
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,
All scattered in the bottom of the sea.”

Or where at least are the remains of those far larger and more * important—as they seem to us—inhabitants of the deep? How is it that we do not find the bones and teeth and scales of fishes, the shells, starfishes, corals, and other comparatively indestructible materials belonging to marine animals? Where are the drifted pebbles and sand that might have been anticipated, and what has become of all the hard materials that must have been accumulated in the course of time?

Now although the ocean abounds with life, yet it is certain that the conditions of deep water are altogether unfavourable for the existence of fishes, and even of most of the locomotive molluscs and crustaceans, provided with shells or carapaces. The actual limit of depth to which such animals can reach, even in ordinary cases, is not very well known; but there is no reason to suppose that below 500 fathoms (3000 feet) any large animals are constantly present.

On the other hand, the surface, and probably all depths of water in wide tracts of sea, abound with the lower forms of existence, often to such an extent as to manifest themselves by their phosphorescent properties, and it is only reasonable to conclude that where the requirements of existence are smallest, conditions the least favourable are still sufficiently favourable for the purpose. A few whales, some shoals of porpoises, and occasionally a few other fish, appear near the surface in mid-Atlantic; but most of these are confined to small depths, and certainly none reach those dark profundities where the mere difference of pressure would produce the instant destruction of animals so highly organised. On the death of these denizens of the upper waters, their carcasses become the prey of marine animals gradually lower in organization, until at length we reach those simple organisms just described. Long before the remains of the surface animals could reach the bottom they are, therefore, assimilated, perhaps passing through many transmigrations, and ending with the lowest. This may be the real explanation of the mystery.

There are not wanting some points of geological interest in the discoveries made with regard to the Atlantic sea bottom. The material discovered—the fine mud described by Professor Huxley—closely resembles very fine chalk; and this is the case not only in mechanical and physical character, but also in the nature of the shells found in it. The kind of foraminifer which forms so large a part of the mud is abundantly represented in

the chalk, the curious silicious skeletons and the sponge spicules are also present there, and in something of the same proportions. The thickness of chalk is, however, so great, that we can hardly assume that it was formed by deposits of this kind.

Too little is yet known of the contour lines of the Atlantic Ocean floor to justify any important generalizations in relation to the physical geography of the world. That on the whole the vast tract between Europe and Africa and the two Americas, presents deep depressions nearly parallel with the lofty elevations of the Andes on the West, and the great Alpine, Pyrenean, and Himalayan chains on the East; that there are large tracts approximately level; that from these rise lofty peaks at distant intervals, and numerous lesser elevations; all this, at least, seems abundantly proved, and thus we may be said to have discovered that the system of construction exhibited in that part of the earth's crust above the level of the sea is carried out also below that level. We have also penetrated one step in advance of this knowledge.

The outline of European ground, as marked at its contact with the water line, would be seen to vary but little, were the whole of the water removed from the North Atlantic Ocean, and the interval between Europe and America laid bare to our view. The land would be seen continued with a gradual slope for about 200 miles to the West, and would then terminate with a steep cliff parallel to the present shore, towards a depressed plain, at least 7000 feet below.

In the same way the American land would slope to meet another, but less precipitous cliff, the total amount of depression being nearly the same. Between these two cliffs, however, a new world would be presented, the details of which require much careful investigation, especially in the large tract extending from about the 50th parallel of North latitude to the equator. We only know at present with certainty, that the plateau commencing at a depth of 10,000 feet below the present sea level, is itself but one of a series of descending steps, the lowest of which is probably 30,000 feet deeper. The extreme difference of level between the lowest depression of the Atlantic and the highest peaks of the Andes and Himalayan mountains seems to be not less than 60,000 feet; but this interval, though certainly large, is small compared with the magnitude of our planet, as it would hardly be equivalent to a thickness of an inch of the surface of Mr. Wyld's great globe in Leicester-square.

A little north of the 50th parallel of latitude at the bottom of the Atlantic ocean, where the plateau already described is unbroken by any great depression, and on a soft bed of mud constantly thickening, and composed almost entirely of carbonate of lime, there lies now some 1500 miles of disabled telegraphic cable

deposited last summer at a depth varying from 10,000 to 15,000 feet.

This cable is already, perhaps, covered with new coats of mud of the same kind, composed of the calcareous and silicious coverings of myriads of little animals brought into existence since it was laid. On this bed the temperature undergoes little change throughout the year, being constantly about that of an average winter's day in our climate. A perpetual calm exists there, undisturbed by the destructive storms that rage above; the icebergs, however large, float far overhead, and only occasionally let fall a part of their load of stones and sand. Even the whales, deep and rapid as their movements are, never approach these dark abysses; no deep drift is carried along, and no accident disturbs the monotonous level. But even the few days during which the cable was enabled to act, have shown that this apparent calm is not without its interruptions. The electric fire that circulates through the earth is found to exert here its full influence, and willingly makes use of the means that man has contrived to facilitate its progress. The electrician places the wire as a means of communication, and at once receives a message from nature herself, which baffles and confuses him. The wire that has enabled him at Valentia to communicate with Newfoundland, serves also as an index of earth currents and magnetic storms, of whose nature, frequency, and intensity he has still much to learn. Far away in America, within the Arctic circle, a broad bright beam of light shoots up from the horizon to the zenith, and is followed by flashes and coruscations. An Aurora Borealis is seen—a magnetic storm is commencing. At that same instant the news is transmitted along the floor of the ocean by means of our wire, forwarded by no human hands, and in accordance with no human code of signals. Backwards and forwards, as if endowed with some strange vitality, the telegraphic needle is seen to vibrate, and the electrician must stand by powerless, trembling, like Frankenstein, at the monster he has called into life. The magnetic storm passes through the earth, and the use of the telegraph by man is for the time suspended.

Even when completely established, there can be no doubt that the communication will be subject to various risks and interruptions. The wire that was made to convey the electric influence across the ocean was sufficiently thick to resist any strain it was thought likely to have to bear. Whether, however, it may not, where partially injured, have become melted by the intense heat evolved during the passage of magnetic storms, and even of the strong magnetic currents employed in communicating the early messages, is a question that has not yet been answered, but at any rate it is in the highest degree probable that in the course of time the copper would have become reduced to the crys-

talline state, and the cohesion of the metal reduced so as to render it incapable of resisting even a very small strain. These and other practical difficulties may arise and will have to be overcome. Meanwhile, the great problem of telegraphy is solved, and the question of extending telegraphic communication is chiefly limited by monetary considerations as to whether any particular line would be of sufficient political or commercial importance to justify the expense.*

We now know that deep-sea soundings can be taken at comparatively small cost, and with sufficient certainty to act upon, and that they will reveal to us the depth and nature of the sea bottom in any part of the ocean; we know that, with certain precautions, a cable of small wires, enclosed in gutta-percha, weighing seven ounces per linear foot, can be sunk on the sea bottom at a depth varying from ten to fifteen thousand feet, without material injury, and that a wire thus sunk can convey intelligible signals in an almost inappreciable space of time. We have succeeded in gauging the depths of the ocean, in learning the shape and nature of its bottom, in determining its temperature, in satisfying ourselves as to what animals live and die there, and in bringing into a tangible and practical form the various results of these investigations. The power that attracts the needle to the pole, and has for centuries guided the navigator across the surface of the world, is now rendered available in providing means of communication through its hitherto unfathomed depths, and the girdle is being put round the world which will at no distant time unite all civilized nations into one great brotherhood.

ART. VI.—GARIBALDI AND THE ITALIAN VOLUNTEERS.

La Toscane et ses Grand Ducs Autrichiens. Paris. 1859.

IT has so often been repeated that “no man is a prophet in his own country,” that the dictum is generally accepted as a truth. Yet all countries, and many periods of history, show brilliant

* The following statement of the actual number of messages that passed across the Atlantic during the time when the condition of the line was still doubtful, will show clearly how complete was the success and how great the certainty that submarine lines will ultimately be laid. Exclusive of conversations amongst the clerks, 97 messages, consisting of 1002 words and 6476 letters, were sent from Valentia to Newfoundland, and duly comprehended, while 269 messages, of 2840 words and 13,743 letters, were received from Newfoundland in Ireland. This gives a total of 366 messages, consisting of 3942 words, made up of 20,219 letters, actually transmitted.

examples to the contrary. At different epochs men have started up from among a people, and suddenly acquiring an almost unbounded influence, have raised a name, before unknown, to the pinnacle of earthly glory. Such characters are well worthy of our attention. We cannot reflect on the career of Mahomet or Washington, of Luther or Rienzi, or of any other of the great religious or political agitators of the human mind, without seeking to discover by what means such men wound themselves into the hearts of their contemporaries, and what the secret springs the response of which gave them their almost magic power. We shall find, on inquiry, that their minds corresponded to a deep-felt and secret want of their time and nation, and that, however much they might otherwise differ from one another, they were all impressed with the truth and importance of what they deemed their mission. It would seem, moreover, that they were all the creations of their period and race before they became its guide. The character of each among them was formed in youth by the events of the times, his opinions being moulded by those of his countrymen. The quality they all possessed in common was that of concentrating the aspirations, the passions, and even the prejudices of a whole nation, into a single focus, and thus intensifying them into action, as the lava of a long-sleeping crater suddenly bursts forth into violent eruption. Then a people, recognising in the claimant for popular sway a reflection of itself, purified and exalted by the long thought by which the process of assimilation must necessarily be completed, place in the leader a confidence which no other could inspire, and by their faith enable him to ripen into deeds the conception they had originally engendered. For if a chief be indispensable to carry into execution a popular thought, all the genius and devotedness one individual can bring to the task of destroying a moral or material bondage are utterly thrown away, unless he find a nation to uphold his idea. It is the conjunction of the two—of the leader and the people—that have made the grand epochs of history and produced the greatest celebrities of action.

Joseph Garibaldi is essentially such a man as we describe. He may be said to resume in himself the mind and heart of Italy. His character was formed by the events of her history as they rolled out before his eyes; from early youth upwards, he has partaken her vicissitudes, his opinions have passed through the successive phases of her aspirations, often preceding the thought of his people, yet never in contradiction to it, and his sword has ever been the first to fly from the scabbard at the first symptom of a struggle, whether the enemy were the Pope or the Austrian. Thus formed by the action of Italian thought and deeds, he now in turn influences Italy, and at the present hour his name is more

familiar at every cottage hearth than that of the soldier-king or his potent ally; the reputation of the chief makes service in his bands more attractive than any other to the adventurous youth of all classes, and the approach of his little army inspired the Austrian soldiers with more dread than that of the numerous battalions of the allies.

Born at Nice, on the 4th of June, 1807, he had already entered the Sardinian navy when the Italian mind was roused from its long slumber. The inhabitants of the Ligurian coasts have been known for ages as bold mariners, and, to this day, they launch out to sea and brave the perils of the Atlantic in craft that appear but ill-deserving of their confidence. The habit of relying on their own resources has fostered in them a rough spirit of independence and a love of adventure, unrivalled in the rest of the Peninsula. Garibaldi, the son of an old sea-captain, was plentifully endowed with the peculiarities of his race. The constant sight of the sea, and the early habit of struggling with the elements, doubtless contributed to form his intense and passionate love of liberty; and often confined to Genoa by the duties of his service, he was naturally predisposed to adopt the doctrines of Mazzini—himself a Genoese—who at that time first appeared on the stage of Italian politics. Mazzini was not then what he has become since. He had just proclaimed that idea of Italian unity, which had seemed a fair but marble statue since the days of Machiavelli and Dante, to be a living object of desire; his countrymen were struck with admiration at the boldness of his projects, and fascinated by the eloquence with which he defended them; and the means he pointed out for attainment of the ultimate aim seemed the only ones possible, while every sovereign of the Peninsula was closely leagued with Austria and bent in lowly submission before the successor of St. Peter. Mazzini's thoughts were then in harmony with those of his nation, other and more practical men had not as yet attempted the realization of his idea, solitary and continual brooding had not deadened him to all but the suggestions of his own self-adoring and mystical mind, nor had exile dug a deep abyss between his highly-coloured ideal and the practical aspirations of his countrymen. It was therefore natural that Garibaldi, already an ardent devotee of Italian liberty, should readily enter into schemes the practicability of which had not yet been put to the test.

The first attempt at the regeneration of Italy by means of the revolution was crushed in the bud, Mazzini and his chief partisans were forced to seek safety in flight, and Garibaldi, whose offence was rendered the more heinous by his rank in the Sardinian navy, soon found himself an exile at Marseilles. His character was too frank and energetic for him to partake the mole-

like existence of his leader; conspiracy, however noble its object, was no occupation for one who is emphatically the soldier of Italy, and whose object through life has been to prove that his countrymen are as well endowed with all military qualities as the most martial of European nations. For a while, Garibaldi passed over to Tunis, but finding no scope for the development of his energies, he soon sought a wider field of action in South America, where he entered the service of the Republic of Uruguay, then engaged in a struggle for independence with Rosas, the Dictator of Buenos Ayres.

The task entrusted to Garibaldi would have been enough to overwhelm one less able or less resolute—to him it proved but the training for greater deeds. Obligated to fight by sea and land alternately, he had to create a fleet by capturing the vessels of the enemy, and to organize a military force from whatever elements happened to present themselves. It was during these years of warfare that he raised his Italian legion, a part of which following him to Europe, became the nucleus of the bands that he long afterwards led to the defence of Rome, and several of the officers by whom he is still surrounded attached themselves to him at this period. Among these we may especially note Ortoni, then his second in command and his lieutenant at sea, afterwards the companion of his wanderings and his fellow-labourer on his Sardinian farm, lastly, chief of the staff in his little army.

It would be tedious to trace, one by one, the series of actions by which Garibaldi compelled Rosas finally to acknowledge the independence of Uruguay, a concession which paved the way to his own downfall. It is more interesting for us to mark the effects of these actions on Garibaldi himself and on the minds of his followers. Often defeated, sometimes apparently on the verge of destruction, he never despaired, never gave in. Gradually he acquired all the qualifications of a consummate guerilla leader. Practice taught him how to harass and confound a numerically superior enemy by sudden marches and unexpected attacks, in which the bayonet played a chief part, as the weapon of most deadly effect in the hands of resolute and enthusiastic men; he learned how to take advantage of every dell and mound, and how to profit by the slightest error of his adversary. Deep study of the science of war has since added to his qualifications as a great leader, and shown him how to improve stratagem by art, but the talent he above all possesses is that of inspiring confidence in his followers. His brilliant, yet unconscious personal bravery, his simple hardihood, his readiness of resource in all emergencies, his strict justice, and the severe discipline tempered by affectionate care for the well-being of "his sons," as he has ever delighted to call his soldiers, all contribute to ensure to him their respect and

passionate devotion, which makes it their highest ambition to earn his praise, while a word from him is enough to urge them to almost superhuman exertion, since they never doubt either the success or the necessity of a movement he orders.

The war in South America had been concluded about two years, and Garibaldi had retired with his wife (a Brazilian lady, who had shared all the perils of his campaigns) to a farm he possessed and cultivated with his own hands, when intelligence of the revolutions of 1848 reached Montevideo. Italy was in arms! The opportunity for which Garibaldi had panted through long years of exile, in anticipation of which he had so anxiously disciplined his Italian followers, had arrived at last. Accompanied by Annita, his two young sons, and his faithful band, he lost no time in setting sail for Europe, but with all his haste he did not arrive until the fortune of battle had already turned against Italy. His first impulse was to offer his sword to Charles Albert, but his reputation as a Mazzinian had preceded him, and the king recoiled from accepting the services of a republican leader. It was indeed too late; and though the local government of Lombardy readily entered into an arrangement with Garibaldi, and he accordingly took the field, advancing in the first instance as far as Brescia, and afterwards carried on a guerilla warfare for several weeks in the mountainous district around the Lake of Como, and in the Valtellina, his exertions had no other effect than to lay the foundation of that fame which has since drawn so many volunteers to his standard, and to inspire the Austrians with a terror they have never been able to shake off. The dexterity with which he baffled all pursuit, his skilful marches, and bold attacks on points where he was least expected, above all the manner in which he on one occasion, near Varese, made his way between two divisions of pursuing Austrians, leaving them to fight each other for some hours in the dark, before they discovered their mistake, a repetition of a device he had once practised at sea in South America, led the ignorant peasants, and the no less superstitious Austrian soldiers, to believe his success attributable to means more than human.

A wider field of exertion soon presented itself. Rome proclaimed the republic after the flight of the Pope, his old friend and associate, Mazzini, was elected triumvir, and Garibaldi hastened to lead his band, swelled by the adventurous spirits of every part of Italy, from the Lombard hills to the smooth Campagna. The gallant resistance of the young republic was chiefly owing to him, and to the spirit he infused into all who came within the sphere of his influence. From the time of his arrival he recommended that numerous battalions should be raised, and preparations made for a siege, and had these measures been adopted,

the defence, even if finally unsuccessful, might certainly have been indefinitely prolonged. But practical exertion speedily displayed the different characters of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and the effect of the lives they had led since they planned and hoped together so many years before. The one, of whom it is no reproach to say that his character fulfils the romantic conception of a conspirators living alone, or in the society of devoted adherents, who drank in his words as the decisions of an inspired oracle, had woven for himself an unreal metaphysical world of imagination, through the mazes of which he delighted to wander, and when called on to govern the Republic, whose image he had so often conjured up, transferred his ideal of what should be to the management of public affairs. The other, frank and daring, trained in action and tested by long habit of command, was influenced by no such illusions, and thus Garibaldi was ever urging rapid preparation and energetic arming, while Mazzini was dreaming of the fraternity of nations, and hoping that the very weakness and inoffensiveness of the State he governed would afford it protection, even after the first booming of cannon might have taught him to cast such fancies to the winds.

Thwarted in his schemes and circumscribed in his actions, Garibaldi added daily to his fame and to that of his band by continual sallies and skirmishes, testifying at once to his bravery and his skill. At one moment he might be found discomfiting the Neapolitan army at Velletri, at another retarding the advance of the French, and repulsing their first attacks upon Rome. Wherever danger was most threatening he hastened to interpose, and victory never ceased to hover over his banner. But all his exertions could not long avert a fate called down by the faults of others; and when the capitulation was agreed to, he, disdaining to share its benefits, left Rome by one gate while the French entered by another, and took the road towards Terracina, followed by his troops. His object was to reach Venice, where Manin yet held aloft the flag of Italian nationality, and his soldiers pledged themselves anew never to desert their chief.

But the way was long, the road intercepted by many enemies. The flower of the Piedmontese army had fallen three months before at Novara, Lombardy was crushed, Tuscany and Romagna were held down under the iron hoof of Austria, the French and Neapolitans were in the rear. By a series of skilful manœuvres Garibaldi eluded pursuit, but the long marches and counter-marches among the Apennines, the apparent hopelessness of the enterprise, combined to thin his little band, and having reached the neutral territory of San Marino, he released his soldiers from their oath, himself perceiving that his only chance of arriving at Venice was to embark in a fishing-boat with a few followers. He

then made his way to Cisnatico, on the Adriatic shore, accompanied by Annita and his children, and also by Ugo Bassi, Cicerovacchio, and two hundred faithful adherents who had still clung to his fortunes, and had answered his offer of their liberty by the cry "To Venice! to Venice!"

A more painful trial than any he had yet experienced, now awaited Garibaldi. His beloved and loving Annita, the wife who had shared all his toils and adventures, the heroic woman who had smiled on him through all his sufferings, and brightened every dark hour of his life, the only rival of Italy in his affections, was about to be taken from him. Although on the eve of childbirth she had ridden by his side throughout the march, and after braving the heats of the July sun and the cold of the mountain camp, she had cheerfully embarked with her husband and his friends. The little fleet of thirteen fishing-boats were already within sight of the Lagune, when it was attacked by an Austrian brig, which succeeded in sinking or capturing eight among them. Five escaped, almost by a miracle; but previous fatigue and mental exhaustion had made this last trial too much for Annita. She was already dying, when Garibaldi, in the vain hope of relieving her, again sought the coast. To avoid pursuit, which they felt to be near at hand, the patriots separated never to meet again in this world. Ugo Bassi, Cicerovacchio, and his young sons, speedily fell into the hands of the Austrians, and were shot down like hunted beasts. Garibaldi went on his way, followed by his children and by Origoni, who now and then relieved him from the task of carrying his dying wife. At length he was fain to lay her down in a peasant's empty hut. Heedless of peril, Origoni hurried in search of medical aid, and the husband alone watched by the exhausted sufferer. Nature could bear no more, no assistance was at hand, and in a few hours there Annita died. Jealous of the right of bestowing the last cares on one so dear, with his own hands Garibaldi dug her grave, in the depths of a wild Romagnole forest, and laid her in a spot known to himself alone. Let none dare to scan his feelings. He lived, for his children, *hers*, and Italy yet remained, and he looked to a day when he might avenge Annita, but the light of his life was gone for ever from the earth. He wandered on, and one day the widowed husband and his orphan sons arrived at Genoa, a port of safety, how, he would perhaps be himself scarcely able to tell.

Again Garibaldi set forth on his wanderings. For a short time he betook himself to the United States, and gained his bread by daily labour; hence he again went to South America, but he found no opening for active exertion, and the home he had once loved had lost its charm. He next undertook some commercial voyages to Genoa, and thus obtained a little money,

with which he purchased the small island of Caprera, off the coast of Sardinia. He there settled down with a few devoted friends, resigned to live by the humble avocations of husbandry until a day should come when he might again draw his sword for the freedom of Italy. The only political act he performed during these long years of deferred hope was the signature he hastened to append to the subscription for the hundred cannons of Alexandria, opened by Manin, an act slight in appearance, yet of deep significance, since by it he proclaimed his separation from Mazzini, and his adherence to the national party, under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel.

It was, perhaps, this act that induced the king and Count Cavour to turn to Garibaldi as soon as the preparations of Austria made war probable. The summons to Turin found him at Caprera, and he hastened to obey. An attachment far more sincere than is usual between a king and his subject speedily united Victor Emmanuel and the partisan chief, and Garibaldi was named lieutenant-general, and entrusted with the command of a body of volunteers about to be formed under the name of *Cacciatori delle Alpi*. These appointments were not published, but the news flew from the summits of the Alps to the extreme point of Sicily, and the effect was as immediate as when the fiery-cross was formerly carried across the Scottish hills. It gave a practical aim in place of the abstract longings of the Italian youth, for the name of Garibaldi was a pledge that the coming struggle would be for the independence of Italy, not for mere dynastic ambition, and volunteers flocked to join his standard. The Minister of War, Della Marmora, a brave officer and a devoted patriot, yet one too much attached to his habits of routine thoroughly to reconcile himself to the use of revolutionary arms, and too rigid a disciplinarian to appreciate the brilliant yet somewhat eccentric abilities of the guerilla leader, threw many difficulties in the way of the legion, and thus prevented its attaining the strength and efficiency it might have had before the outbreak of the war, but the king and Cavour lent a firm and consistent support, and Garibaldi was thus enabled to surround himself once more with his old companions in arms, and to place at the head of his regiments two exiles, Colonels Cosenz and Medici, one of whom had been distinguished at Venice, the other at Rome.

A new and more brilliant phase of the life of Garibaldi than any that had preceded it, was now about to begin. The necessity of awaiting the arrival of the French artillery for a while confined him to the walls of Casale, along with the other Italian divisions, but when the forward movement was decided upon, the king wisely thought that such a leader, and such soldiers as he had formed, might be better employed than in sharing the slow

advance of the regular army, and he acceded to the wish of the chief to be first on Lombard soil. Garibaldi might well feel confidence in his sons; they were not five thousand strong,—they had no cannon, and only forty horsemen, but the little force was composed of nobles, citizens, artists, members of every liberal profession. The noblest names of Milan and Venice were in the ranks; every man there had received the education of a gentleman; each knew the importance of the cause he fought for, and felt deep and intelligent confidence in his chief. That faith was needful, for Garibaldi was about to lead them to as perilous an adventure as man ever conceived, and to demand from them exertions unknown to the annals of ordinary warfare.

The Allies were still behind the Sesia, when Garibaldi, after drawing off the attention of the Austrians by a feint to the north of Arona, suddenly crossed the Ticino at Sesto Calende during the night of the 22nd of May, and marched upon Varese, a small town among the hills. From this time to his arrival at Salò, on the Lake of Garda, a month later, his campaign seems more like the pages of a romance than the sober narrative of history. During many days he was entirely cut off from all communication with Piedmont, for the Austrians held the shore of the Lago Maggiore; and his reports to the king, and the despatches of Count Cavour, were conveyed by the smugglers; even this means being uncertain and insecure. Opposed to him were 17,000 foot, with six cannon and two divisions of cavalry, commanded by General Urban, supposed by the Austrians to be the only man capable of coping with Garibaldi in irregular warfare.

Such difficulties would have paralysed one less hardy than Garibaldi; but he had confidence in himself, in his soldiers, and in the populations whom he immediately called to arms; nor was his expectation deceived. Urban marched upon Varese, and Garibaldi, who had previously caused the town to be barricaded, issued from it in the night, fell upon the flank of the attacking column, and drove it back at the point of the bayonet. This success he followed up by a sudden movement on Como, whence he expelled the astonished Austrians after a brilliant skirmish on the heights of San Fermo. A series of marches and counter-marches between Como, Varese, and Laveno, ensued,* and sharp fights were of nearly daily occurrence, in which Garibaldi lost

* It was during one of these manœuvres that Urban succeeded in taking Varese, which he ordered to deliver to him all the tobacco and cigars in the town, five hundred oxen, and three millions of Austrian lire (£110,000), to be paid in three instalments, in two, six, and twenty-four hours. With great difficulty the municipality obtained a delay until the latter term, but before it expired Garibaldi returned from Laveno, and Urban took to flight, leaving behind him the hostages he had seized.

many brave volunteers, acquiring on the other hand a moral superiority which made the Austrian soldiers leave their quarters sure they would be beaten, although their numbers were ten to one. There were moments, however, of great peril, when Garibaldi, seeing himself surrounded and every issue from the hills closed, would bid his men disperse, appointing them a rallying place many miles distant. At the hour fixed every man was at his place, and the whole corps, as united as though the bonds of discipline had never been relaxed, fell on the rear of the enemy, who thought to have no more to dread.

The steady progress of the Allies soon allowed Garibaldi to push on eastward. The 5th of June, he put his little force on board two steamers he had captured at Como, and steamed up the lake to Lecco, on his way to Bergamo, leaving the whole country behind him free from Austrian troops, and peaceably obeying the Sardinian commissioner, to whom every municipality had hastened to carry its homage as to the representative of their lawful king. Marching by the hills, to avoid a body of the enemy whom he knew to be posted on the high road, Garibaldi was already within a few miles of the strong and ancient city of Bergamo, when a deputation of its inhabitants came to inform him, that the Austrians, terrified at his approach, had spiked their cannon, abandoned their magazines, and fled during the night. His entry was a triumph of which any sovereign might have been proud. The people hailed their deliverer as if he had been a god descended from heaven, but no homage, no ovation, could turn Garibaldi from his task. Before dismounting he went to meet a column of Austrians reported to be advancing from Brescia, and put them to flight, the volunteers charging with the bayonet as gaily as if they had spent the previous twenty-four hours in repose.

At Bergamo, the Cacciatori enjoyed a few days rest, while their general went to Milan, to receive the commands and well-merited encomiums of the king, who, in his enthusiasm declared, that he would joyfully lay aside his crown and the cares of state, to be the leader of a free corps, the vanguard of the Italian Army. Garibaldi returned decorated with the gold medal for military valour, the choicest reward his sovereign could bestow, and loaded with crosses and decorations for his brave men, whom he was about to lead to an enterprise more daring than any that had gone before.

From Bergamo to Brescia is a distance of forty-five miles by the straight road, the Allies were not yet on the Adda, and the Austrians held fortified positions on the way. But nothing could daunt Garibaldi, and the name of Brescia, which is graven on every true Italian heart, with that of her sister-city, the martyred

Vicenza, acted like magic on the soldiers. The little force, reduced in number by the continual skirmishes, and yet more by the long marches of eighteen and twenty hours, under the scorching sun, set forth by the by-roads. To Brescia! to Brescia! was the shout by which the volunteers encouraged one another, if any sank fainting on the way, and by which they replied to Garibaldi's offer to let them repose. They marched on with scarcely a halt, until they reached the heroic city—the Austrians had left Brescia undefended, never dreaming of an attack in the rear—where they were received with an enthusiasm that words are unable to describe. Brescia alone, full of reminiscences of her resistance to Haynau in 1849, yet smarting under the sense of injuries then received, could give such a reception to her deliverers, and general and soldiers felt amply rewarded for all their toils.

From Brescia, an expedition was sent to raise the district of Idro; this we will describe, as it was a curious example of Garibaldi's half political, half military mission. Eighteen soldiers were packed into an omnibus, two officers, Colonel Türr and Major Camuzzi, followed in a country cart. No sooner did they reach Idro, than all the bells were set ringing, the tricolour was hoisted on every steeple, the municipality proclaimed Victor Emmanuel, and the two officers returned with two hundred and fifty fresh recruits, eager to join the legion, leaving their own men as a garrison.

Despite his numerical superiority, Urban, hemmed in between Garibaldi, who was raising the whole country around him, and the advancing allied army, was glad to escape by forced marches. But at this moment, the volunteers, elated by their almost fabulous success, were nearly betrayed by it to their own destruction. Unused to calculate numbers, they, after leaving Brescia, attacked, at Castenedolo, a vastly superior force, during the absence of Garibaldi, occupied in leading another column. The Austrians were close to their reserves, and though beaten at first, they were soon able to repulse the volunteers with heavy loss. Yet the latter turned so fiercely to charge with the bayonet, that the victorious enemy dared not pursue them, and a few days later, Garibaldi encamped at Salò, on the Lake of Garda, within one short month of his leaving Piedmont. When the Allies crossed the Chiese, he was detached to the Valtellina, to defend the defile of the Stelvio, whence it was apprehended the Austrians might descend towards Milan, after the armies should have passed the Mincio, and General Cialdini, with his division, was sent in support to the Tonale pass, another issue from the Trentino, or Italian Tyrol, a province which the Congress of Vienna, and deep-lying political and military schemes for the perpetual subjugation of Italy, has

attached to the German Confederation in spite of nature and geography.*

Throughout the campaign, Garibaldi and his sons were the favourite heroes of Italy. He was everywhere the precursor of the regular armies, and every other issue for popular enthusiasm being dammed up, by the strict discipline inculcated in all the revolutionized provinces, it rushed with double force into the only channel left open. From the time Garibaldi left Piedmont, he never received any assistance from the Treasury, or the Ministry of War. Nor did he stand in need of it. The Lombard towns vied with each other in the receptions they gave him. Voluntary offerings filled his military chest, the lists of enrolment he opened in every city were covered with signatures, so that his force at last amounted to upwards of 15,000 men. Bergamo armed and clothed 2000 of his recruits, Como, 1400, while Lodi gave 52,000 francs, without specifying any number; other towns were no less liberal, and besides these special gifts, his soldiers, who often arrived in a city ragged and barefoot (for they carried nothing but their arms and ammunition), never left it unprovided with shoes and clean shirts. Their coarse and simple uniforms were fitted for their hard life, and it was a touching sight to see men white-handed and gently nurtured, wearing it as a distinction which cast honour on the noblest name, and gaily enduring the toils, and submitting to the stern discipline of the *Cacciatori delle Alpi*. Uninured to fatigue, they often sank under the long marches, which were usually directed across country, and the hospitals were crowded with sick, yet even they were roused by the sound of the musketry. The name of their leader, at all times the battle-cry, seemed a spell potent to raise even the dying, and such was their eagerness for the fight, that on one occasion, eight soldiers, who lay ill, rose from their beds, and hurried to partake the peril of their comrades. Two fell, two were carried to the rear desperately wounded, the remaining four crept painfully back to the hospital at the close of the day.

The troops of Garibaldi were the last to exchange shots with the enemy, as they had been the first to leave the sheltering ramparts of Casale. The chief was at the foot of the Stelvio, and had already engaged the Austrians in several sharp fights, winning

* The Trentino is a province inhabited by Italians, lying to the south of the great chain of Alps, although enclosed by a lower range of hills, pierced by five passes, which give entrance to Lombardy and Venetia. It is thus a huge natural fortress, whence the Austrians can sally, while an army, warring on behalf of Italy, cannot pursue them, if in retreat, without violating the territory of the German Confederation—a most convenient arrangement for Austria. Had the war gone on, she would probably have abandoned the open plains of Venetia, and, issuing from the Trentino, have endeavoured to cut off the Allies from their base of operations.

successes he was forbidden to follow up, lest pursuit should lead to a violation of Germanic territory, when he received intelligence, first of the armistice, then of the convention of Villafranca. Deep and strange was the impression that peace made on all Italy. The brief, rude, yet vague message, borne by the electric wire, flew through the Peninsula, crushing highly excited hopes, and quenching fiery enthusiasm. The aspect of cities changed as at the wave of a magic wand. Grief was as plainly legible on every face as joy had been but a few short hours before. A funeral veil seemed to have been suddenly flung over Milan, Turin, Florence, and to have enveloped all classes in its sable folds. The desolation of Venetia, who shall portray? From the tower of St. Mark, the Venetians had been watching every movement of the French fleet, as it lay in the offing; from the ramparts of Verona, the citizens had been straining their eyes, to catch a sight of the tricolor flag of the deliverer, and a few curt words declared all hope to be at an end. Many there were who cut short their days in utter despair, many to whom God in his mercy sent madness as a relief from thought,* and throughout the length and breadth of Italy, the phrase, "Venetia remains under the sceptre of Austria," seemed likely to prove the death-knell to hope and faith, to liberty and order.

Then was seen a struggle which shook the soul of a whole nation, as that of a single man. All the passions that can agitate a human breast contended for mastery in the minds of millions of men. Grief, rage, fear of the worse that might follow, since such misery could befall, dire suspicion of all who had been most implicitly trusted, united to render sober judgment impossible, and the people were tossed on the waves of angry passion, as a rudderless ship on a mighty sea. Men, who had ever been noted for the moderation of their opinions, cried, "Viva Mazzini," as if to testify to a new-born conviction, that violence and extreme measures alone could henceforth avail to save Italy. Then came intelligence that would have seemed calculated to heighten the excitement, and which proved the means of bringing men to consider calmly what could yet be done—intelligence of the resignation of Count Cavour, of the undisguised despair of Victor Emmanuel. All learned that the king still felt with his people, that the minister had renounced power, rather than consent to the hateful peace. The light of hope broke through the clouds of despair, and the future of Italy was saved. It is to the eternal honour of the Italians that they should have passed through this fearful

* Delicacy towards the survivors forbid all allusions to the names of these unhappy victims of their too intense patriotism, yet the fact is certain, and many in Milan could testify to its occurrence among the circle of their own personal acquaintance.

ordcal, without a single act of violence having been attempted. One moment had sufficed apparently to shatter all the hopes that had been so systematically excited, so sedulously fostered, and to deprive them of that entire independence which had been promised as the recompence for their unquestioning obedience, yet not an insult was offered to those who inflicted this crushing disappointment. Sympathy was felt for the vexation that the army was conceived to experience at the sudden interruption of its dazzling career (an impression confirmed by the bearing both of officers and men), and the French Emperor, though received coldly, was greeted with the respect due to one who, however he had fallen short of his spontaneous promises, had yet risked his life, and shed the blood of his soldiers for the freedom of Italy.

With his great Italian heart, Garibaldi partook all the feelings of his countrymen. In his camp, near Lovere, he shared their grief and anger, and his first impulse on hearing of the peace was to throw up his command. He wrote at once to the king, but at the entreaty of his royal master he was speedily induced to withdraw his resignation. It was well for Italy that Victor-Emmanuel possessed this influence over the mind of the popular chief. The retirement of Garibaldi at such a moment would have been as fatal in its effects as that of Cavour was salutary. Count Cavour, essentially a war-minister, committed to undying enmity to Austria, could not have signed any document relative to the peace without belying his whole career; but had Garibaldi, a military leader, unconnected with politics or diplomacy, given up his commission, all Italy would have seen in the act a proof that the Sardinian monarch and government had abandoned her cause for the rich bribe of Lombardy. The faith that the hero would never serve a party interest was so strong that the intelligence of his retaining the command of his troops knit yet tighter the hearts of the people to their sovereign, and when he issued a proclamation ending with the words, "Be ever true to the cause of Italian independence—long live Victor-Emmanuel, our king!" the shout went forth from the narrow limits of the Alpine camp and was echoed back from the banks of Arno and the forests of Romagna.

Harsh and paradoxical as the assertion may seem, we believe that the abandonment of Venice was the pledge for the future of Italy. It is most painful to behold the condition of the unhappy provinces of Venetia, weighed down by ruthless taxation, oppressed by a hungry and disappointed soldiery;* it is grievous to think of

* On the 5th of July last, the city of Venice was ordered by the governor, Count Bissingen, to pay 1,200,000 florins (£120,000) in six days. The yearly taxes imposed on Venetia amount to 37,288,320 lire. This year there were additional war taxes, and a forced loan of 45,000,000 of florins. The estimated income of Venetia is 65,433,361 lire.

noble women cast into solitary confinement like Madame Contarini; of peaceful citizens torn from their homes at dead of night and shut up in the dungeons of German fortresses, their goods confiscated, and their families left in penury; but if we can divest ourselves of individual sympathy, we may deem that all the tears shed in Venetia are almost necessary to water the infant tree of Italian unity and independence. In the narrative of the Evangelists, Christ suffers for the redemption of the world—in ordinary life, individual woe is often the source of the general weal, and heavy as is the cross that Venetia now bears, it may prove the symbol of the salvation of all Italy. None could have wished this heavy burden to be cast on a city so endeared to every student of historic or artistic lore, that Venice appeals to our sympathy with a charm only less than that of our native homes, however beneficial the consequence that may ultimately ensue, yet as fate has decreed that the burden shall be borne yet awhile, it were well that none should let sorrow blind them to what compensation circumstances may admit, and we will briefly state the reasons that tend to mitigate our regret.

History shows, that the more easily a nation wins its liberty, the less likely it is to maintain what it has acquired. Had the war continued, in all human probability the Austrians would have been driven back from the Mincio to the Isonzo even more rapidly than from the Ticino to the Lombard frontier, nay, there is great reason to believe that the celebrated quadrangle might have been taken with less sacrifice of life and time than had been anticipated. The armaments of Verona are now known to have been incomplete, and the Hungarian and Polish garrison of Mantua had arranged to open the gates at the first demonstration of an attack. Everything was agreed upon and the day fixed, when the sudden conclusion of the armistice obliged the officer who had conducted the negotiations to send word to his confederates within the fortress, that the execution of the scheme must be delayed, and a few days later it was, of course, necessarily abandoned. Had independence been won by so slight and short an effort, had the Austrian power thus suddenly and entirely collapsed, would the Italians have been united in taking the measures necessary to prevent its return at some future period? We know that the great mass of the Italian nation is ready to make any sacrifice for independence, and that the noblest minds among her sons do not scruple to declare; that if, once freed, Italy were unable to defend her liberties and guard them with her own sword, she would deserve to fall back into slavery, but too easy victory might have engendered contempt for the foe, and opened a door to many municipal and provincial jealousies and rivalries. In the rejoicings for the conquests of a potent ally, the necessity for self-sacrifice might

have been forgotten and have thrown many difficulties in the way of a strong organization of Italy. Now, the consciousness that the enemy is near, looking down from the ramparts of Mantua and Verona, to profit by any sign of disunion, comes home to every true Italian heart, and before many years have passed, the spirit now working will weld the different provinces so thoroughly together, that the differences between Tuscan and Piedmontese will become as little dangerous to their common character as Italians as those between Alsatian and Gascon are to the unity of France; and the union will be far more likely to prove satisfactory if the provinces join Sardinia by their own solemn and deliberate choice, rather than in obedience to the fortune of war.

No greater proof is needed than the events that have just taken place in Central Italy. But a few months since, the withdrawal of the Austrians, and the flight of the quasi-native authorities, left the populations entirely to themselves. They were unused to self-government, and military power alone had restrained their passions for years. The people sent to Turin for Italian rulers, and a remarkable symptom soon made manifest their aptitude for order. Brigandage suddenly ceased, political assassination disappeared, even ordinary crime diminished in a striking degree. A Sardinian governor and a few half-drilled national guards achieved in a few hours what thousands of Austrian soldiers, aided by troops of *gens-d'armes* and a powerful police, had failed to do in ten years. At first sight this fact appears so surprising as to baffle all explanation. If we reflect, however, we may perceive that the people had been going through a course of education ever since 1818. Under every disguise and pretext, the secret agents of Austria were constantly urging them to disorder and revolt, while her organs in the German press never ceased to portray the anarchical tendencies and municipal dissensions of the Italians. Thus the populations were enabled to see their own former errors as in a glass, they were struck by the deformity of the portrait, and perceiving at the same time that the real object of the "*agents provocateurs*" must be the advantage of Austria, they discovered what they were henceforth to avoid, under pain of eternal servitude. So deeply rooted was this conviction, that not even the deep calculation of their flying rulers, who (with the exception of the Duchess of Parma), anxious to conduce to the fulfilment of their own prophecies of anarchy, ordered all the persons employed under their government immediately to interrupt their labours, could sting them into momentary forgetfulness. Thus, the order and moderation we are now admiring are the direct result of the calculations and over-strenuous efforts of the Hapsburg Dukes. Whatever the secret motive of the Emperor Napoleon in drawing up the preliminaries of Villafranca, the clause permit-

ting the return of the self-exiled sovereigns has had an effect he could scarcely have anticipated, unless, indeed, his design was to provoke a fresh and more striking manifestation of the wishes and capacities of the Italian nation.

No disorder followed the recal of the Piedmontese commissioners. Modena and Parma quietly united themselves under the dictatorship of the Roman Farini; Tuscany was governed apart by Baron Ricasoli; Romagna, by Colonel Cipriani. History presents few spectacles more grand than that we have so lately witnessed. Even our own revolution of 1688 can hardly stand a comparison. An elective law on the broadest base was promulgated, and all classes hastened to the poll, even the less educated displaying an eagerness to take advantage of their privilege, rare in our own country. The men most distinguished for birth, name, beneficence, science, wealth, were returned by large majorities. The elections were unsullied by the slightest excess, and when the assemblies met, they with singular unanimity voted the expulsion of their ancient rulers, and the union with Sardinia; and then, their task accomplished, prorogued themselves, wisely divining that in such troubled times a dictatorship alone could hope to obtain a favourable solution.

That the smaller duchies should arrive at this decision need excite no surprise. Forming part of the vast Valley of the Po, their geographical and commercial tendencies lead them to seek union with Lombardy and Piedmont, and for the last ten years they have aspired to realize the wish revealed by universal suffrage in 1848. The Legations so abhor their priestly rulers, that even in the last century they hailed with delight their transfer to republican France by the treaty of Tolentino; and whatever Mr. Bowyer, and other Irish members, may be pleased to think or say, we cannot doubt that they would prefer any government whatsoever to that of the Vicar of Christ. But we own that we scarcely ventured to anticipate the unanimity of the Tuscan Assembly; and we appeal to it as a testimony to the truth of our remarks on the indirect beneficial consequences of the peace of Villafranca.

The autonomy of Tuscany had for centuries been strongly marked; the people had few positive grievances to complain of; and though the princes of Hapsburg Lorraine had conferred no lasting benefits on their subjects, they were undistinguished by the positive and individual wickedness of the Dukes of Parma and Modena, and had they yielded with a good grace to the request urged by Cavaliere Buoncompagni,* on the 24th of April last, they might at this hour have reigned undisturbed, under shel-

* His despatch of the above date reflects equal honour on the Minister who ordered and the representative who drew it up, and is the best proof of the isinterestedness of Piedmont in the Italian question.

ter of an alliance with Victor Emmanuel. They refused, and went their way, the departure of the Grand-ducal family making as little sensation in the country it had governed for 122 years as that of any ordinary traveller. The protectorate of the "honest" king was sought as a means of assisting in the war, but few then really thought of a fusion under his sceptre, and those few had but little hope of seeing their wishes realized. The Tuscans were content to await events, and had Venetia been freed as speedily as Lombardy, we will venture to say they would never have been willing to sacrifice their administrative independence. The peace carried to all hearts the stern conviction that self-sacrifice alone could enable Italy to resist the still remaining power of Austria, and annul her influence in the Confederation, if that strange conception were ever destined to see the light. This belief bore speedy fruits; the electors asked but one pledge of the representatives to whom they confided their destiny; and when the descendants of the grand old republicans of Florence met again in the hall of the Cinque-Cento, in that palace which is as a very temple of historic grandeur, the issue was not doubtful. There they stood once more, the bearers of names that adorn the pages of Guicciardini and Sismondi. Gino Capponi, descended from that Pietro who once bearded the French monarch in his tent; Strozzi, of yet more princely line; Ugolino della Gherardesca, whose name can never die while the verse of Dante lives; with many more of kindred, if not equal fame. The old spirit of Florence seemed to descend upon them as they left that ancient hall so replete with glorious memories, and went in solemn procession to pray the blessing of God in the fane that Brunelleschi raised and Michel Angelo admired, with humble doubt of his own power to emulate. May their prayer be heard both in heaven and on earth, and the double decision they came to with such calm dignity, such resolute courage, such disdain both of secret menace and of deceitful lures, avail for the good of Tuscany and the future of Italy.

Many of these men had lived in familiar intercourse with the Grand-ducal family, yet not a voice was raised in defence of the princes who had sought shelter in the Austrian camp, and gone forth to battle with the vanquished of Solferino. Not even under shelter of the ballot was a single vote recorded in their favour. With peculiar tact the Assembly assigned, as the motive for its vote, the simple fact that the ruler had abandoned his country at the commencement of a national war. Thus every citizen who had not quitted Tuscany was enabled consistently to adhere to the vote of exclusion. The farther question then remained—Should Tuscany unite herself to Northern Italy, or seek to become the centre of a kingdom to be offered to Prince Napoleon,

whose matrimonial alliance with the House of Savoy might make him almost appear an Italian prince? We are ready to acknowledge that personal dislike of, and contempt for this candidate, dating from his earliest years, may have had something to do with the unanimity of the decision; but we believe that, after Villafranca, the union would in any case have been voted by a large majority. Italy for the Italians, is the one thing aspired to; and all classes have a strong persuasion, that were they once united under a single sceptre, the Austrian tenure of Venetia would not be of long duration.

But all these signs of the temper of men's minds in Italy would be of small avail for the future, were they not accompanied by other symptoms of far deeper import. We have no wish to depreciate the abnegation displayed by the Assemblies, or the order maintained among the people. We know how difficult a task is national sacrifice, since vanity may readily oppose it under the cloak of patriotism; we are aware how hard it was to rouse the despondent, and to bridle the indignant; to maintain order, and to unite all classes in a common effort, embarrassed as the dictators necessarily were by the uncertainties of the future, and by the intrigues of the Mazzinians, and of the priestly party, both of whom saw their only hope in disturbance. All honour is due to the populations, to their representatives, and to the dictators, men who unite great talent with singular firmness of character, and steadfast clearness of vision; but we say again, that were these the only signs visible, so many virtues would but serve to adorn the victim, and render its fate more lamented, not to avert the final sacrifice.

Were the provinces of Central Italy content with sending deputations to offer their crowns to Victor-Emmanuel, did they rest satisfied with the formal and often-repeated assurance of Napoleon III., that he will neither undertake nor sanction any armed intervention, we should even yet despair of the future of Italy. There is, indeed, a moral certainty that the French Emperor will not endeavour to coerce the nation he has so lately delivered, and if Austria be thoroughly convinced that any attempt at violence on her part will be opposed by France, the lesson taught at Solferino will probably induce her sullenly to acquiesce, for the present, in the aggrandizement of Sardinia. But this moral certainty is not enough, and the real test of the fitness of the Italians for freedom is the union of the menaced provinces, and the readiness of the inhabitants to give money and life in support of their decisions.

Fortunately this test is not wanting. In the spirit of the old Lombard league, that once saved Italy from the spoiler, the modern Italians have united themselves for a common resistance. The governments are well aware that besides the Austrians, there

are many elements of mischief abroad, that the Pope, whose name in the older time to which we have alluded, was synonymous with resistance to the foreigner, has now gone over to the foe. Alexander III. formed the Lombard League, the town erected for its defence, Alessandria della Paglia, received his name, and by a strange coincidence has even lately proved a solid bulwark against German invasion. Pius IX. allowed Perugia to be sacked and rewarded those who did the bloody deed. His troops are even now assembling at La Cattolica, and might any day invade Romagna. The banished dukes may perhaps attempt mischief with the secret assistance of Austria, and we know that the few, yet active and reckless, partisans of Mazzini are doing their best to excite troubles within the border. Union is the only defence against these divers dangers, and, in our opinion, nothing augurs better for the future, than that the three governments should have hastened to conclude a league for their mutual support, and have united their armies under a single chief.

There are many leaders in Italy whose talents and honesty are beyond dispute, but one man only was to be found above all suspicion or cavil. That man was Garibaldi. It is not his talents, however signally proved, that give him his unequalled influence. It is his moral character that makes him the only man able to tame or bend the wild spirits that are gathering for the defence of Central Italy.* He has lived with the life of his people, and born of their breath, his turn has now come to sway their passions at his will. The boldest shrink from his displeasure, and submit without a murmur to the stern discipline he enforces, for all know his inflexible severity whenever he deems his anger just. The calmer spirits confide in his fatherly care, and all know that whenever the trumpet sounds, he will seek his place in the van, with his usual haughty defiance of death. The personal intrepidity of a leader is always sure to endear him to his soldiers, and is a necessary qualification in the chief of bands so motley as those Garibaldi now commands. But even this is not the chief cause of that general's magic power. The secret lies in the knowledge that his life is one devoted to Italy, for his readiness to engage the trained troops of Austria, or the Swiss mercenaries of the Pope, cannot be questioned, and condemnation of all republican attempts come with double force from the lips of him who so long fought the battles of the republic, and first suffered for his participation in the plots of Mazzini.

* General Fanti has also been appointed to a command in Central Italy, but it has not been officially stated whether he will be under the orders of Garibaldi or superior to him. The well-known patriotism of the general makes us hope and believe the former. His great talents and scientific acquirements will no doubt be of the greatest service in that case, but they could hardly replace the moral ascendancy which Garibaldi alone possesses.

Some may be disposed to mistrust the troops now united under command of Garibaldi, on account of the various elements from which they are composed. The three governments who appointed him have, however, confidence in his ability to weld the mass into a compact army, as a skilful swordsmith forms a fine and sharp-edged blade out of what seemed a rough lump of iron. The elements he governs are indeed various. The Tuscan division of regular troops, disciplined by Austrian officers, numbers nearly 13,000 men; the corps of Mezzacapo, composed of fiery Romagnole volunteers, 10,000 to 12,000; that of Roselli 3000 to 4000. Besides these troops, which have been organized some months, the gendarmerie and revenue-guards (*guardie di Finanza*), an armed body, may be counted upon, and two fresh brigades of 6000 men each are forming at Modena, and other corps, both in Tuscany and Romagna. The little army is also tolerably provided with artillery, having three or four field-batteries of eight guns. The Sardinian government has also done what in it lay to swell the numbers of the central Italian army, by at once discharging the volunteers whose services it had a right to retain for a year after the termination of the war, and they are now crowding across the Po, and though Garibaldi, on accepting his new command, was obliged to set free the *Cacciatori delle Alpi*, with whose aid he had worked such miracles, we cannot doubt that personal devotion to their chief and love of Italy will induce great numbers to follow his standard. In a word, to judge the future by the past, the leader is such, that while Garibaldi encamps at Modena, friend and foe may rest alike assured, that if attacked, Italy will come forth from the struggle as victor or perish after a gallant and desperate resistance. We augur this all the more confidently, as it is obvious that the sinews of war will not be wanting. The loans demanded by the provisional governments have been subscribed with remarkable alacrity, and afford a satisfactory proof that the wealthy trust in the permanence of the present order of things, and are ready to make sacrifices to support it.

Will these sacrifices be indeed required at their hands? Will the rich be called upon to offer up their gold?—the young and brave, of every rank, their lives, to secure the liberty of their native land? We trust not; yet we cannot disguise from ourselves that great peril menaces the young independence of Italy from many quarters, and that if even the present question be settled to the entire satisfaction of her citizens, they must yet sleep with their armour on, like the knights of yore, for many a long year, and daily gird up their loins for strife, for the foreign foe lies in his Venetian leaguer; the more secret and deadly enemy has his citadel at Rome, and a struggle must sooner or later ensue.

This is the future in the most favourable case, and perhaps it is not to be regretted. With all their many virtues, the Italians still need the baptism of fire; and it is well that they should feel the absolute necessity of organizing a strong military force. But this future is still remote, and need not now concern us. Enough for the day is the evil thereof, and the present question is sufficient to occupy the wisest heads. The answer to it lies mainly with the English government and nation.

One of the most curious results of the convention of Villafranca was the sudden revulsion of feeling towards England. Up to that period idolatry of France generally prevailed, deep resentment was expressed for the severe language Lord Malmesbury had held to Sardinia, and his successor seemed half included in the unforgiving censure. But as soon as the clang of arms was stilled, and the constitutional phase of the revolution began, this sentiment underwent a change. The people divined that their conduct would be better appreciated in England than in France. They saw that the direct protection of Napoleon III. was for the time withdrawn, that the Italian war had been but a part of, perhaps a prelude to, far greater enterprises, that his chief attention would henceforth be directed elsewhere; and though they hopefully trusted that he would defend them from external aggression if they were but able to suppress internal disorder, they yet yearned for a warmer sympathy, with constitutional aspirations than a despotic sovereign could ever be likely to feel, and despite many previous disappointments they yet sought it from England.

Some writers have hastily stigmatized this change as ingratitude. We do not think it deserves this name, or that it necessarily implies mistrust of the French Emperor, who was himself the first to admit that disappointment was natural, and to excuse its manifestations. At this stage it would be impolitic to express mistrust of him, for the game has not yet been played out: it is clear that no confidence or amity at present exists between the courts of Vienna and Paris; and it has not been sufficiently remarked that however definite the promise, "Italy shall be free from the Alps to the Adriatic," no time was fixed for its fulfilment. The pledge may yet be redeemed; but in the meanwhile the Italians ought to do all in their power to consolidate and confirm their young liberty, and while seeking to improve the opportunity now in their hands, they have a right to seek support wherever it may be to be found.

Hitherto absolute neutrality has been the only course England could pursue with safety and honour. Respect for the treaties which constituted the public law of Europe bade her repress all outward manifestations of sympathy with the down-trodden popu-

lation, whose freedom she could not but desire, while the complicated nature of the questions involved, and the singular spectacle of a despotic sovereign coming forward as the champion of liberty, made it doubly necessary to act with extreme circumspection. The aspect of affairs has now greatly changed, and we think a modification of policy should correspond to it, for the present is a great opportunity both for England and for Europe, and one not to be lightly cast away.

By concluding the convention of Villafranca, Napoleon III. tacitly avowed his inability to settle the Italian question alone, by the mere force of arms, and he thereby renounced all claim to be considered as its sole arbiter. Thus the convention, which had rather the character of an armistice than of a peace, was in fact a reference to a higher tribunal; and this we believe to be necessary, for the passage of the Ticino by the Austrian troops having virtually torn the treaty of Vienna, Europe is at the present moment without a public law, and to be valid a new settlement must be consented to by all the parties concerned.

Within the last two months, the question has made several important steps. The Italians have proved their capacity for self-government, and their representatives have stated their wants and wishes with singular clearness and unanimity. Italy throws herself into the arms of Victor-Emmanuel, as a fair woman eager to recompense the long attachment of a true and devoted lover, and none acquainted with the character of the king can doubt his readiness to assume the arduous duties thus thrust upon him, and to defend his beloved, were it at the cost of his own life. But there are considerations which make him pause, and necessarily prevent his immediate and absolute acceptance of the crowns offered to him. It is his duty to obtain some guarantee for the inviolability of the new State, and to obtain its admission into the family of European nations, ere he allow the provinces of Central Italy to bind up their fate with his. This guarantee, this admission, an European congress alone can give. On the other hand, the position of Austria is greatly changed from what it was six months ago. Her pretensions as a first-class State were then unquestioned, and if some persons, acquainted with the hollowness of her system, doubted its stability, they could bring no proof in support of their opinion. What was then an hypothesis is now a fact recorded by history. It is clear that, morally as well as financially, Austria has for the last ten years been living upon credit. By the mouth of her Emperor she has confessed her defeat, her army, the boasted engine of her power, has been beaten in a campaign of unparalleled brevity, and were additional testimony of her humiliation required, it might be found in her apathy while the changes going on in Central Italy are sapping the very basis of

her dominion. But she holds Venetia as a vast fortified camp, in which she can recruit her strength at leisure, and if, as there is but too much reason to fear, Peschiera, Mantua, and Borgoforte, be left in her hands, she may at any time invade and lay waste the country on both sides the Po, unless the new organization of these provinces be sanctioned by Europe; for our readers must bear in mind that no treaty whatever has hitherto been signed between Austria and Sardinia, and Francis Joseph had the candour to declare, in his proclamation to his soldiers, dated Verona, that he intended to lead them back to Lombardy on the first opportunity.

A congress alone is competent to annul the various claims put forward by Austria, the Pope, and the princes of Central Italy, and by confirming the decision of the assemblies, to put an end to the question which has so long been a constant menace to the peace of Europe, and will continue to be so, unless it obtain a solution in harmony with the wishes and tendencies of the people. The erection of a kingdom of Etruria would merely prolong the stage of transition. No matter who the sovereign chosen, however good his government, the people would still look on Victor-Emmanuel as their rightful king, and thwarted in the present, hope for compensation from the future, thus perpetuating a state of chronic irritation.

It is for this reason that we would fain see England step forward to assert the rights of the Italian nation, and to convoke the august tribunal whose award must decide on their fate. Her isolated position, her strict neutrality throughout the contest, give her a natural right to act as umpire, and it would be great glory for her diplomacy were it to succeed in effecting what Napoleon III., at the head of all his legions, failed to achieve. Were she thus to step forward, she would possibly have both France and Russia on her side, and though we can readily conceive that Austria will make every effort to escape the necessity of vindicating her policy and system before the judgment-seat of Europe, we have yet to learn that her advantage and convenience are so important as to override all other and more general considerations.

Central Italy may be said to have special claims on the interest and sympathy of England. Holding the doctrine that every State has an absolute right over its own destiny, we think that England is bound to acquiesce in any decision the provincial assemblies may deliberately take; but we also think there is a great difference between the cold acquiescence which might have been due, had the triple crown of the Duchies been offered to Prince Napoleon, for instance, and the sympathy which the actual determination is calculated to excite. Central Italy has followed the example laid down by England herself nearly two centuries ago,

and declared the exclusion of princes, who, far more criminal than James II., have actually fought in the ranks of the enemy and oppressor of their former subjects,* and we cannot but sympathize with the anxious desire to form part of a kingdom which has given guarantees for the stability of its constitutional government. Central Italy is united in this wish, Piedmont and Lombardy stretch out their arms towards her, the King is ready to accept the responsibility of welding the provinces into one nation, the sanction of Europe is alone wanting. With a clear conscience and a decisive effect, might England now claim for the Italians the reward which their perseverance and unanimity have so amply deserved. It is at once her privilege and her duty to do so. Let her boldly assert it, and strong from the very neutrality she has hitherto preserved, let her declare herself opposed to all further interference with Italian affairs, whether of France or of Austria, whether by force of arms or the intrigues of unaccredited diplomatists; let her obtain the confirmation of this great principle by the European Powers, and the prosperity and happiness of millions will be chiefly owing to her.

The glory and increase of influence to be acquired by this course cannot be matters of indifference, even to so great a State as England. But it is not on this account alone that we desire to see a Congress summoned, and the decisions of Central Italy confirmed. We wish the calamities to be averted which seem to us inevitable, if this solution be refused, or even too long delayed. The admirable perseverance and patience of the Italians should not be put to too severe a trial; as long as they have hope, they will maintain their present attitude, but were it rudely torn from them, there is no calculating what consequences might be produced by the madness of their despair. But we will not dwell on this painful contingency. We trust that the English Ministers, who, during the debate of the 8th of August last, so nobly pleaded the cause of the Italian Duchies, will maintain the words spoken in the House of Commons before the more secret assembly of Europe, strong in the consciousness of the approval of their own country, and of the liberal party throughout the world.

To the Italians, we would recommend continued order and perseverance, but above all, let not their vigilance be laid asleep. The assurances of Napoleon III. to Count Ciniati, the sympathy of the English people, are calculated to strengthen them in their

The Duke of Modena not only repaired himself to the Austrian camp, but took with him a body of his own troops, whom he had led out, in ignorance of the place of their destination, which they did not discover until they found themselves shut in between two Austrian brigades. These Modenese regiments were sent to garrison the fortresses, and relieve an equal number of German troops, who were thus enabled to be present at the battle of Solferino.

course; but the sole real guarantee for their liberty and independence is the organization of a numerous and highly disciplined army. Let the governors of the different provinces take every measure that may tend to make it as difficult as possible for the diplomatists of Europe not to confirm their union. Let the youth of every rank fly to the standard of Garibaldi, and join the ranks of the volunteers, and the future organization of Italy will soon cease to be a subject for speculation. •



ART. VII.—TENNYSON'S IDYLLS OF THE KING.

Idylls of the King. By ALFRED TENNYSON, D.C.L., Poet Laureate. London. 1859.

SINCE the days of Scott and Byron, when the literary world stood on tiptoe at the announcement of a new lay of the minstrel, or a fresh canto from the pilgrim, few volumes of verse have been looked forward to so anxiously as the last of the Laureate's. Proclaimed and expected for more than a year previous to its publication, it is regarded by most readers as in part the fulfilment of a much older promise. The earlier series of Mr. Tennyson's poems indicated, through the variety of their subjects, a sort of double bent in the poet's mind. Many of the poems in that series, as the fancy sketches which make up his gallery of beauty, his sonnets, his odes, and addresses—the "Two Marianas," "The Miller's Daughter," "Lady Clara," and the "May Queen," were pictures of modern English life, the life of the midland counties, the scenery of the fens coloured by the thought and passion of an English poet engaged in its contemplation. Others, on the contrary, were revivals, more or less successful, of the past, draughts of memory mainly from the fountain of classical and eastern association; "Recollections of the Arabian Nights," visions of "Troas and Ilion's columned citadel," echoes of the Lotus Eater's song. The appearance of the "Morte d'Arthur" in 1842, with the verses on Sir Galahad, showed that the author had been digging deeper in the same mine of early English romance from which he had previously drawn the groundwork of the "Lady of Shalott." In the grasp of its conception, the grouping of gorgeous imagery around the close of the great epos, and the strong majesty of the verse, it surpassed all the

poet's earlier efforts, and took rank with the foremost of those maturer products of his art, along with which it appeared. The manner in which it was given forth, as a specimen or foretaste of a longer poem, seemed to indicate the poet's intention, as it gave a sufficient proof of his capacity, to illustrate and recall more of the great features of the legend to which it belonged. After a lapse of years, during which his genius has manifested in other paths what we are still inclined to consider its highest power, Mr. Tennyson's lyre is again tuned to heroic notes, and he has redeemed his former pledge as far as we need expect, or even wish for it to be redeemed.

The "Idylls of the King" may be regarded as a new set of extracts from the same unwritten epic in which the "Morte d'Arthur" is ranked as the eleventh book. They are not Idylls in the sense in which the word was originally applied to the pastorals of Theocritus, nor in the sense in which the "Gardener's Daughter," and "Dora," and "The Talking Oak," and "Edward Gray," and "Lady Clare," and "The Brook," are English Idylls—that is, ideal sketches of rural life, of the fields and the manners, the romance and the loves of the country. They have a claim to the title only in so far as they are not reflective or allegorical poems, but pictures, in the composition of which description and scenery play a considerable part. Their distinguishing feature is their flow of narrative, and reaching their highest point in the exhibition of the intensest life and passion of an imaginary heroic age, they are fragments more properly dramatic or epic than idyllic.

On entering upon a critical review of the volume, we are first arrested by the excellences of its execution. Various readers will form various judgments regarding the design with which the poet has undertaken his work and the degree in which he has succeeded in carrying out his intention; but there can be little difference of opinion as to the skill which the poems themselves display. There is no carelessness in their detail, no incongruity in their structure, nothing spasmodic in their fervour, or exaggerated in their finish. Tennyson's blank verse, which so many imitate and so few are able to reproduce, is itself moulded upon no earlier model. It is not weighted with the almost oppressive majesty of Milton's, nor does it in general give the massive impression of Shakespeare's, or advance with the sweep of "Marlowe's mighty line," but it has a power and sweetness of its own. Moving in the main gracefully along pleasant lanes and hedgerows, it takes ever and anon an ampler range, and then sinks to rest again after a rounded cadence, leaving in the reader's ear a sense of harmony which is richer than that of the old decasyllabic rhymes in proportion as the music is extended over half a page, instead of being

closed within a single stanza. This verse appears in perfection in the volume before us, where the poet has displayed the full flexibility of its resources. There are passages in the Idylls which flow on in as quiet and gentle a stream as "The Gardener's Daughter," and others where the sound and sense are as deep and tender as in the poem on "Love and Duty." The verse in others has the martial ring of the lines in "Ulysses," but its prevailing characteristic is a perfect naturalness and ease. If it were necessary we might point to instances in which this peculiarity shows itself rather in excess, and the poems, falling in love with simplicity, affect too closely the style of prose, but those are trifling exceptions to their general melody. The careful reader will note the fact that this volume is very sparingly furnished with images; the descriptions it contains are rendered vivid by a judicious combination of attributes at once forcible and familiar, while the highest poetry of the book is involved in the direct association of the narrative. In none of the four Idylls, however, will he fail to find striking beauties of imagery, some in the form of clear, glittering, and pointed metaphor, while others appear as more elaborately sustained comparisons. The following specimens will serve as a sufficient indication of those gems, which, however, lose more than half their beauty when detached from their setting.

Morning.

"And Enid listened brightening as she lay;
Then, as the white and glittering star of morn
Parts from a bank of snow, and by and by
Slips into golden cloud, the maiden rose,
And left her maiden couch, and robed herself."—p. 39.

An Onset.

"Wild Limours,
Borne on a black horse, like a thunder-cloud
Whose skirts are loosened by the breaking storm,
Half ridden off with by the thing he rode,
And all in passion uttering a dry shriek,
Dashed on Geraint."—p. 70.

A Court Dress.

"A splendid silk of foreign loom,
Where, like a shoaling sea, the lovely blue
Played into green, and thicker down the front
With jewels than the sward with drops of dew,
When all night long a cloud clings to the hill,
And with the dawn ascending lets the day
Strike where it clung; so thickly shone the gems."—p. 82.

Scattered Music.

" This rhyme
 Is like the fair pearl necklace of the Queen,
 That burst in dancing, and the pearls were spilt ;
 Some lost, some stolen, some as relics kept.
 But nevermore the same two sister pearls
 Ran down the silken thread to kiss each other
 On her white neck—so is it with this rhyme :
 It lives dispersedly in many hands,
 And every minstrel sings it differently ;"—p. 117.

A Revelation.

" As when a painter, poring on a face,
 Divinely through all hindrance finds the man
 Behind it, and so paints him that his face,
 'The shape and colour of a mind and life,
 Lives for his children, ever at its best
 And fullest ; so the face before her lived,
 Dark—splendid, speaking in the silence, full
 Of noble things, and held her from her sleep."—p. 164.

Note also the Homeric simile of the breaking wave, p. 165 ; the image, p. 201, illustrating the strangeness of familiar things, the imagery in Vivien's song, &c. &c. The seeming absence of effort which characterizes this volume, is nowhere more conspicuous than in the *levis junctura* of the narrative. That is all art which shows no art at all. Whatever we may think of his choice of themes, we must acknowledge that the poet has managed them wonderfully. Nothing jars in the progress of the stories ; there are no abrupt transitions, no gaps or jerks, or awkward joinings to arrest the most sensitive ear ; nothing is stilted or overdrawn. One circumstance arises out of another naturally, and we are able to realize them all without any formal introduction behind the scenes. The strangest events are made to appear familiar, and the most forcible contrasts do not strike us as being exaggerated with a view to heighten the effect. The poet scarcely ever addresses us in his own person, but leaves the poem to speak for itself. He has withdrawn himself from his work as from a creation to which he has imparted an individual life ; and we appreciate his power the more, that we are made to forget the artist in his art, and become for a time oblivious of his presence.

In making a separate survey of these *Idylls*, "Enid," the first of the series, and the longest, will detain us least, as it is the least impressive, and on the whole, the least successful of the four. The incidents on which it is founded belong not to the main epic of the "Mort d'Arthure," but to the "Mabinugion," one of the old Welsh legends relating to the same epoch. The story—one of knightly jealousy and womanly endurance, bearing in many

of its features a strong resemblance to that of the Patient Griselda, is deficient in variety of interest. It drags along rather heavily through the same round of adventures; the digressions are tiresome, because their subjects are comparatively trivial, and some of the main characters are to our minds essentially repulsive. We cannot feel any amount of admiration for Geraint, whom we must consider the hero of the tale; nor do we feel grateful to the poet for having brought us into closer acquaintance with so boorish a knight. Undoubtedly he is well endowed with physical courage and strength of limb. He has a keen flashing eye, a smile like a stormy sunset, a great gruff voice, and an enormous appetite. Robbers and giants fall like so many ninepins beneath the slashing stroke of his right arm, or fly before him like shoals of fish; when he is really angry, his sword shears off a huge earl's head like a thistle. But he is utterly devoid of those nobler qualities, which, with few exceptions, distinguish the great knights of the "*Mort d'Arthure*." He has none of the courtesy of Launcelot, the enduring devotion of Tristram, the ardour of Lamorake, the deftness and grace of Sir Palomides, or the fiery family zeal of Sir Gawaine. The single trait of generosity he exhibits is forbearing on one occasion to "abolish" a dwarf who has offended him. His love is as selfish as his mistrust is frivolous. He suspects his bride before marriage; the poem is occupied with a narrative of her sufferings in consequence of a still more foolish suspicion, and we feel, in spite of the poet's assurance when it is done, that any fragment of a speech that may again fall on his ear, as he wakes from slumber, will subject her to a renewal of the same doubts and the same tyranny. Geraint's favourite way of looking at his wife—if we may rely on an image which twice intrudes itself into this poem, "as careful robins eye the delver's toil" (a line, by the way, which those critics who feel with Ellesmere in Mr. Helps' dialogue about the dulness of praise, will be inclined to make themselves merry with), gives us a vivid, if somewhat ridiculous, impression of the suspicion which is the key to this unpleasant character. Surely the new law of divorce would be stretched to afford relief to any lady who could prove such an offence against her husband. Poor Enid, meek, devoted, gentle, in her constancy bearing all things, hoping all things, enduring all things, is the redeeming attraction of the poem. The descriptions of her beauty engage its finest pages. Here is one—

"but never light and shade
 Coursed one another more on open ground
 Beneath a troubled heaven, than red and pale
 Across the face of Enid hearing her;
 While slowly falling as a scale that falls,
 When weight is added only grain by grain,

Sank her sweet head upon her gentle breast ;
 Nor did she lift an eye nor speak a word,
 Rapt in the fear and in the wonder of it ;
 So moving without answer to her rest
 She found no rest, *and ever failed to draw*
The quiet night into her blood, but lay
 Contemplating her own unworthiness."

The love she inspires is more that which is akin to pity than to passion. From the time when she first comes before us dressed in her faded silk, and singing, in her father's ruined halls, with "the sweet voice of a bird," her song of fortune and its wheel, we regard her with a compassion which deepens as the tale proceeds, and does not leave us when we leave her at last in the fickle confidence of her surly mate. This Idyll abounds with indications of quiet strength, and masterpieces of description. The single combats which are scattered thickly through it, are narrated with a vigour only paralleled by similar narrations in the romances themselves. The ride of Enid and Geraint through swamps and pools, and gem-like meadows, by castles, archways, and little towns with towers, brings graphically before us a whole series of pictures of England in the olden time; that of Earl Doorm's hall, with the bandits at dinner, "feeding like horses when you hear them feed," is a striking instance of rough power. Yet we are at a loss to understand on what principle Mr. Tennyson has selected a subject comparatively so tame in preference to many others in the same stock, as rich as any he has handled in materials for dramatic illustration. It has little connexion with the rest of the book—the only link being in the references to the love of Launcelot and the Queen, which is the main theme of the last act of the "*Mort d'Arthur*;" the characters about which it is employed are at any rate among the least interesting types of their age, and we regret that the curtain only closes upon them when more than a third of the volume is over. It rises again, in the second Idyll, on another scene, and other actors—

"A storm was coming, but the winds were still,
 And in the old woods of Broceliande,
 Before an oak, so hollow huge and old
 It looked a tower of ruined mason-work,
 At Merlin's feet the wily Vivien lay."

Here in a few words is the prelude to a game of craft and passion; the cunning wisdom matched against the cunning beauty of the time. In his treatment of this legend, Mr. Tennyson has departed in two respects from his authorities. In the first place, the majority of his allusions are anachronisms; if we may apply chronology at all to such subjects, the event here recorded took

place at a period previous to that when those allusions would have been intelligible. Next in reference to his female character. The fairy Vivien in the French romance tries a fatal charm upon her lover, but with a mere desire to prove its power, and laments that she is unable to undo her work. The lady of the lake, Nimue, who ultimately rescues herself from the amorous persecutions of Merlin, by enticing him under a rock, plays the part of a beneficent genius throughout the "*Mort d'Arthur*;" she becomes the bride of Sir Pelleas, twice rescues the King himself from destruction, and along with the three "weeping queens," receives him in the barge after the battle in which he meets with his mortal wound. The Vivien of the poet is, therefore, in great measure a creation of his own, and one which, perhaps, more than any other exhibits the triumph of his art. Leaving the court in disgust after failing to beguile the blameless king, that βασιλεὺς ἀμυμῶν of chivalry, she has followed Merlin, "the great enchanter of the time," the founder of Arthur's dynasty, and the guide of his counsels, not so much to win his love as to elicit the secret of a spell which would place him for ever in her power.

"As fancying that her glory would be great
According to his greatness whom she quenched."

The art with which she beguiles Merlin is exquisite. The description of her beauty and wanton wiles is to the last degree luxuriant. She seems to lie before us, beneath the sage's feet, with the gold round her hair; "her lissome limbs," half concealed and half revealed by the satin shining robes like a rich spotted snake, at once repulsive and fascinating. Her flattery, the services she renders him, her own allusions to them, the excuse she gives for her desire, her solemn vows of fidelity, are all in perfect keeping with her character as the genius of seduction. What witchcraft there is in the music of "her tender rhyme!"

"In love, if love be love, if love be ours,
Faith and unfaith can ne'er be equal powers:
Unfaith in aught is want of faith in all.

It is the little rift within the lute,
That by-and-by will make the music mute,
And ever widening slowly silence all.

The little rift within the lover's lute,
Or little pitted speck in garnered fruit,
'That rotting inward slowly moulds all.

It is not worth the keeping: let it go:
But shall it?—answer, darling; answer, no!
And trust me not at all, or all in all."

Merlin is oppressed by forebodings of danger, the softness of

her song itself alarms him when contrasted with the memory of a more stirring strain he heard from one of Arthur's knights on a great day of hunting in the woods:—

“We could not keep him silent, out he flashed,
And into such a song; such fire for fame,
Such trumpet blowings in it, coming down
To such a stern and iron-clashing close,
That when we stopt we longed to hurl together,
And should have done it; but the beauteous beast
Scared by the noise upstarted at our feet,
And like a silver shadow slipt away
Thro' the dim land; and all day long we rode
Thro' the dim land against a rushing wind.
That glorious roundel echoing in our ears,
And chased the flashes of his golden horns.”

He, too, has his fame to ward. But what is fame, cries Vivien, but a name—a mirage of the future while love is of the present; half dis-fame at best. To which Merlin answers, in lines which tower above the fear of calumny, less impressive in their sound than their pregnant sense:—

“Fame with men
Being but ampler means to serve mankind,
Should have small rest or pleasure in herself,
But work as vassal to the larger love,
That dwarfs the petty love of one to one.
Use gave me Fame at first, and Fame again
Increasing gave me use. Lo there my boon!
What other? for men sought to prove me vile,
Because I wished to give them greater minds.”

He will keep the secret, but in return for her rhyme he will tell the legend of those who first wrought the charm. Here are some grand lines:—

“There lived a king in the most eastern east,
Less old than I, yet older, for *my blood*
Hath earnest in it of far springs to be.
A tawny pirate anchored in his port,
Whose bark had plundered twenty nameless isles;
And passing one, at the high peep of dawn,
He saw two cities in a thousand boats,
All fighting for a woman on the sea,
And pushing his black craft among them all,
He lightly scattered theirs, and brought her off
With loss of half his people arrow-slain;
A maid so smooth, so white, so wonderful,
‘They said a light came from her when she moved.’”

This lady being made queen, bewitched all the youth of the realm, till the king offered half his wealth for a charm to overmaster her. This charm brought by an old man to that kingdom, has come down to Merlin, so subtle and mysterious, and so hard to read, that he fears none of Vivien's threats to discover it; and even were her oath sure, has resolved to guard her foes at court from its malignant use. At the mention of them the syren loses temper, and breaks into a storm of accusation against Arthur's knights, letting her tongue "rage like a fire among the noblest names." The passage in which she pours forth her spleen is the only one which in our judgment gives any countenance to the censure which this volume has met with on the ground of delicacy (immorality is a wider word). We confess that the form in which those scandals are recounted, is not in every instance so tasteful as might have been desired. Losing the simplicity with which they are clothed in the legend, they lose in their poetic form something of their innocence, and the details in some of them are altered for the worse. The temptation and triumph of Sir Percival makes a fine story in the "*Mort d'Arthure*;" here it is merely and unnecessarily revolting. It may be that such handling of such themes is in keeping with Vivien's character, but that is otherwise sufficiently defined. Merlin's muttered indignation leads us for a moment to believe that her false move has ruined her game, but she has still a powerful card to play. His anger overreaches itself in harsh words, and she seizes the strong position of one who has been wronged. After the first burst of passion which threatens to betray her real nature, she falls to weeping like a child, and then reproaches him with cruelty, misconceiving a love which sought to depreciate others only to exalt him the more.

"She paused, she turned away, she hung her head,
The snake of gold slid from her hair, the braid
Slipt and uncoiled itself, she wept afresh,
And the dark wood grew darker toward the storm
In silence, while his anger slowly died
Within him, *till he let his wisdom go*
For ease of heart, and half believed her true."

Called from the storm, she comes "to her old perch back," and the wizard shields her with his arm. One stroke more and her victory is complete. Suddenly she leaps from him, with the majesty of innocence. He doubts her faith, their love is at an end; she must leave him for ever. Only one thing she exclaims, as if incidentally, could make her stay, that proof of trust she asked for; and then, as if allured by the hope of reconciliation, she urges the request, praying that if she lies at heart the darken-

ing heavens may send a flash to strike her down. Then follows a wonderful passage :—

“Scarce had she ceased, when out of heaven a bolt
 (For now the storm was close above them) struck,
 Furrowing a giant oak, and javelining
 With darted spikes and splinters of the wood
 The dark earth round. He raised his eyes and saw
 The tree that shone white-listed through the gloom.
 But Vivien, fearing heaven had heard her oath,
 And dazzled by the livid-flickering fork,
 And deafen'd with the stammering cracks and claps
 That follow'd, flying back and crying out,
 ‘O Merlin! tho’ you do not love me, save,
 Yet save me!’ Clung to him, and hugged him close;

* * * * *

*The pale blood of the wizard at her touch
 Took gayer colours like an opal warmed.
 She blamed herself for telling hearsay tales:
 She shook from fear, and for her fault she wept
 Of petulancy; she called him lord and liege,
 Her seer, her bard, her silver star of eve,
 Her God, her Merlin, the one passionate love
 Of her whole life; and ever overhead
 Bellowed the tempest, and the rotten branch
 Swept in the rushing of the river rain
 Above them; and in change of glare and gloom,
 Her eyes and neck glittering went and came,
 Till now the storm, its burst of passion spent,
 Moaning and calling out of other lands,
 Had left the ravaged woodland yet once more
 To peace; and what should not have been had been,
 For Merlin, overtalked and overworn,
 Had yielded, told her all the charm, and slept.”*

For mere gorgeous writing, there is nothing to equal this in the volume. The lightning seems to kindle the verse itself, and the tempest roars and rattles in our ears as we close the book. The only description we know to compare with it in recent poetry is that of the storm which breaks over Scald and Ottima in Browning's “Pippa Passes.”

We can understand why this poem has been called immoral without concurring in the verdict. The morality of a story is determined by the impression which it leaves as a whole on the reader's mind, and not by shades of expression; and surely a poem is not necessarily immoral unless it deals exclusively with noble motives and pure actors. As it seems to us “Vivien” is neither moral nor immoral, but a masterpiece of simple art, luxuriant in its colour, thrilling in its action. It has a mere inci-

dental connexion with medieval legend. It is a splendid pagan comment on the old heathen text—

“ νικᾷ δὲ καὶ σίδηρον
καὶ πῦρ καλὴ τις σῦσα.”

The story of Elaine le Blaunch, the maid of Astolat, and her hapless love, is one of the most touching episodes which adorn the close of the *Mort d'Arthur*. Mr. Tennyson, in again returning to the subject, to which he had given a somewhat shadowy treatment in one of his earlier poems, has handled this story in a manner which at once brings it more within the range of our sympathies, and is in closer conformity with the original legend. The gathering suspicion in Arthur's court regarding his Queen's infidelity, her conversation with Sir Launcelot, his resolution to enter the lists in disguise, his visit to Astolat and reception there, as well as the conception of the heroine of the tale, are nearly identical in the two versions. Elaine has no more resemblance to the mystic and metaphysical Lady of Shalott than she has to Vivien or Guinevere. Judged not by the code of modern times, or the manners of a formed society, but as a child of nature in an age which has been invested by the imagination with many of the features of childhood, the lily-maid is one of the sweetest of all ideal creations. There is a saintly simplicity about her whole fate and character and an ethereal grace which recal “*Undine*.” Her tragedy is thus summed by the romancer, when she is first introduced to us in her father's castle:—“This old baron had a daughter that time that was called the fair maid of Astolat, and ever she beheld Sir Launcelot wonderfully; and she cast a love unto Sir Launcelot that she could not withdraw her love, whereof she died.” The passage in which the poet has expanded this will give a fair specimen of the style of his embellishments:—

“ He spoke and ceased: the lily maid, Elaine,
Won by the mellow voice before she looked,
Lifted her eyes, and read his lineaments.
The great and guilty love he bare the queen
In battle with the love he bare his lord,
Had marred his face, and marked it ere his time.
Another signing on such heights with one
The flower of all the west, and all the world,
Had been the sleeker for it; but in him
His mood was often like a fiend, and rose
And drove him into wastes and solitudes
For agony, who was yet a living soul.
• Marred as he was, he seemed the goodliest man
That ever among ladies ate in Hall,
And noblest, when she lifted up her eyes.

However marred, of more than twice her years,
Seamed with an ancient sword-cut on the cheek,
And bruised and bronzed, *she lifted up her eyes*
And loved him with that love which was her doom."

The next few sentences give the argument of several pages of the poem:—

"So, then, as she came to and fro, she was so hot in her love that she besought Sir Launcelot to wear upon him at the justs a token of hers. 'Faire damosell,' said Sir Launcelot, 'and if I graunt you that, yee may say I doe more for your love than ever I did for lady or damosell.' Then he remembered him that he would ride into the justs disguised, and for because he had never before that time borne no manner of token of no damosell, then he bethought him that he would beare one of hers that none of his blood might know him. And then he said, 'Faire damosell, I will graunt you to weare a token of yours upon my helmet, and, therefore, what it is show me.' 'Sir,' said she, 'it is a red sleeve of mine of scarlet, well embroidered with great pearles.' And so she brought it him."

Wearing this token, he enters upon the battle of the lists, into the description of which the poet has thrown even more than his usual vigour. Set upon by his own kinsmen, he retires, though victoriot, severely wounded, into the country, where, after a time, Elaine comes to present him with the prize which has been entrusted to her care, and to nurse him in his sickness. The circumstances of her visit, the blush which revealed her sad secret, and her passing "in either twilight, ghost-like, to and fro," between her home and his cave, are most touchingly told. Launcelot, his life saved by her fine care, feels towards her all a brother's affection.

"And peradventure had he seen her first,
She might have made this and that other world
Another world for the sick man; but now
The shackles of an old love straitened him,
His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

Meanwhile, the old love, the grand haughty queen, the gorgeous Guinevere, who stands out in contrast to Elaine as the full moon of autumn to the evening star, hears of Launcelot wearing the sleeve. "Goodly hopes are mine," says Arthur, bearing the news, "that Launcelot is no more a lonely heart."

"'Yea, lord,' she said,
'Your hopes are mine,' and saying that she choked
And sharply turned about to hide her face,
Moved to her chamber and there flung herself
Down on the great King's couch, and writhed upon it,

And clenched her fingers till they bit the palm,
And shrieked out 'traitor' to the unhearing wall,
Then flashed into wild tears and rose again
And moved about her palace proud and pale."

What a picture of jealous rage! It is that of a Medea or a Mary Stuart. It almost awes us out of our condemnation, as it half enlists our sympathies. But poor Elaine, "her guiltless rival," is waking slowly to the fatal knowledge of unrequited love; and yet against hope she hopes, till, on the morning of his departure, Launcelot desires her to ask from him whatever is nearest her heart, and fearing to "die for want of one bold word," suddenly and wildly she asks him for his love. Too bold a word is a favourite and not unnatural criticism: in an age when the noblest natures are more apt to err on the side of over-restraint, we love those most who never tell their love; but viewed, as it claims to be, in connexion with the character and the time, it surely does not involve any essential immodesty. Launcelot can grant all but this. She will have no other gift, "her good days are done." The knight rides off sadly without bidding farewell. The maiden sits alone in her bower waiting her end.

"And in those days she made a little song,
And called her song 'The Song of Love and Death,'
And sang it: sweetly could she make and sing.

Sweet is true love, though given in vain, in vain;
And sweet is death who puts an end to pain;
I know not which is sweeter, no, not I.

Love, art thou sweet? then bitter death must be.
Love, thou art bitter; sweet is death to me.
O love, if death be sweeter, let me die."

We will tell the rest of her story in the words of the romance. The reader may compare it with the poem; there are beauties peculiar to each.

"So when she had thus endured about ten days, that she felt that she must needs passe out of this world, then she shrove her cleane and received her Creatour, and ever shee complained still upon Sir Launcelot. Then her ghostly father bad her leave such thoughts. Then said shee, 'Why should I leave such thoughts? am I not an earthly woman? and all the while the breath is in my body I may complaine; for my beleve is that I doe none offence, though I love an earthly man, and I take God unto my record I never loved none, but Sir Launcelot du Lake, nor never shal; and a cleane maiden I am for him, and for all other; and seth it is the suffrance of God that I shall die for the love of so noble a knight I beseech the high Father of heaven for to have mercy upon my soule, and that mine innumerable pains which I suffer may be allegiance of part of my sinnes. For, our swete Saviour Jesu Christ,' said the maiden, 'I take thee to record I was

never greater offender against thy lawes, but that I loved this noble knight Sir Launcelot out of all measure; and of my selfe, good Lord, I might not withstand the fervent love wherefore I have my death.' And then she called her father Sir Bernard, and her brother Sir Tirre, and heartely she praied her father that her brother might write a letter like as she would endite it. And so her father graunted her. And when the letter was written word by word like as she had devised, then she prayed her father that she might be watched untill she were dead. 'And while my body is whole let this letter be put into my right hand, and my hand bound fast with the letter, untill that I be cold, and let me be put in a fair bed with all the richest clothes that I have about me, and so let my bed and all my rich clothes be laide with me in a chariot to the next place where as the Thamse is, and there let me be put in a barge, and but one man with me, such as yee trust, to sterve me thither; and that my barge be covered with black samite over and over. Thus father, I beseech you let me be done.' So her father graunted her faithfully that all this thing should be done like as shee had devised."

Meanwhile, "all in an oriel in the summer side" of Arthur's palace, Launcelot comes to present the diamonds he had fought for and won in nine great jousts to the queen. Their meeting gives rise to another magnificent scene. Guinevere breaks into a tempest of wrath and scorn, and after bidding the knight add his diamonds to the pearls of his new love, suddenly exclaims—

"Nay, by the mother of our Lord himself,
Or hers, or mine,—mine now to work my will,
She shall not have them. Saying which she seized,
And through the casement, standing wide for heat,
Flung them, and down they flashed and smote the stream.
Then from the smitten surface flashed, as it were,
Diamonds to meet them, and they passed away.
*Then while Sir Launcelot leant in half disgust
At love, life, all things, on the window-ledge,
Close underneath his eyes, and right across
Where these had fallen, slowly passed the barge
Whereon the lily maid of Astolat
Lay smiling, like a star in blackest night.*"

The power and beauty of this contrast is Tennyson's own. It comes upon us, on first reading, like a shock, as we are arrested by its full force. Little remains to conclude the last act of the tragedy. The king, queen, and lords of the court come to see the barge where the dead maiden "lay as tho' she smiled," and read her confession of unrequited love, and grant her prayer for mass and burial.

"Then Arthur spake among them,—
'Let her tomb
Be costly, and her image thereupon;
And let the shield of Launcelot at her feet
Be carven, and her lily in her hand.'
Requiescat in pace."

In Mr. Tennyson's softened version the tragedy of Guinevere is brought near to that of Francesca da Rimini, for whom the sternest of poets, and the world with him, has more of pity than condemnation. He puts into the mouth of Merlin a palliation of her crime :

“Sir Launcelot went ambassador at first
To fetch her, and she took him for the king,
So fixed her fancy on him.”

This is not the most important point in which his account is peculiar. That the reader may judge how much he has refined and modernized the original story, we shall set down the main events of the “*Mort d'Arthure*,” which occupy the place of his fourth Idyll. As in the poem, so in the romance, Launcelot and the queen are trapped by the contrivance of Sir Modred, who accompanies a band of followers to surround the palace. Launcelot's prowess dissipates them, and he escapes. But Guinevere, convicted of treason, is arrested and condemned to the stake. Rescued at the last, she rides off with her lover to his own castle of Joyous Guard, and there, aided by his knights against the royal forces for good part of a year, he keeps her, till the pope, resolving to reconcile them, commands the king to receive back his wife; and Launcelot re-conducts her to the court. Banished from England, he crosses the sea with half the fellowship of the Round Table. The king pursues him with a host, and war rages till news arrives of Modred's usurpation. Guinevere, evading a demand made by the prince for her hand, is guarding against him the Tower of London, when Arthur returns to gain two victories over his rebel son, and receive in the last his mortal wound. After this the queen steals away to a nunnery at Almesbury. One of the latest events in the book is a visit she receives shortly before her own decease from Sir Launcelot; it ends with his death and the dissolution of the Round Table. Mr. Tennyson opens his “*Guinevere*” with the queen at Almesbury. Returning after his wont to explain her presence there, he narrates in his own way the detection of her guilt, followed in his version of the story by an immediate flight to the nunnery. By far the finest passage in this early portion of the poem is an account of her remorse previous to her exposure (pp. 228-9), for which again we are indebted to the poet's imagination. Introduced unknown into the convent, she is attended by a little novice, whose pleasant prattle helps at first to relieve her weariness; but news arriving of Modred's revolt, she sets to talk of the king's wrongs, and express in heedless innocence her indignation at the guilty queen; so that she,

“Like many another babbler hurt
Whom she would soothe, and harmed where she would heal.”

Her unconscious offence and Guinevere's angry distress are skilfully portrayed, but up to this point the poem is on the whole inferior to the two preceding Idylls. Here it takes a new turn, and on the arrival of Arthur, who has sought out and found his wife, it rises to a height of moral grandeur unapproached by any of the others.

"A murmuring whisper through the nunnery ran,
 •Then on a sudden a cry, 'The King' she sat
 Stiff-stricken, listening; but when armed feet
 Thro' the long gallery from the outer doors"
 Rang coming, prone from off her seat she fell,
 And grovelled with her face against the floor:
*There with her milk-white arms and shadowy hair
 She made her face a darkness from the King,
 And in the darkness heard his armed feet
 Pause by her; then came silence, then a voice
 Monotonous and hollow, like a Ghost's
 Denouncing judgment, but though changed, the King's."*

Perhaps there is nothing of equal extent in English poetry which for sustained majesty of thought, ineffable solemnity, and pathos, can be well compared with the speech that follows:—

"'Liest thou here so low, the child of one
 I honored, happy, dead before thy shame?
 Well is it that no child is born of thee.
 The children born of thee are sword and fire,
 Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws,
 The craft of kindred, and the godless hosts
 Of heathen swarming over the Northern sea,
 Whom I, while yet Sir Launcelot, my right arm,
 The mightiest of my knights abode with me,
 Have everywhere about this land of Christ
In twelve great battles ruining overthrown.'"

Then he tells how she has disorganized the realm, rent all his princely fellowship of knights corrupted by the example of her crime, spoilt the whole purpose of his life, and left him desolate in his lonely halls.

"'For which of us who might be left could speak
 Of the pure heart, nor seem to glance at thee?
*And in thy bowers of Camelot or of Ushak
 Thy shadow still would glide from room to room,
 And I should evermore be vexed with thee
 In hanging robe or vacant ornament,
 Or ghostly footfall echoing on the stair.*
 For think not, though thou couldst not love thy lord,
 Thy lord has wholly lost his love for thee.
 • I am not made of so slight elements.

*He paused, and in the pause she crept an inch
Nearer, and laid her hands about his feet.*

* * * *

'I did not come to curse thee Guinevere,
I, whose vast pity almost makes me die
To see thee, laying there thy golden head,
My pride in happier summers, at my feet.

* * * *

'Lo! I forgive thee as Eternal God
Forgives; do thou for thy own soul the rest;
But how to take last leave of all I loved,
O golden hair with which I used to play,
Not knowing! O imperial-moulded form,
And beauty such as never woman wore,
Until it came a kingdom's curse with thee.

* * * *

'Perchance, and so thou purify thy soul,
And so thou lean on our fair father Christ,
Hereafter in that world where all are pure,
We two may meet before high God, and thou
Wilt spring on me, and claim me thine, and know
I am thy husband—not a smaller soul,
Nor Launcelot, nor another. Leave me that,
I charge thee my last hope. Now must I hence.
Through the thick night I hear the trumpet blow;
They summon me their king to lead mine hosts
Far down to that great battle in the west.

* * * *

'Farewell!' And while she grovelled at his feet,
*She felt the king's breath wander o'er her neck,
And in the darkness o'er her fallen head
Perceived the waving of his hands that blest.'*

Writing like this, and that which concludes the poem, carries us beyond the region of criticism and praise. He who reads it well, will read it alone in silence with a sense of awe, and thoughts that lie deeper than tears.

On completing our survey of the artistic structure of those Idylls, which, with the addition of his "Mort d'Arthure," "Sir Galahad," and the detached verses on "Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere," make up the list of Mr. Tennyson's efforts in this direction, we are naturally led to inquire into the motive which has swayed him in the choice of his work.

"I see in part,
That all as in some work of art
Is toil co-operant to an end."

What is the end which the poet has proposed to himself, beyond that which is purely artistic in his dealing with those legendary

themes? Essentially fragments, they have in their vague connexion neither the unity nor the grasp which is necessary to an epic. We must ask how far, viewed as isolated pictures, they present us with real features of a former period? In answering this, we ought to remember how little there is in the old romances themselves which can in any sense be considered as history. The *Mort d'Arthure* has been called an English Homer, and there are points of resemblance which in some degree justify the appellation; but the contrasts which the comparison suggests are yet more numerous and important. The events which form the theme of the Arthurian legend bear a still remoter relation to any probable reality than those of the Trojan war. The very existence of Arthur himself, in spite of the vehement asseveration of the writer of the preface to the edition of 1621, is called in question by Milton—not a very sceptical critic—in his early history of Britain. The one fact on which the historian seems to rest is, that at one period of the Saxon conquest, about A.D. 527, Kedric, the founder of Wessex, was arrested in his progress by a defeat sustained at Badon Hill. It is conjectured that King Arthur may have, on this occasion, led the victorious Britons, and the battle may have been the last of twelve won against the same invaders. But the details of his birth, life, and achievements appear as a mere superstructure of imagination and fable. Whatever date we may assign to the composition of the Homeric poems, or whatever theory we may form of their compilation, they certainly became current in Greece at a time when the Greeks were interested in the same struggle of which the poems celebrate the mythical origin. Six hundred years had elapsed since the supposed death of the hero, when Geoffrey of Monmouth, A.D. 1147, first gave forth the story which formed the ground of the Arthurian legends, and it was not until the latter half of the same century, that the five Anglo-Norman romances were produced from which, with others belonging to a later period, Malory in 1469, compiled the *Mort d'Arthure* in the English prose form in which it is most familiar to us. However much of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we may attribute to the mere imagination of the poet, they undoubtedly present in their leading details the reflection of a real Homeric age. The Greeks to a large extent regarded them, and Mr. Gladstone has shown how far, in this point of view, we may continue to regard them, as history. There is not the same ground for the belief in an Arthurian age in England. The poets who first celebrated it in prose or verse, were inspired at the dawn of civilization by the desire of preserving the records of the prior age of chivalry. They attached themselves naturally to the vague traditions of a vanquished race, and interweaving with them the religion and senti-

ment of a more refined period, threw the lustre of memory over the last efforts of the British kings. Their romances reflect more closely the features of society under the early Plantagenets than the Saxon conquerors; they are traditions of the era of Charlemagne revived by the contemporaries of Chaucer. A better national parallel to the Homeric poems is to be found in the "Border Ballads," which, although presenting pictures of a later time, are really more ancient, as the period in which their authors lived, was nearer to that of which they wrote.

But if the knights of the "*Mort d'Arthure*" are not real portraits of the barbaric chiefs who fought at Badon Hill, Mr. Tennyson's knights are still further removed, and in the same direction from their actual prototypes. The Idylls cannot properly be said to be close reproductions of the legends. We have seen how far they depart from them in regard to some of their leading events; they bear in their details still more distinct traces of change and modification. The characters are more refined; their motives more complex, their passion, abrupt as it appears in comparison with that of the present time, is softened down from the abruptness of the original. The speeches in "*Guinevere*," the song in "*Elaine*," and the whole of "*Vivien*," are essentially modern. Those poems of Mr. Tennyson's stand in a class by themselves. Distinct in kind from the luxuriant imaginations of the "*Fairy Queen*," or the graceful fantasies of Ariosto, they are not like the "*Seasons*" of Fouque, simple sketches of chivalry, half allegorical and half ideal; still less are they really mediæval in the sense in which some of Browning's poems, and the wonderful reproductions of the German Meinhold (the author of "*Sidonia*" and the "*Amber Witch*,") are mediæval, recalling with historical exactness the modes of action, belief, and feeling in the Middle Ages. Tennyson has neither approached this exactness, nor is it his desire to do so. His object is manifestly, as expressed in his own lines, to steal "fire from the fountains of the past to glorify the present," and he affects in striving to attain it a sort of compromise between the two epochs. In the epilogue to his first epical fragment, he makes it his apology for reverting to the "style of those heroic times," that he has connected them with traces of the life around him.

"Perhaps some modern touches here and there
Redeemed it from the charge of nothingness."

And again in the Idylls he recalls and brings before us

"King Arthur, like a modern gentleman
Of stateliest port."

The basis of their incident, certain traits of character, and some details of scenery, are all these poems have in common with the

period to which they relate. Dismissing, therefore, all notion of their historical value, it is easier to guess what was the temptation which led the poet to the choice of their subjects, than to see what they gain from this choice in their power of impressing the reader. The past has been a favourite with artists in all ages. The old man and the poet are alike *laudatores temporis acti*. It allures the one with the fascinations of his childhood, the other with the romance of his imagination. A golden age, when men were at once simpler and greater, more gentle and more brave, has been the mirage of every real age in the world's history. The later Greeks reverted with longing to the majesty of the days of Pericles; the Athenian of that time regretted the glories of the Homeric era, while Homer himself laments the degeneracy of his own generation. Our modern historians love to throw an imaginary grandeur round the Tudors and Plantagenets. The romancer who lived under the earliest of those reigns looks back for that grandeur to a remoter epoch. "We hear of our barbarian ancestors," says Mr. Froude; "yet if they were like the images on their tombs, more majestic forms were never worn by humanity." We look back four centuries and find Sir Thomas Malory, writing in the same strain, "Hasty heat soon cooleth, right so fareth love now a days, soon hot, soon cold; there is no stability. But the old love was not so; then was love, truth, and faithfulness." In an age of overwrought activity, when the elements adapted for the purposes of imagination are hidden beneath the dust of the strife, we are strongly impelled to revert to our memories of a time before the rivers were poisoned and the fields charred by furnaces, when the manners of men were more frank if less refined, and the social rules which bound them less inquisitive. As far as this impulse has a tendency to free us from the restrictions of our own conventionality, it is a beneficent one; but its good effect is marred when it results in a mere reaction to earlier forms, in themselves as irrational and yet more rigid in their application. In proportion to the contrast between two ages we must be careful to define the degree in which the one can be legitimately held up as a model to the other. It is well that the past should be brought back before us with its grander features, softened and solemnized by time, to counteract our errors, to recal those truths which do not "look freshest in the fashion of the day," to check our frivolity by the images of its mighty dead, to temper down our restlessness, and withdraw our minds, "in seasons of calm weather," from the ebb and flow of streets to the islands of its rest. But there is a danger of its alluring us into mere luxurious contemplation of a greatness which exists after all mainly in our own imaginations. Our poets and painters are then, like the minstrel maiden in Heine's satire, singing songs of

Paradise to conceal from us the duty of remedying the evils of earth. There is something of this error in Mr. Ruskin's teaching, and in the work of that school of artists who have endeavoured to act on his advice. It is prominent in the theory and practice of those who refer us for instruction in life and art exclusively to the models of classical antiquity. The Mediævalism which is creeping, under various disguises, into some important branches of our literature, recalls us to a period which has in some respects more affinity to our own, and being less complete is more capable of expansion. Yet there can scarcely be a greater contrast than that which exists between the times in which we live and those which are brought before us in the legends of knight-errantry. In passing from the one to the other we turn from a complex society ruled by complex motives—an era of manifold knowledge—a maze of conflicting interests, of varied forms of labour, in which vast material forces are ruled by intellectual power, to that old age which is the youth of the world, when all might was in the strong arm and all wonder in a fair face—an era of simple forces aiming at simple ends, out-spoken more from its simplicity than its sincerity, deriving half its boldness from its rudeness, and nobler than ours in so far as it had fewer temptations to be mean. We may repaint the pictures of the Middle Age, imitate the architecture of its cathedrals, and set to modern music the ideals of its life; but we cannot bring back either its religion or its morality. We may be foolish enough to don the dress of the knights and mimic their jousts, but we shall strive in vain to reassume either their virtues or their vices until we revive the thousand conditions which made them what they were, and which are so different from our own that all we can do is to understand them. We may adore the poet's Arthur, the faultless king, admire Sir Launcelot, "peerless of all knights," and revere the virgin Galahad, the Mignon of romance; but the loyal worship, the unabashed love of chivalry, and the Quest of the St. Graal, belong to days that have for ever passed. The *Mort d'Arthur* reveals to us not so much another epoch as another world. With all its occasional solemnity, it is, after all, a fairy tale; and the actors in it move almost as much in fairy-land as the heroes of Spenser's allegory. Our feeling towards it alters with our mood of mind. We fall upon some of the more prosaic passages of the romance in a surly humour, and the life of those old knights seems to us rude and bare. They prance about through green fields and by castle walls, knocking down and maiming with long spears most of the people they meet; "and what they kill each other for we cannot well make out." When they leave for a time the round of their monotonous adventures, it is to fight with their comrades or fall in love with the wives of

their masters. We turn to their history again in a more congenial temper, and feel an interest in their hot encounters and marvellous escapes. We respect their noble purpose as they "ride abroad redressing human wrongs;" we admire their courtesy and grace, their steadfastness and daring, their self-sacrifice and devotion. But in no mood can we apply to ourselves their sense of duty or their manner of fulfilling it. We redress our wrongs, not on horseback, but in courts of law; we no longer make love in groves and grottoes; we exercise our patience, not in bearing blows, but enduring the frustration of our plans, the rupture of our friendships, the jealousy of our rivals, the waste of our time; in submitting when needful to bad lodging, bad food, and bad health. We show our courage in being never worn out by those disasters, in surmounting them and forgetting them, and setting down doggedly to our day's work. We have seen how Mr. Tennyson, by adopting a middle course in his treatment of the legends he has selected for illustration, neither altogether abandoning nor altogether adhering to the forms of the older society, has done so much to bridge the gulf which separates it from ours. But it is still an open question—and we may surely start it without being charged with failing to appreciate the subtilty of his delineations—whether he might not have applied the same delicate skill and high imagination with fuller effect in another direction. "Vivien" is not a better theme for the artistic exhibition of seductive power, nor "Elaine" a tale of purer passion, nor is the fate of "Guinevere" better fitted to suggest the solemn thoughts of the poet, than many of the episodes that are constantly appearing in modern life. There is, indeed, an inducement for an artist to gather his materials from the past in addition to those we have recorded. He finds them there most readily. The past lies plainly before us because it alone is complete. It is solid, and we have only to "carve a portion" out of it. The present is essentially fluctuating; we must analyse before we fully realize it. When its motion calms down into repose, it has ceased to be the present and become the crystallized result of its former self. Our knowledge of the past is more accurate than our knowledge of the present, in the sense in which anatomy is a more exact science than physiology; but the parallel holds good still further; it is only from observation of life that we can understand its instruments: unless they are illustrated and enlivened by the thoughts of the living present,

"Die Zeiten der Vergangenheit
Sind uns ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln."

The new life which the poet has thrown into his version of the romances, while it detracts from their historical correctness, does

not prevent our regarding them, in some degree, as exquisitely beautiful fossils. They do not touch us so nearly as they should do, because they bear about them an air of distance. Hence it is that, though Mr. Tennyson has in this his latest volume even surpassed himself as an artist, we revert with more affection to some of his earlier efforts, where, moving in a path we believed to be more perfectly suited to his genius, he has given us the results of his own thought and passion in the reflections of his own experience. His masterpieces are still his contemplative poems, those which have most deeply moved and will continue most widely to influence his age. If we had to choose between them, we should unhesitatingly, though with a heavy heart, resign the "Idylls of the King" to reserve "The Two Voices" and "In Memoriam." Notwithstanding his descriptive powers, Mr. Tennyson is a poet of thought more than of action, and his love of "great old houses and fights fought long ago" is only another proof of this. Thought establishes itself upon the ruins of action. The deeds of the past are the dreams of the present. Memory is itself a sort of abstraction. There is a metaphysics of history as well as a history of metaphysics. We speak of retiring into the past, retiring into the country, retiring into our own thoughts, for refuge and repose. We desire and seek the three together. The secret link which unites the apparently double bent of the poet's mind is to be found in his own line,

"Be mine a philosopher's life in the quiet woodland ways."

Wordsworth, who might have applied it to himself, became, as was fit, the high-priest of the hills, among which he found the silence and solitude congenial to his nature. The bard who can sing the town, he and he alone will set to music the action of the present, and do for his age and clime what Shakspeare, and Goethe, and Dante did for theirs. There is a poetry of the past, of the mountains, seas, and stars, but a great city, seen aright, is tenfold more poetical than them all. Surely, beneath its repulsive exterior, amidst the turmoil and confusion, the myriad sights and sounds which make up its glare and gloom, lie richly scattered the yet unwrought materials for modern tragedy. It is there that all the energies of the time are concentrated; there society unfolds its many-coloured life; while the war of ranks and the conflict of opinions, political, social, and religious, are perpetually renewed. It is in London itself that English thought shows itself most intensely, and passion is pent up into fierce fire, and reason and faith, prudence and the affections wrestle together as they adjust their claims; there all the perplexities of thought are unravelled and unravelled, and all the possibilities of human joy and sorrow are evolved. Only a few and the most trivial characteristics of

this complex life crop up from time to time on our comic stage. Its tragic elements have been almost entirely left to the treatment of novelists, and in some of their hands it has fared not unfortunately; but there remains much that can only be discovered by the penetration and well revealed by the power of the poet, whether it be Mr. Tennyson or another who will undertake the task of illustrating a greater and more impressive cpos than was ever acted by Arthur's knights, and setting forth a fuller image of the mighty world than Merlin ever made "rapt in his fancy of the Table Round."

ART. VIII.—BONAPARTISM IN ITALY.

1. *The Italian Campaigns of General Bonaparte, in 1796-7 and 1800.* By GEORGE HOOPER. London. 1859.
2. *The Vicissitudes of Italy since the Congress of Vienna.* By A. L. V. GRETTON. London. 1859.

THE fascination which Italy exercises over all accomplished visitors of that beautiful land is expressed and explained in that apostrophe of the poet Browning, "Oh, woman country!" Writers upon France catch the critical vein of the nation and fall into a carping tone; the magnificence of Switzerland fails to insure affection for the people; and the respect felt for German profundity is of a somewhat abstract character. But with Italy the passing stranger falls in love, and the long sojourner imbibes the intoxication of passion. "*The Vicissitudes of Italy*" is evidently the work of a person who has thrown his soul into the cause. He is one who shares not the despair which wrang from Byron the exclamation—

"Oh God! that thou wert in thy nakedness
Less lovely or more powerful!"

for he sees the day of power coming through the wisdom and valour of Sardinia's king, parliament, and people. The history he gives, proceeds only from the settlement of 1815. Mr. Hooper's book goes further back, but his well-written account of Bonaparte's Italian campaigns touches only incidentally on the political state of Italy. In the following article, we propose to go rapidly over the history of Bonaparte's battles, the brilliancy of which turn Magenta and Solferino into mere wholesale scrambling butcheries, and over the history of his Italian policy, which was so selfish and mean that it is in no danger of suffering eclipse from that of his nephew, whatever it may be. We shall attempt

no laboured or strained parallels, or the more usually strained contrasts where truth is too often sacrificed to telling antithesis and showy effect. Yet is there one fact which stands out so conspicuous as in itself to betray a system. Venice was a republic until Napoleon handed her over a bound and betrayed slave to Austria, and he who rivets the chain is one whose name we need not pronounce. The treaties of Campo Formio and of Villafranca are the Alpha and Omega of Venetian bondage. Leaving it to the reader to point inferences, which, indeed, lie upon the surface, we proceed to consider Bonaparte's whole career in Italy.

Napoleon Bonaparte's first Italian campaign can never be thought of without feelings of admiration. The youth of the commander (he was only twenty-seven), the comparatively small number of his troops, and the misery of their condition, when compared with the obstacles opposed by armies twice as great, fully provisioned, adequately equipped, resting on mighty fortresses, and backed by positions of natural strength apparently insurmountable, give to this struggle an interest which is increased to the highest degree when we consider that the prize at stake was no less than the deliverance of beautiful Italy from thralldom and her restoration to liberty! We speak now of that campaign as it presented itself in its first bright glorious aspect, and we have the more right to do so as the army, which, ragged and hungry, followed Bonaparte through the storm and snow of the Apennines, were animated by the belief that they went forth to fight for no selfish ends, for that they were truly the armed missionaries of freedom. The composition, the character, and the spirit of that army, are less familiarly known than the history of their leader. Who is there who cannot repeat the story of the Corsican officer of artillery that showed his superiors the way to retake Toulon from the British; of his advancement in the opinion of all with whom he came in contact, until at length he gained the confidence of Barras, the most influential member of the Government of the Directory; of his marriage with the fascinating Josephine; of his unhesitating slaughter of the Sections on the day of the 13th Vendemiaire? These incidents of the adventurer before the campaign of Italy raised the hero to an equality with the Alexanders, Hannibals, and Cæsars, are in every memory. But of that aggregate of heroes, whose several rays blend with his own crown of glory, a word must needs be said. These were men who had already saved their own mother country. These were men who had shattered the coalesced armies of the great military Powers of the Continent. They had, indeed, doubly saved France by redeeming her reputation from the iniquities of the Reign of Terror, and now they went forward to impart to the oppressed the privileges they had conquered for themselves. This is what that army,

away from the intrigues and corruptions of political factions in the capital, believed. These men, constantly engaged in the field in defence of their independence and of the republican principle, were at once patriots and propagandists. Their hearts burned with fierce political fanaticism, which, wanting as it may have been in those holier elements that purify and exalt, rendered them contemptuous of privation, and made them in battle invincible. Commanded by a leader of genius, what obstacle could resist them? and it was so willed that as great a genius in the art of war as the world had ever seen should arise at the right moment for the benefit of an army equal to himself. The consequences were such as might have been expected, and which we proceed very rapidly to trace.

When Bonaparte arrived at Nice, on the 27th March, 1796, he was as much struck with the half-naked, famished appearance of his troops as they were with the mean figure of the little, lank, boyish-looking man, whose sickly and sallow countenance, rendered still more wan by his long hair, was, nevertheless, redeemed by large dark eyes of uncommon lustre. Young as he was, his figure lacked the buoyancy of youth as much as it wanted the erect firmness of manhood. His clothes hung loosely about his angular body. What the impressions of the soldiers were at the time, and the revulsions which their feelings underwent, was soon afterwards made manifest by a characteristic circumstance. After the passage of the Bridge of Lodi—to be mentioned more particularly hereafter—the men, who, according to republican fashion, were used to elect their officers, assembled in a gay conventicle round their camp fires, and bestowed a name and rank on the hero which stuck to him when on the throne, that of “the Little Corporal.” The significant pleasantry was subsequently repeated,—the “Little Corporal” was promoted to the rank of sergent, and lieutenant, and captain; but as novelty and surprise are the salt of good jokes, “Little Corporal” retained immortal hold in association with the grey frock-coat and featherless cocked-hat.

On the 11th April, Bonaparte moved from Savona at the head of some 42,000 men and 60 pieces of artillery, to attack twice that number of allied Austrians and Sardinians, supported by 200 pieces of cannon. Old Austrian Beaulieu reasoned like a man of seventy-five, who forgets the passionate inspiration of half a century before. He saw a rich city, that of Genoa, under the nose of a famished army of invaders, and he concluded that they could not withstand the temptation. This low view of French nature, which a witty writer has contradistinguished from human nature, led well-fed old Beaulieu into a false move which proved irreparable. Bonaparte's eagle glance was fixed otherwise. Its point of attraction was not the gluttoned abundance of the city, but

the bleak top of the Apennines, over which his star was rising. His plan was to cut the allies in two and beat them in detail—a project admirably favoured by the mass of low mountains, which, unconnected by roads, steeped in snow, and troubled by the spring storms, afforded advantages to hardy, weather-seasoned, agile young troops over soldiers hampered by old conventional rules and systems, which the genius of Bonaparte at once appreciated. Beaulieu crept along the shore to Genoa, covered by the English fleet. Here let us pause. The English fleet was ordered there to support the enemies of France, *but it was in defiance of English public opinion.* There is no fact in our history more easy of proof than that the voice of universal England was raised in protest, and vain protest, against being dragged into war with France. The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London petitioned against the war. At Islington, 50,000 persons met to demand neutrality. Meetings for the same purpose were held in every part of the city. The fact is one which deserves emphatic notice at this time; for it furnishes a conclusive answer to those who affect to regard the British people as ever ready to oppose France. Had the people's voice been respected by their own Government, the French would not have been able to enhance the early triumphs of Bonaparte by adding to their glory the failure of British opposition.

That public opinion subsequently wavered, and that indignation at the horrors committed by the revolutionary monsters, deepened into disgust and hatred ought not to be denied; but it must ever remain an open question whether the Reign of Terror was not the result of external pressure upon France. It was while the King was swearing fidelity to the constitution, that in the same month (July, 1792) the Duke of Brunswick at the head of an Austro-Prussian army invaded France, heralding his approach by a manifesto which might well have caused poor Louis to exclaim, "Oh, save me from my friends!" In that manifesto, the National Guards taken with arms in their hands are threatened with death; magistrates are warned on peril of their heads; towns resisting the allies are given up to the soldiery; and, finally, adding insulting derision to brutal menaces, promise is offered to the penitent of "intercession with the Most Christian King to obtain pardon for their faults and errors." A fortnight afterwards the King was a prisoner. The whole country was in a frenzy of indignation. The friends and relations of those so-called *émigrés* in the camp of the enemy were first arrested as hostages and then massacred. The threats of foreign Powers were met with shouts of defiance, and popular fury, already stained with crime, was excited into wild, ungovernable arrogance when from before the *sans culottes* of Paris the well-trained armies of

Austria and Prussia had to seek safety in flight. It was not until the King was brought to death that the British Government, taking advantage of the general stupor, ordered the French envoy to quit within forty-eight hours. The Court put on mourning. The Republic declared war, and England was committed to the coalition. Our first expeditions were not prosperous. The Duke of York blundered from failure to failure, which, by hurting military pride, only involved the nation in further hostilities. But, all the time, the English people, on the one hand, and those of France on the other, were, the one perplexed and the other incensed, at the falseness of England's position. *For* whom was England fighting? For the Bourbon family, which had stimulated the revolt of the American colonies. *Against* whom was she fighting? Against the subjects of Louis, who had become inoculated with American principles through the King's enmity to England. *With* whom was she fighting? Why, along with the three criminal despots who had partitioned Poland. And she had joined them, too, in the name of morality. Thus it was that, even in 1796, while a British fleet was covering Austrian movements against Bonaparte on the shores of Genoa, the English people at home were praying and petitioning in vain against the war with the French Republic!

What Bonaparte aimed at, that he did. When Beaulieu was awakened from his dream of error by the French cannon thundering from the heights of Montenotte, it was too late. The enemy he expected to meet on the road to Genoa had already crossed the Apennines unperceived. He had, moreover, by skillful manœuvres, surrounded and overwhelmed an Austrian division. In fact, he stood victorious master of the mountain. The Austrian centre was broken. Bonaparte stood between the Austrians, guarding the road to Milan, and the Piedmontese, who, on his left, held the gorges of the Millesimo, which they regarded as one of the natural bulwarks of their country. He resolves upon bending his main strength against the latter, and his operations are crowned with marvellous success. While Massena and Laharpe hold the Austrians in check, the King of Piedmont agrees, as the price of an armistice, to put the victor in possession of his strongest fortresses. Within a single week, Bonaparte converts a hostile country into a firm basis of operations against its late ally, and finds himself free to engage the Austrians single-handed on the plains of Lombardy.

In order that we may not lose sight of the principle which animated the spirit of that victorious army, it must be mentioned that they were not satisfied with the material prizes of conquest, amazing as they might seem. They demanded the abolition of the Sardinian monarchy and the proclamation of the republic! Bonaparte had, however, on the day of the 13th Vendemiaire, when

he turned his cannon against the revolted republican Sections, inwardly renounced the democratic creed. But the time had not arrived for avowals that would at once have been denounced as apostacy by lieutenants not yet eclipsed by the full revelation of an all-surpassing genius. It was necessary to blind yet awhile the eyes of Augereau, the wild son of the turbulent Faubourg St. Marceau, where his father worked as a mason, while in his son's knapsack lay the *bâton* of a Marshal of France; and to blind the eyes of the pastrycook's son, Murat, the unrivalled cavalry officer and future King of Naples; and of Lannes, the dyer's apprentice, fighting his way to the Dukedom of Montebello; and of Massena, greatest and meanest of all—of Massena, first of soldiers and most rapacious of plunderers; and, in fine, to blind the eyes of all those republican champions whose life of activity on the frontier had, in sparing the sight of anarchy at home, allowed the Republic to appear in its noblest aspect, that of deliverer of France from the coalesced despotisms of Europe. It was on this occasion that Bonaparte fascinated his followers' attention by that famous proclamation, in which, with a few masterly strokes, he vividly painted their exploits. "You have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes; you lay on the ground without brandy, and often without bread. Republican troops, soldiers of liberty, were alone capable of sufferings such as you have endured." These were new words, suited to a time when everything was new. The old *régime* was past, with its frigid formalities and elaborate etiquette. The Revolution had evoked the spirit of popular oratory. Parties, passions, principles, rioted in the most vivid exaggerations of expression; so that language which may appear inflated to the cool reader of the present day, was only in accordance with the elevation, or, if you will, the excitement of the times of which we speak. The men whom Bonaparte so addressed had issued from the clubs of Paris, or from those of other cities affiliated to the Jacobins of the capital, fresh from expositions of the gospel of Jean Jacques Rousseau by enthusiastic preachers of the rights of man, to seize their muskets to the cry of "the country is in danger," and to rush to the frontier to the song of the *Marseillaise*. The battle-field still waited its orator; and orator, historian, and poet appeared in the person of an unparalleled hero, who had marked each successive day of a single week with the name of a victory.

By a successful stratagem Bonaparte succeeded in crossing the Po into Lombardy, and forthwith proceeded, with no less success, to dislodge Beaulieu from Pavia. Turning on the poor Duke of Parma, who, possessing no military resources whatever, could do nothing to thwart his plans, Bonaparte tarnished his laurels by extortion. Here he commenced that system of levying contribu-

tions which eventually corrupted his army, and turned the professed, and in the first instance sincere, deliverers of oppressed peoples into scourges, to be dreaded as much by friends as by foes. The poor Grand Duke could not understand how his pictures and works of art could be of service or even afford pleasure to an army standing in need of food and clothing. But Bonaparte wanted to create a sensation in Paris, and the *chef d'œuvres* of the masters of Italian art were with an unprincipled hand degraded into decorations for a political *coup de théâtre*.

Milan lay before him. The victorious général had not yet realized that crowning point of conquest, the triumphant occupation of the chief city of his enemy. Combined with the prestige of such a trophy, more solid advantages were to be obtained, for Milan was rich; there arose a further inducement for the ambition of this man, at once keenly alive to self-interest, practical in his attention to all material necessities, and of most susceptible imagination. Far above the shouts in Paris, with which his ears tingled in anticipation, there shone before his ardent fancy the vision of that Iron Crown, which from the days when Charlemagne wore it as the symbol of his Empire of the West, stood enshrined in the Lombard capital, while successive emperors came after each accession to the imperial throne to have their investiture completed by coronation in the cathedral. As yet what had he done? Many great things truly; but yet not one of that supreme personal daring to give him assurance that he "dared look on that which might appal the devil." Sceptic as he was, he worked his way to one belief—belief in himself; and his egotistical creed had its attendant superstition. The signs he questioned were no common signs. He challenged proofs from fate out of tempests of destroying fire, where one could hardly escape save by a miracle. The way to the imperial city lay across a narrow wooden bridge over the Adda, and was commanded by artillery and musketry sweeping every corner and cranny. Forlorn hopes to be counted by columns must devote themselves there to death—Bonaparte himself with the rest. He did not flinch. He formed his columns. He spoke to them as no other could speak. They rushed forward to be mowed down—there is a moment of hesitation—that moment is Bonaparte's inspiration. He bears forward the flag, communicating his enthusiasm to the rest. The charge is irresistible. In another moment the Austrian guns are spiked, and their columns, appalled by such inconceivable audacity, are in full retreat. It was after this prodigious achievement that the soldiers in a burst of wild, frolicsome admiration, pronounced their comrade in that famous charge worthy of promotion. They conferred on Bonaparte, as already stated, the name and rank of the "Little Corporal."

The heart swelling with exultation—the imagination picturing to itself promises of future greatness, failed to raise, however, the moral man to magnanimity of behaviour. On the citizens, whom he professed to deliver, he imposed heavy contributions. His conduct caused strange perplexity. The word “Republic” had roused the enthusiasm of the descendants of the once-free Italian cities. Exactions galled the peasantry into fury. Democratic zeal collapsed in presence of pillage. Pavia opened her gates to 10,000 exasperated peasants. The temper that not long before had turned the guns from the church steps of St. Roch on Parisian citizens was roused—the implacable demon within was stirred. Pavia was stormed! The leading citizens were taken out and shot in cold blood by way of example. The houses of all were given up to plunder, while cavalry were employed to hunt through the fields after the scattered peasantry, and to cut them down without mercy.

The Italian people have been too often reproached with their insignificant appearance in this marvellous campaign. It has been observed by historians of even distinguished ability and fairness, that neither Austrians nor French seemed to be aware of the existence of the very people in whose defence the one, and for whose liberation the other, professed to contend. The truth is, that it was not the Italians who were fearful, but that the masters and the liberators were alike false. The Austrians could not appeal to the civic virtues of a people, because to awaken such virtues would be fatal to their own system of oppression; and although the French army were animated by generous sentiments, they were led by a chief whose object was conquest. Instead, therefore, of appealing to the high spirit of the Italian nation, he goaded the people by exaction into resistance, and then punished that brave indignation, which a truly generous hero would have regarded as the sign of great qualities, capable of being turned to noble uses, with fire and sword and the chartered licentiousness of an intoxicated soldiery. Precious liberators, who begin by extinguishing the spirit which is liberty's animating principle, and without which there can only be the stultified victims of worthless masters!

Within a month Bonaparte had subdued the monarchy of Sardinia, and had wrested from the Austrian Cæsar Lombardy and the Iron Crown. He next advanced into the territory of the *Republic* of Venice. Would he respect the name? It was a war of principle. Consistency and the express orders of the Directory opposed barriers to his progress. But the temptations were great to a general who was an amateur of pictures. Titians and Tintoretos were wanted to complete the Parmesan and Modenese galleries, and to supply the necessary link with

the contemplated seizure of the art treasures of the Vatican; for Bonaparte had already settled in his mind that his Holiness had no right to be a virtuoso. The Republic of Venice was wealthy and weak, corrupt and cowardly; public spirit had so long slept that an effete oligarchy had absorbed all the powers of the State. In such a crisis as now arrived there could neither be challenge to a people's loyalty by an endeared sovereign, nor place for the fierce resolution of a Convention. The authority of the Senate had been too long exercised in self-security against sedition, and had acquired too much of the odium called forth by the cruelty of a jealous oligarchy, to be able to take a bold and broad view of danger from without, or to feel confidence enough to evoke the aid of a public spirit they had drugged and crushed. The councils of confused cowards left to themselves could lead to nothing but proposals betraying weakness. The city of Venice had large possessions on *terra firma*. Brescia, Verona, Peschiera were Venetian cities. The republic had 3,000,000 of subjects, an army of 50,000 men, a good fleet at sea, and a position that would, in other hands, have become impregnable. Bonaparte's teeth watered for the wealth and the pictures, and resolving to pick a quarrel, this is the way he did it:—The eldest brother of the beheaded King of France had sought an asylum in the Venetian city of Verona. "Ah!" says Bonaparte, "the Pretender to the throne takes up his residence in Verona, and where a mock king holds his mock court, there is the assumed capital of France." Having by such stringent logic found the Venetians guilty of recognising the Pretender, he proceeds to fine them for what he designated their insolence. In pronouncing sentence the humane and just judge dwelt upon the exceeding tenderness of his own nature, which would not allow of his burning the city to ashes, and which obliged him to be satisfied with boundless supplies for his army and priceless pictures for himself.

Before him and around him lay other tempting objects; these were the kingdom of Naples, Tuscany, the States of the Church, and accounts remained to be settled with Genoa which the necessity for cutting the centre of the Austro-Sardinian army at Montenetto had obliged him to postpone.

Now from the heads of Government, whether royal or ducal, Bonaparte encountered no opposition. The King of Naples made him a low bow. The Grand Duke of Tuscany met him with smiling hospitality. Bonaparte repaired to the Tuscan capital as a friend, but his own recognition of neutrality did not prevent the perpetration of a gross infringement of law, which was at the same time a humiliating indelicacy towards his host. British merchandize was at Leghorn, lying there unguarded in a neutral port;

and while Bonaparte was regaling his eyes with the art treasures which enrich the city of the Medicis, his lieutenant, Murat, was by his orders pillaging these British ships and stores. At Genoa the work of levying contributions had begun. Here, as had previously happened in Lombardy, the peasantry resisted exactions to which their superiors meekly bowed. The city of Argenta, a fief of Genoa, as Pavia had done, opened her gates to the oppressed. Lannes was, according to fashion, sent to storm the unfortunate town, and stormed it was, and the chief citizens, as usual, taken out and shot in cold blood. But it was for the Pope that the deepest humiliation was reserved, and to the States of the Church was to be applied the most extensive spoliation. Bonaparte was at Bologna when the envoy of the panic-stricken Vatican laid the tiara at his feet. Again rose up resistance, and again it flamed, not from the outraged dignity of princes, but from the instinctive fury of a plundered peasantry. The village of Lugo dared to resist the exactions of Augereau, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. Bonaparte had, in the course of a short campaign, run through the whole gamut of human action, from the highest to the lowest deeds—from heroism to plunder—from magnanimity in the field to the most wretched butchery of peasants—from sporting with the crowns of kings and antique dignity of doges down to the most pitiful extortion from burghers and plebeians; he had done everything that man could do of noble or of vile. One more trial remained for him. The tiara was at his feet. Did he say “Take away the bauble?” No! This military Cromwell, as he has been most inaptly called, simply took the tiara in pawn, to be redeemed by payment of 20,000,000 francs in money, along with exorbitant supplies for the army, and for himself a hundred of the finest works of which the Vatican could boast, as well as two hundred rare manuscripts!

It was time for old Wurmser to come down through the Tyrol. Mantua was closely pressed, and Bonaparte's fame was drawing to him reinforcements. It was now the end of July, and the Austrians, 60,000 strong, after having driven in different detachments, were descending both sides of the Lake of Garda; that is to say, they were repeating the old error of dividing their forces in the expectation of enveloping the French army, which, after deduction of troops for guarding recent conquests and maintaining the siege of Mantua, could only muster 30,000 men. To increase his force in the field Bonaparte raised the siege, an act which cost some sacrifice to his pride; but it was one of consummate judgment, for it placed 15,000 more troops at his disposal. Wurmser entered Mantua in fancied triumph, but is startled in the midst of his joy by the intelligence that the three towns of Brescia, Salò, and Lunato, which had opened their gates to him

on his advance, were again in the hands of the French. This was not all. He hears at the same time that his lieutenant, Quasdanovich, on whose junction with himself he had confidently reckoned, had been attacked and defeated. The brave old man immediately crossed the Mincio and moved on Castiglione. Orders are despatched to Quasdanovich to renew the offensive. His object is ever and still the same, that of enveloping the adversary. Bonaparte was not a man to be enveloped. Yet to cut through the toils spread by an enemy so greatly outnumbering his own forces, it required that the general should be never out of his saddle, and that troops obliged to march all night should be ready to fight all day. On the 3rd August the battle of Castiglione was fought and won by the accomplishment of the same French plan for confounding the same Austrian error. Lines too far extended were cut through and the Austrians beaten in detail. The battle was next day renewed. The same principle of action was on each side repeated, and with the same results, and Wurmser retreated into the fastnesses of the Tyrol with the loss of 20,000 men and 60 cannons, thus closing what the French call the campaign of five days. Too crippled on their side to pursue, the French made preparations to encounter Wurmser, who they rightly judged would return to the field. In about three or towards the end of August, the Austrian veteran with his raised by reinforcements to 50,000 men, again descended from the Tyrol, moving according to the same inveterate system with obstinate intention to envelope his adversary by means of a double line of operations—an attempt the more absurd because on the present occasion equality of numbers rendered it impossible. Davidovich was left with 20,000 men to guard Roveredo and the valley of the Adige, while Wurmser at the head of 30,000 descended to Bassano, leaving thus a mass of mountains between both. Bonaparte boldly determined upon ascending towards the Tyrol by the banks of the Adige. He fell on Davidovich at Roveredo, and putting him to flight entered Trent, the capital of the Tyrol. Wurmser, instead of allowing his firm old head to be confounded by such a disaster, resolved to turn it to account. Forming the bright design of barring Bonaparte's return into Italy, he directed his steps towards Verona, with the double object of capturing that important city and at the same time of relieving Mantua. Bonaparte, divining his adversary's intention, left a division in the Tyrol, followed Wurmser through a most difficult mountain country, and came up with his rear guard in the steep gorge of the Val Sugana, which he defeated at the moment the Austrian advanced guard had reached Verona. Wurmser, collecting his troops at Bassano, made a gallant effort to drive back the French into the steep defiles from which they had emerged, but failed. He, nevertheless,

with unflinching courage and admirable skill, fought his way to Mantua, which he entered in a sort of triumph. This was his last gleam of success. Several gallant attempts to retrieve disasters only entailed defeats, by which, at the end of October, that army which had, early in September, emerged from the Tyrol 50,000 strong, was now reduced to 15,000, some seeking shelter in the depths of the mountains, and others suffering with the inhabitants of Mantua the severest trials of sickness and hunger.

Austria, ever pertinacious and resolute, had by this time gathered another army of 40,000 men at Trieste, which was placed under Alvinzi; and under Davidovich was another corps of 8000 men. Bonaparte's losses not having been repaired with corresponding reinforcements, he found himself once more numerically inferior to his antagonist in the field.

Before the close of the first week of November, two Austrian armies were attacking a great crisis, the one on the Tyrol, before Trent, the other on the Brenta. In the Tyrol, where Bonaparte's army was, the Austrians triumphed: on the

his magnanimity was such signs of division was falling back and to be set down to the caprice of his stress hanging from its as it was splendidly withdrew, lest his should be regarded. The tide seemed to have turned; Alvinzi soldier's master of the Italian Tyrol, with a country cleared as an invader up to the Adige. His aim was the city of four a. Bonaparte, on the heights of Caldiero, barred the road; Alvinzi advanced resolutely to the attack, and for the first time, on the 11th November, the hitherto invincible young general of the Republic was fairly beaten in a pitched battle, and driven from his own chosen positions. To Verona returned the remainder of the French army much dispirited. Hitherto Bonaparte's temptations were those of unparalleled success, and he did not always escape that cruel and heartless arrogance which unchequered prosperity too often draws forth. His genius, happily for himself, was now to be tested by perils which had subdued strong minds about him. If he caught the contagion, his name would go down as that of a rash adventurer whose chance strokes of success met with the eventual punishment due to temerity. Even if he should fail to raise the ardour of his followers to equality with his own, ruin was no less certain. What did he do? He appeared to retreat. He turned his steps backwards towards Milan. The army thinking it was abandoning the fruit of its many victories, hung down its head in anger and shame. The troops are suddenly surprised by an order to change their line of

march. At daybreak they find a bridge of boats, over which they pass to discover themselves amongst morasses, intersected by causeways. Immediately the soldiery, with characteristic instinct, divine their leader's plan. It is not for the sake of flight that they are placed in a position whose capabilities for defence they at once perceive. Their confidence returns animated by joy. Alvinzi, unaware of this midnight movement, stood idly watching Verona, while his fancied prey was strongly posted behind him, threatening his flank and rear. Discovering his error, he hastened to repair it. Here, as at Lodi, victory held up her crown of laurels upon a bridge. If won, the bridge of Arcola would secure the provinces which had been entered through that of Lodi. It was swept by grape and musketry, but "it must be won!" so said Bonaparte, as seizing a standard he moved forward at the head of a column of Grenadiers, and placed himself in the midst. He is borne back, and for a moment is surrounded by victorious Austrians, from whose eyes he is hid. The willows that bend over the marsh, where the last forlorn hope of the French army threatens to engulf the greatest of the French calvary, in a sort of heavenly fire, and it is their side to put the martyrs, and in a measure, encounter Wurmser, with the soldiers of Bonaparte return to the field. In about three days, the Austrian veteran with his army about to pursue a flight of 50,000 men, again descended from the shouts of their comrades to the same inveterate howl amongst them. Much slaughter rendered, alas! to be performed amongst those marshes. The weeping willows, trembling in November winds, shook off tears of blood. Three days after the supposed flight of the French from Verona, the inhabitants marvelled to see them re-enter undisputed masters of the city. There ensued a pause of two months. To the genius of Bonaparte remained opposed that Austrian obstinacy which yields only to exhaustion. Mantua still held out a beacon of hope, and once more Austria gathered her forces for its relief. When at the beginning of January both parties were ready for action, Bonaparte found his army raised to 40,000; Alvinzi commanded a somewhat larger force. The French army was posted on the elevated plateau of Rivoli, which was approached by different roads; and the Austrian plan was one of simultaneous attack on all sides, a plan well conceived, well executed, and which would unquestionably have succeeded against any general not gifted with the genius of a Bonaparte. By the quickness of his combinations, by the rapidity of his movements, by the marvellous sagacity with which he detected weak points, and the promptitude with which he drove superior force against them, Bonaparte, as usual, beat his enemy in detail, and the close of a clear frosty day matched with

this fresh victory of Rivoli, the previous triumph achieved amongst the marshes and willows of Arcola.

Without waiting to draw breath, Bonaparte, leaving to his lieutenants to garner in the harvest of that bloody field, rode off to Mantua, taking no rest until he reached, on the evening of the following day, the scene of action. The Imperialists in force were preparing to support a sally from the garrison. The soldiers which, on the other hand, had come to the support of the threatened besiegers, arrived by forced marches impeded by incessant combats. The result was defeat of the Austrians and capitulation of Mantua. Within three days Bonaparte had defeated two Austrian armies, taken 18,000 prisoners, 24 standards, and 60 pieces of cannon. With the fall of Mantua ended Austrian domination for the time. The last scene was worthily illustrated by a rivalry of magnanimity between the veteran Wurmser and his youthful conqueror. The former, although his horseflesh was exhausted, and three days' subsistence in garbage hardly left, observed a confident front. Bonaparte, aware of his situation, sent him word that, in honour of his fidelity, he would allow him to march out with the honours of war; and with a delicacy, which like his magnanimity was too rare to be the result of principle, and to be set down to the capriciousness of a genius as excitable as it was splendid, he withdrew, lest his presence as a conqueror should be construed into an indulgence of satisfaction at an old soldier's humiliation.

As Rome had rebelled against the treaty imposed some time previously, Bonaparte felt strongly inclined to crown this famous campaign by the overthrow of the Papal power; but he was withheld by the imperative orders of the Government of the Directory. He resolved, however, to mulct the Pope, and whenever Bonaparte was seized with the thirst for extortion, it was curious to observe how his passion for the fine arts caught fire from the same source. To his previous plunder of the Vatican, the heroic amateur now added the Apollo Belvidere and the Laocoon, Raphael's Transfiguration, and the St. Jerome of Dominicheno. The victim was stripped, but life was spared.

The campaign of Italy was, properly speaking, ended; but the conquest was not secure against a power like Austria, which never yielding to depression, possessed the service of an Archduke Charles, and of soldiers before whom the best French legions of the Rhine had quailed. Bonaparte determined to cross the Tyrol, and not to make peace except within the walls of Vienna. Victory indeed attended him, but he met with so much unexpected resistance at the hands of the faithful Tyrolese, he witnessed so much steadfast loyalty amongst the Austrian people, and foreseeing the tremendous conflict that was preparing, he stopped short at

Leoben, and was the first to make overtures for peace, the conditions of which were six months afterwards reduced to the memorable treaty of Campo Formio.

Within these six months great projects were to be matured by means of great crimes, to which Austria was to be induced to lend herself, to her own lasting shame.

According to the general principle forming the basis of these preliminaries agreed to at Leoben, Austria was to surrender to France her Belgian provinces, on condition of receiving indemnities in other directions at the expense of weaker powers. One of the victims, and the chief one to this arrangement, was the Republic of Venice. At this early stage of the business, no greater robbery was ostensibly at least contemplated than those provinces which were situated on *terra firma*. Bonaparte being a general of a Republic commissioned to spread the blessings of that system by force of arms, dared not go so far as to pass sentence of death upon one of the most historically illustrious of the republics of the world. Austria assuming, on the other hand, to be the champion of law and order, religion and loyalty, it behoved her to be careful how she despoiled the Queen of the Adriatic. By inducing the government of Vienna to admit the basis of indemnity, a decent synonym for spoliation, Bonaparte had done enough for immediate purposes. Austria stood committed. She had completely abandoned the high ground of principle, and taken her stand on the lowest degree of self-interest. Of her two armies of the Rhine and of Italy, one stood crowned with glory, the other covered with defeat. Does she hide the latter's scars with the former's glorious remnants of triumphal flags? on the contrary, she agrees to barter the fruits of her victories on the Rhine for plunder torn from allies in Italy, whom she was no longer able to defend. She punished their loyalty through the means of her own soldiers' heroic fidelity. Had her army of Germany succumbed, she should have subscribed to peace dictated in the capital; and she, the champion of loyalty and faith, marks her gratitude to Providence that deferred the hour of humiliation by submitting to go snacks with one whom she hated, and even still despised as a merely successful adventurer. No impediment stood thenceforward in the way of the victor. If Austria could thus allow her scruples to give way, why should *he* not cast away the semblances of his own. He had more than conquered the greatest military monarchy of Europe; he had *degraded her*, who was henceforth his slave to do his bidding. She had sullied and weakened her reserves of honour and of heroism, and could not drive them up except to be defeated. Austria being neutralized, *he* felt at ease while brooding over his projects, and they enemy in glorious. His object was to make himself master of the

Mediterranean and the Adriatic, that he might wrest from England her Indian empire. As an essential preliminary to this design, it became in his mind necessary to obtain possession of the fleet, the sailors, and the naval stores of Venice, along with the Ionian Islands, then Venetian possessions. To effect his purpose he had recourse to a very vulgar and wicked stratagem. He stirred up the lower orders against the higher with doctrines of social equality, which he did not himself believe, but which in a republic are without difficulty excited, and then he took his dupes under his protection. It was for their sakes that of course he laid hold of the shipping and stores, and transferred them to Corfu, which of course also he would hold with the other Ionian Islands as a material guarantee, to be returned in due time to that revolutionary democracy which was to restore the Republic of Venice to her pristine youth. By this mode of proceeding he duped everybody. He duped his own army, which rejoiced at the spread of the revolutionary idea; he duped the Government of the Directory, which had given him express orders to respect the Republic of Venice; and that the work of deception might be wide enough and close enough to entangle all, he set about forming the Italian provinces rescued from Austria into united republics. In this proceeding his motives were very complex and subtle, for he not only duped the people, the army, and the government at home, but he was fortifying himself against the pretensions which he knew Austria would put forth in favour of certain portions of her old Italian provinces, and which pretensions he could best resist in the name of restored nationality. But he held in reserve a bribe for that Austrian cupidity to which he had found the way. He meant at the last moment to sacrifice the Republic of Venice, and hand her over, after he had stripped her of wealth and strength, a forlorn city to a foreign master. The people of Venice, who fancied they were to see the republic rise up renewed and invigorated by French arms, awoke from their dream as soon as they saw the soldiers of Augereau take down the bronze horses from the place of St. Mark—those horses which had illustrated Corinth, adorned Rome, imparted purity to the semi-oriental decorations of Constantinople; and having marked, as it were, the rise and decline of three great seats of power, were now to be wrenched from betrayed Venice, and carried to another city. While the people stood paralysed, the effete senate passively consented to sign its own death-warrant. Let us turn to another scene. Bonaparte is closeted with the Austrian minister-plenipotentiary, Cobentzel, at the latter's country-house. Cobentzel yields the boundary of the Rhine, but haggles hard for pieces and scraps of poor Italy. Bonaparte cannot consent to yield any portion—not that France wants it, oh no! but he can-

not desert the interests of the newly-created Cisalpine Republic formed out of Lombardy and the Venetian provinces. Cobentzel could lay his hand on nothing which did not belong to one or other of the rising republics; but Cobentzel *might have Venice itself*, whose value he set forth with that quality of eloquence which comes to the aid of a Jew who makes the most of a cast-off garment. The fact is that Bonaparte, having got possession of the Ionian Islands and of the Venetian fleet, could only secure the spoils by murdering the victim. Should the independence of Venice be recognised, would she not reclaim the stolen goods? and therefore it was that Bonaparte wanted to crush her utterly by bartering her to Austria, who would hold the bargain firmly in his gripe. Cobentzel still haggled, and Bonaparte lost his temper, and when he did so, the hero could behave like a spoiled child. He looked about for something to wreak his rage upon. Happily for Cobentzel's head, a porcelain vase attracted the warrior's eye, seizing which he smashed it against the floor. "Thus," he exclaimed, in a tone of melodramatic rant, "will I smash the Austrian power, if the treaty be not forthwith signed!" Cobentzel was frightened into conversion by the broken crockery, for next day was perfected the treaty of Campo Formio. A scene of a different kind occurred at Venice, where a noble Venetian lady, such a one as might of old have inspired the genius of Titian, when he lavished his wealth of colour in picturing forth the glorious gorgeousness of Venetian beauty, unable to survive the degradation of her country, died by her own hand. The crime is one which must be classed with the act of a Lucretia or a Charlotte Corday. We dare not praise—we cannot condemn—we stand transfixed in admiration of a resolve which so far transcends ordinary experience as to confound expression. The mind refuses to see other than the funeral pyre of a country and a self-devoted victim. The republic of a thousand years appears incarnated in the last and noblest of her daughters, who seems to say—Thus perish Venice, rather than drag out a life of shame.

We have seen how Italy was won. We are now to learn how Italy was lost. It was won by the genius of a young general and of an army, which, few in number and ill-equipped, became irresistible through enthusiasm. It was lost when love of freedom and zeal for the cause of liberty degenerated into sensual indulgence, supported, by extortion, and masked by deceit. Bonaparte set sail on his memorable expedition for Egypt in the spring of 1798. His object was to found an empire in the East on the ruin of that of Great Britain. One Englishman, as he himself bitterly said, caused him to miss his way—that Englishman was Sir Sidney Smith, who rendered Aboukir an invincible impediment. Another Englishman, more famous still, the immortal Nelson, destroyed the

fleet on which he depended for maintaining his communication with France. While Bonaparte was absent, his spoliations were imitated by his successors. But where he plundered for the benefit of an impoverished State and an army in rags—they robbed on their own account. Bonaparte had indeed opened the Papal treasury, and the richer mines of the art galleries of the Vatican; but there were to come after him destroyers compared with whom, even he was but a child who plucks a few tempting flowers, or gathers a few blades of corn by the wayside. In the usual way riots were got up at Rome, and the Papal troops firing, killed a French general. This was enough; Berthier marched to Rome on the 10th February, 1798. No resistance was offered. The Castle of St. Angelo was first put into his hands, on condition that person and property should be respected. The Pope, dethroned and deprived of his temporal sovereignty, was allowed to retire into Tuscany; and another republic was established, protected by the sword of Massena. He was a man whose genius rose with danger, whose ingenuity was sharpened by necessity, whose courage no form of peril could surprise; he who subsequently proved himself capable of enduring the direst horrors of famine, rather than surrender a city reduced to the last agonies of want, could not resist the temptations of abundance. By him, according to his admirer Thiers—

“Palaces, convents, rich collections were despoiled, nor were their contents sent to enrich the picture galleries, museums, and libraries of Paris—no; they were sacrificed to Jew dealers for whatever they could bring. So revolting was the havoc committed, that a meeting was held by officers of the army, who unable to restrain their indignation, and burning with shame, addressed a petition to the Directory, for the removal of their Commander-in-Chief. Massena was recalled, and civil commissioners were appointed to administer the financial affairs of the army—a plan which, as we shall see, led to serious consequences. Robbery was not confined to Rome. Lombardy, now the Cisalpine Republic, was suffering at the hands of her liberators, converted into depredators.”

Hear M. Thiers again. Having told that the Cisalpine Republic was in a state of frightful disorder, and having palliated the curtailment of its political liberties by the reduction of the House of Representatives to one-half the number fixed by the Constitution, he goes on to say:—

“The officers of the army behaved as in a conquered country. They ill-treated the inhabitants, took possession of houses to which they were not entitled, and which they devastated, making requisitions as in time of war, extorting money, and carrying off the funds of the city corporation. The commanders of fortresses, particularly, levied intolerable exactions. The Governor of Mantua, for instance, had to be paid

for leave to fish in the lake. The generals raised their extortions in proportion to their rank, and went shares with the army contractors in the extravagant profits obtained by their connivance."

The Directory sent a commissioner to Milan, who took measures to repress military licentiousness, but he had hardly turned his back, when Marshal Brune undid his work. Brune was a practised hand. He had just overturned the Swiss Republic, and let loose his harpies upon the poor Swiss exchequer. The brave Swiss defended their ancient liberties with an enthusiastic courage, which, shared by their women, rose into holiest heroism. Liberty was put down in the name of liberty. The French Constitution was spread like a winding-sheet over the country of William Tell. Switzerland's wealth was not in picture galleries, or statuary, or libraries. It was great, however, of the kind, which neither moth or rust doth corrupt. Pure manners, a glorious history, and love of freedom. Like all mountaineers, they were economical, and their strict town councillors could show a balance to meet current exigencies of the canton. M. Thiers is very angry with the parsimonious Swiss for having cried out so loud about their beggarly balances, but he admits the fact, that what he calls the most ordinary right of conquest was exercised, and the little bank of Berne was treated as if it had been a very Bank of England. Brune, like Massena, was recalled.

When the court of Naples saw the Pope dethroned—it began to fear that its own turn would come next. War was declared, but the result was to bring General Championnet a victor to Naples, where he proclaimed the new Parthenopean Republic. The King of Piedmont was next forced to abdicate, and all Italy was revolutionized, with the exception of Tuscany, which for the moment was spared. Let M. Thiers speak again:—

"Piedmont, now occupied, offered fresh prey to be devoured, and even the honesty of General Joubert, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Italy, did not afford a guarantee against the avidity of the military staff and the contractors. Naples especially was submitted to pillage. There were in the Directory four honest men, who felt disgust at all these disorders, Rewbell, Larévellière, Merlin, and Treilhard. Larévellière, acting with the greatest energy, caused a very wise proposition to be adopted; which was, the formation of Commissions in all countries depending on France, and occupied by our armies, charged with the civil and financial administration, and quite independent of the military staff."

And the Minister-of-War was instructed to see this arrangement carried into effect. Five years before, a general who would have murmured at an order of the Committee of Public Safety, would have been summoned before the revolutionary tribunal, and sent

from thence to the guillotine. But the reign of government by terror was past, that of military licence was begun. When the Commissioners of the Directory presented themselves at Naples, General Championnet, accustomed to play the dictator, ordered them to quit within twenty-four hours. The Directory boldly deprived him of his command. General Joubert, making common cause with his offended comrade, sent home his resignation. His post was offered to Bernadotte, afterwards King of Sweden. He, too, disdaining interference by civilians, rejected the offer—such proceedings were not lost on Austria. The humiliating treaty of Campo Formio still remained open. A congress was sitting at Radstadt, for the settlement of indemnities claimed by the German States, in lieu of the different portions of territory they were called on to abandon, in order to give effect to that part of the Campo Formio treaty which ceded to France the boundary of the Rhine. In point of fact, the German powers were in ill-humour with Austria, by whom they conceived themselves betrayed, and that astute power was looking for support in another direction. She was negotiating a treaty with Russia, with which semi-barbarous power she was already allied in an iniquitous partnership for the partition of Poland. That terrible crime was the parent of all the disturbances with which Europe has been since afflicted. People fascinated by the more turbulent horrors of the French Revolution, seem to have forgotten that triple conspiracy of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for the deliberate assassination of Poland, avenged with providential swiftness by the flood breaks of French democracy carrying the tricolor into every capital of the Continent. Austrian appetite, excited by spoliation, became insatiable. We have seen with what little scruple she went shares with Bonaparte in the destruction of Venice, and now while affairs were dragging on at Radstadt, she was carrying on a second, secret underhand negotiation with the French Republic of a still more unprincipled character; for she was actually prepared to swallow the confiscated estates of the Church, and thus to sanction the dethronement of the Pope, provided she could, at the expense of her German Allies, obtain a slice of poor Italy. This was conservative and religious Austria! The proposal was rejected, the Congress of Radstadt broken up, and war declared. Then there occurred a most base transaction. The Austrian Government suspected that some secret dealings had been going on between her quondam German friends and the French Plenipotentiaries, and orders were given to have their carriages stopped on the road by a troop of dragoons, and their papers seized for examination. The soldiers went, it is to be hoped, beyond the letter of their instructions, when they murdered men whose persons have ever been held sacred by all nations.

This barbarous violation of public law excited a terrible sensation. Hostilities at once commenced.

The theatre of conflict was immense. The French Republic had to cover Holland, which an English fleet was watching to relieve; it had to guard the line of the Rhine, Switzerland, and Italy. With Italy is our chief concern, yet shall we be obliged to keep in view operations elsewhere. Owing to the differences that had arisen between the Directory and their generals in Italy, some difficulty was found with regard to the command of the army. True it was, that a great man was at the service of the Directory, the upright, the single-minded, single-hearted Moreau. It is the curse of corrupt times that the rare uncontaminated few, who have preserved their integrity, are repelled, as if their presence was a rebuke and an offence. The Director Barras reeling to the Council table from the obscene orgies of the Luxembourg, was in no fit state to meet the calm reason, and encounter the devoted bearing of a man like Moreau, whose genius—and it was of the noblest order—was equalled by a regard for the public service, that excluded every thought of self-interest, even of glory. As if to mortify the first general of the Republic since Bonaparte was away, he was offered a division, and he modestly accepted that subordinate position. The chief command was given to the Minister-of-War, General Scherer, who went out loaded with unpopularity in the army under his command, because to the execution of his decrees was attributed the resignation of their favourite commanders. He was, nevertheless, a distinguished soldier; but broken down by age and infirmities. The first encounter took place on the Rhine, which the French crossed under Jourdan; were beaten the 22nd March at Ostrach, and again, three days afterwards, were overthrown completely at Stochach. The Austrians had at their head a great and noble general, the Archduke Charles, one who, had he been left to the inspirations of his own genius, would have saved the empire from disaster. Not unlike the heroic Moreau, in regard to singleness of purpose and soundness of capacity, his services to a Government unable to appreciate his worth, were secured by his birth and rank, but they were marred by the inept interference of a pedantic council seated at Vienna. It is admitted by Thiers, that had not the Archduke been restrained by order of the Aulic Council, he might have followed up his advantages, even to the utter destruction of the army. The day following the fatal battle of Stochach began the campaign of Italy.

The Austrians were posted in the strong city of Verona, which was covered by an entrenched camp at Pastrengo, between the town and the lake of La Garda. We must recollect that Verona had belonged to the Venetians, and Bonaparte, when he wrung

from Austria her disgraceful acceptance of Venice and Verona, little calculated upon that power's ability to make the best of a bad bargain. Venice became, in Austria's hands, an impregnable magazine of war stores. The French directed their first attack against the entrenched camp of Pastrengo, which yielded to their daring impetuosity, pushed their advantages up to the walls of Verona, but there ceased their success. Within six weeks the marvellous superstructure of Bonaparte was overthrown. It had risen as if by enchantment—a dazzling work, and had not the materials been tempered with fraud and falsehood, might have stood a monument of marvellous genius. When the architect was away whose eye might have detected the frailness of civil elements, and whose hand could have repaired threatened damage, decay made rapid progress. Corruption undermined the work, and it fell to pieces at the first serious shock. The Austrian General Kray swept from Verona to the bridge of Lodi with a rapidity which surpassed, although not with a glory that equalled, the advance of Bonaparte, and with rival promptitude and force the Archduke Charles, victorious to the Rhone, cut with his sword the Articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, which had made that river the boundary of France.

Peace might now have been concluded, but Austria had, unfortunately for herself and more unfortunately for the West, made a treaty with Russia, and Suwarrow and his Tartars were come to divide the promised spoil. Italy, overrun in turn by Goths, Vandals, Austrians, Spaniards, French, was now to feel the pressure of a barbarous race introduced by Austria, who to her crimes must add the guilt of having opened the door of Western civilization to this dangerous intruder.

Lord Byron's immortal description of the storming of Ismail by Suwarrow has made English readers familiar with the name of the Russian commander. A massacre of men, women, and children, so complete that it amounted to extermination, has given to the siege of Ismail a fearful celebrity, and to the victor an exceptional notoriety. With a levity surpassing that of Nero, who fiddled when Rome was burning, Suwarrow turned the slaughter of 36,000 human beings of both sexes and all ages into a serio-comic epigram. His mistress loved buffoonery. The diminutive hero was as ugly as malicious, and not much bigger than a monkey. His powers of mimicry were peculiar, and were so unsparingly used for the empress's diversion, that it was only by express command he became serious, and proved himself capable of better things by his remarkable sagacity, expressed with a quaint originality that imparted a pungent flavour to his sayings. His mode of dealing with Ismail marked him out the right man for Poland. He was not likely to mar by troublesome

scruples the iniquitous work of partition, and the sack of Praga is said to have out-horrored even the horrors of Ismail. Catherine died soon after, and was succeeded by Paul, a madman, who asserted a sovereign right of monopoly of eccentricity, and sent Suwarrow home to vent his disappointment on his serfs. Austria had not forgotten her worthy partner in the partition of Poland, and when another blow was to be struck for her Italian possessions, surprised the Russian general with an intimation that he was created an Austrian field-marshal and generalissimo of the allied army. When he arrived at Verona to take the command he was sixty-nine years of age, and yet as active, as vigorous, as full of ardour, tricks, and mischief, and only more hideously ugly, dirty, and slovenly, than when he used to divert Catherine by drilling his soldiers in his shirt-sleeves, with one boot off and his stocking hanging down to his heels. His eccentricities, however, won the heart of his soldiers, whom he called his children, and proved the sincerity of the relationship by inflicting no more lashes than were likely to do them good, while he ate of his children's too savoury food, and would sleep only on straw. The preparations made for the commander-in-chief in the city of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" made it doubtful whether the house was not fitted up for the horse instead of the field-marshal. The looking-glasses were all removed lest the general's sense of beauty should be shocked by the sight of his own face. The beds were turned out, and fresh straw laid in. The general was an early riser, and his way of waking up his military flock was quite in keeping with his habits. He uttered a crow like that of an early village cock, and his soldiers immediately sprung up to the familiar sound. When we hear of the Allies separating we must not be surprised that men of the grave bearing and courtly habits of the Austrian Staff could not long endure the grotesque superiority assumed by this worthy representative of a master almost mad. The Russians treated their Allies as inferiors. They had beaten the Turks and trampled on the Poles, and were now to show the Austrians the way to beat the French, by whom they had been beaten.

The unfortunate French General Scherer was allowed no peace. His line of defence on the Adda was pierced, and Suwarrow inaugurated his command by the victory of Cassano, 28th of April, in which a whole French division was cut off, and compelled to lay down its arms. Scherer, on the evening of that fatal day, begged Moreau to assume the command. Moreau hoped to be able to make a stand in Piedmont; but the people, wearied of French oppression, as soon as they felt the chain loosened, rose to assert their deliverance, and Moreau found himself compelled to take refuge in the Apennines, in such a position as would

enable him to assail Suwarrow's flank as soon as the latter should advance to intercept the approach of Macdonald from Naples. At length, in the middle of June, Macdonald made his appearance. On the 19th of June, the French lost the decisive battle of the Trebbia. Within three months they had lost Germany and Italy. Still the resolution of the nation was represented by Moreau, entrenched in the Apennines, and its daring enterprise by Massena, perched like an eagle above the Swiss lake of Zurich. A vigorous minister-of-war, Bernadotte, was appointed, recruits were raised, and hurried to both theatres of war. The battle of Novi, fought 15th of August, 1799, was one of the most obstinately-contested of any that had taken place in Italy. For hours the Allies could not gain an inch, or if they did, were hurled back by the inflexible valour of the French. If Moreau, and the brave, enlightened, and honourable St. Cyr were on one side, Kray, Bagration, and Suwarrow were on the other. Suwarrow, as usual, when bent on business, was without coat or waistcoat, animating by his enthusiasm, which was wild in battle, his followers to fury. Victory wavered as the day advanced, and at length declared against the French, and Moreau was obliged to withdraw the remains of a shattered army within the fastnesses of the Apennines. France was now about to be threatened with invasion. All that remained to be done was to dislodge Massena from his position in Switzerland, but that was not an easy matter. If, however, the Austrians and Russians were closely united, and zealously resolved upon acting together, it is more than probable that even the genius of Massena, the patriotism of Moreau, and the unquestionable military abilities of the generals leading soldiers of the highest order, could not have saved France from the pollution of invasion.

With the news of the loss of Italy at Novi the French people heard, at the same time, of the defeat of Brune in Holland, by an English expedition, under Abercrombie, and the capture of the whole Dutch fleet. Paris became violently agitated. The Directory lost credit and authority. The clubs revived, the Jacobin press called for the revival of the days of terror, and an opposition, numbering two hundred members, inclined to follow the furious passions of the revolutionists, appeared in the Upper Assembly of the Five Hundred. The five directors were quarrelling, and the general disorganization was so complete, that the Republic seemed about to fall to ruin. The moment was, in fact, ripe for Bonaparte; but where was he? Mystery hung over the name of him who, whether a victor at the foot of the Pyramids or a lurking fugitive upon the Nile, none could tell, for Nelson was master of the sea, and a French sail dared not come within sight of the British ships.

Disunion between the Austrians and Russians saved France

from immediate peril. The Aulic Council at Vienna ordered the separation of the two armies. To the Russians was assigned the invasion of Switzerland. The Austrian troops were to act on the Rhine, and to defend their reconquered ground in Italy. The arrangement was highly pleasing to Suwarrow, who panted to be let loose in pursuit of prey. He was sick of the slow operations of sieges in Italy for the benefit of Allies, whose selfishness he shrewdly penetrated and exposed to his imperial master. The Czar Paul, without being absolutely mad, had one of those chaotic brains in which good and bad principles so mingled and crossed, that according as one or other was uppermost for the moment, he might pass for a chivalrous Quixote, a whimsical tormentor, or a tyrant. His humour, stimulated by the reports of his old lieutenant, as chaotic in conduct as the emperor was in mind, had taken a generous direction, which alarmed the Austrian Government. Paul proclaimed himself the restorer of things to their right place. If he turned out the French republicans, he did not intend that Austria was to pocket the disgorged spoil. He vowed that Italy should be reinstated, that the Pope should rule in Rome, yea, and that the Republic of Venice should be restored. Now Austria meant to keep Venice, and to keep all she could lay her hands upon, and so she hounded on Suwarrow into Switzerland, saying, with Iago,—

“Whether Roderigo kill Cassio or Cassio
Kill Roderigo, I profit either way.”

While the necessary military changes were operating in presence of Massena, that consummate general, perceiving something wrong, attacked the arriving Russian divisions before they were solidly in their positions, beat them to pieces, and became master of Zurich.

Suwarrow was painfully ascending Mount St. Gothard, then without a high road, harassed at each step by riflemen hidden amongst rocks, with whom Russian soldiers, accustomed to level plains and to act in companies, knew not how to deal. The indomitable old man, seeing his children, as he called them, waver, deliberately lay down on the ground, and begged them to dig his grave, as back he would not go. His brave spirit communicated itself to others, and they won their way across the torrent of the Reuss, over planks, in the place where the Devil's Bridge had been, until blown up by the retreating French, and at length stood on that classic ground of Altorf, where the cruel caprice of a former Austrian tyrant turned a William Tell from an outraged father into a great deliverer. Suwarrow reached the head of the Lake of Uri, expecting there to find a flotilla of boats to carry his division to the points where they were to act with the other divisions already in supposed possession of the country.

There were no boats. The eye of the strategist probably saw not the sublime scene before him. Tell's chapel, piously reared on the spot his foot had touched, when, spurning the boat in which he was a captive, he sprang ashore, and while the boat and the brains of the captors were whirling about in confusion, he was climbing the fifteen hundred feet of almost perpendicular rock which, with the opposite mountain, mingle eternal shadow over the most solemn of lakes. As in a crypt lay the chapel of William Tell, whose spirit might have been supposed to guard the sacred cradle of Swiss liberty, and to warn back the savage lieutenant of a barbarous despot, Suwarrow would have been more perplexed had he known the full horrors of his situation. His subordinate officers were beaten. He stood isolated, at the head of a few thousand troops. There was no road at either side, and nothing remained but to dare the horrible defile of the Schachenthal, leading to the canton of Glarus. Over slippery precipices, where a single traveller could hardly find footing, Suwarrow and his children were obliged to creep in single file, sacrificing artillery, horse, mules, and baggage. When he reached his destination this singular hero ordered his linen to be unpacked and aired. But idle was this affected security. He was surrounded by triumphant enemies, and, after some desperate efforts to force his way, found himself obliged to retreat. Although early in Autumn snow was falling, and there was not the trace of a path—not a human habitation visible, but huge billowy wastes of snow, amidst which the sight of a naked rock was a relief and welcome for its shelter. At length they, or rather the survivors, did reach the valley of the Rhine, with about 10,000 men, or little more than one half the division which had found its progress arrested by the Lake of Uri. This miserable expedition dissolved the alliance. France was saved. Suwarrow returned home, to find discomfiture crowned by disgrace. The bitterness of his treatment at the hands of Paul made him turn with more grateful recollections to the memory of Catherine. He begged, as a last favour, that the portrait of his revered mother (as the empress was called by her subjects) might be laid on his breast as his body descended into the grave. It was the only favour accorded to a man whose crimes against humanity were not those which counted. He had committed the one deadly sin of being unfortunate. The evil fit being uppermost in the head of Paul, he ordered that no military honours should mark the funeral of the greatest of Russian soldiers. Attendance was prohibited. One foreign ambassador braved imperial anger. He was an Englishman. Lord Whitworth was the only person of distinction who followed Field-Marshal Suwarrow to the tomb.

Bonaparte was in Egypt a whole year in utter ignorance of the

events passing in Europe throughout that long period. At length, on the 17th October, having escaped the British cruisers, he landed at Frejus in Provence. His appearance electrified the town. They had been living for some time in constant apprehension of invasion. Often had they said, Oh ! if Bonaparte were here, the Austrians would not be threatening the frontier of the Var ; and lo ! here he was, a glorious fugitive, encompassed with the light of Eastern victories, and led safely home by his good genius, through the watchful vessels of his enemies. The people sprang from depression to joy. Their enthusiasm knew no bounds. It communicated itself to every town through which he had to pass on his way to the capital. Flowers rained by day on his path, banners waved above his head, and at night the streets blazed with illuminations. To all eyes he had appeared as the morning star of hope—the dawn of a new day. He himself believed that he was no less. He knew that he had only to let fortune come to him. In Paris he hurried away from the enthusiastic demonstrations of the people, and the caresses of parties, and half hid himself in his modest dwelling, cheered by his own beloved Josephine. Immediately the street lost its prosy old name, and at every corner was written *Rue de la Victoire*. Street of Victory. His house became the rendezvous of officers. His saloons blazed with uniforms. His rooms could not hold his military friends, who, flowing over, as it were, the threshold into the garden, were watched by an ever-waiting crowd, chained by the charm of some mystery of which the explanation was not far away. So far from appearing in Eastern magnificence of costume, Bonaparte assumed a negligent demeanour. He dressed with a sort of loose simplicity, like one sick and out of spirits. People said he was mourning for France. Renewing the mournful cry of the Roman—Where are my legions ?—he asked, “Where are my victories—where are all my conquests ?” With the usual credulity of parties, each believed that Bonaparte would be its instrument. The Government of the Directory fancied that his sword would be at their service against the Jacobins ; while the latter merged their wild theories in the common passion of the whole people, all having but one thought for the time—the recovery of the tarnished glory of France. The Directors, divided amongst themselves, sought to turn that powerful sword against rivals. The Houses of Parliament, if we may be allowed so to name the Council of Ancients and the Council of the Five Hundred, were the only bodies who seemed not to have dreamt it possible that Bonaparte was to play the part of Cromwell. The generals of the army, who attributed their failures to babblers, as they contemptuously called their rulers, held possession of the great soldier’s ear. The means for effecting the *Coup d’Etat*

were very inartificial. A review was arranged; the troops surrounded the houses. Bonaparte entered the Council of Ancients with a couple of grenadiers, intending to parody the famous "Take away that bauble!" but assailed by cries of "Traitor!" the courage which had been proved in tempests of fire, quailed before an indignation with which his own conscience conspired. His head drooped on the shoulder of a grenadier, to whom he murmured, "Take me out of this." Once more in his saddle, and with his soldiery around him, he was himself again, and he gave orders to have the houses cleared by bayonets, with as much resolution as he had mown down by cannon the sections which arose to anticipate the crime he was now committing. The *Coup d'Etat* of the eighteenth Brumaire was effected, and Bonaparte, under the name of First Consul, became, in fact, master of France.

Here arises a question which it behoves us not to pass over. Was Bonaparte justifiable in taking advantage of the unfortunate condition of his country to destroy her liberties? True it is that he did nothing to prepare a state of things which, as it were, conspired of themselves for his advantage. He was away from France, and for a whole year in ignorance of occurrences at home. It required his strong hand, resolute will, and the prestige of his name to restore order in the Government, and turn the tumults of factions into confidence in his power to restore the tarnished glory of France. But dissatisfied as all parties were with themselves and with one another, opened as their eyes were to the defects of their constitution, no one was prepared to part with civil freedom. The proof is afforded by the general cry of the time. Is he to be a Cromwell or a Washington? A Cromwell, without his intensity of conviction, his lofty fanaticism, and his visionary aims. A frigid, selfish Cromwell, without the truth and purity of the English prototype; or was he to be a Washington, whose temporary exercise of the dictatorial power was to be a passing darkness intended to throw into most magnificent relief his supreme disinterestedness? Was he to stand for all time, and highest above all patriot names, an example of the greatness and goodness, the sublimity of virtue to which it is possible for human nature to raise itself? Talk not of the difficulties in his way. The easiest course is not always the best. He who would not allow the word impossible to be final when physical difficulties were to be overcome, ought to have had as much faith in resolute purity of purpose, to abash and shame factions and to lift up the honest and intelligent to their due place in the councils of a free nation. Bonaparte was neither a Cromwell nor a Washington. He had not the faith which made the one, or the equity which made the other. Greatest of soldiers, he knew no rule but that of the sword. Having become master

of France, it must be confessed that he accomplished with marvellous genius the immediate desires of the nation. The whole machinery of administration was set in order and worked to perfection. His first aim, coinciding with that of the people, was the reconquest of Italy. How was an army to be sent there? The English held the sea. Between the frontiers of France and Italy swarmed the victorious legions of Austria. In one corner alone of the Italian peninsula the tricolor still floated. Genoa the superb, the city of palaces, covered by mountain bastions on the overhanging and protecting Apennines, was yet occupied. Massena was sent there, with private assurances of timely relief and bound by pledges not to surrender until famine had brought the people and the garrison to the last gasp. A pledge kept with a fidelity that brought horrors on the Genoese unsurpassed by all that has been written of the siege of Jerusalem. While famine and pestilence were consuming Genoa, Bonaparte was collecting an army at the foot of the Alps; but it became essential to his purpose that the enemy should be kept in ignorance of his designs. He calculated that the best way to deceive diplomatists would be to tell them the truth. So he publicly avowed that he was forming an army of reserve at Dijon for the relief of Genoa. But he had told only a piece of the truth, not the whole. He did collect some troops at Dijon, but they were so few and inadequate for the proposed attempt, that the spies employed to make reports, comforted the Austrians with the assurance that they had nothing to apprehend. Sixty thousand men were so secretly assembled at the foot of the Alps that no power in Europe had the slightest inkling of the expedition that was preparing.

Having nothing to fear on the side of Germany, on the 13th of May he appeared at Lausanne, where he reviewed the Army of the Alps. It was over the Great St. Bernard he resolved to conduct the main body, 40,000 men, directing 25,000 over the Little St. Bernard, St. Gothard, and Mount Cenis. The distance over the Great St. Bernard, from the Lake of Geneva to the plains of Piedmont, was forty-five leagues, yet the great points of difficulty were of only ten leagues extent, but they were extraordinary. It was necessary to bring 60 pieces of cannon, with 300 ammunition waggons, over paths a couple of feet broad, bordering fearful precipices, where winter reigned eternally, and avalanches threatened to overwhelm hosts in their fall. The soldiers were obliged to carry not only their provisions but even forage for the horses. A large number of mules were hired. The gun-carriages were taken to pieces, numbered, and put on the backs of the mules, and the cannons drawn up by means of sledges. The cavalry in their painful ascent suffered more than the infantry, for they were obliged to lead their horses by the bridle.

The descent proved still more difficult and dangerous. How to get down the artillery was the greatest difficulty of all. It took 100 men to draw a single gun; but ingenuity and dexterity were now required as much or more than force, and ingenuity and dexterity were never wanting to the French soldier. Their spirits, too, were enlivened by martial music, wildly, strangely, and beautifully ringing up the echoes of the answering rocks. Labour was lost in delight. Out of the trunks of pine trees cases were hollowed, in which the guns were enveloped, and slid down to the appointed place, when the carriages, taken off the mules' backs, and put together again, were ready to receive them. On the morning of the 20th, Bonaparte before daybreak began the ascent of the mountain to the monastery of St. Bernard. In our days the melodramatic picture of David, representing the hero on a sort of Pegasus, in an impossible gallop, up jagged acclivities, has been stripped of its audacious exaggeration, and reduced to the simple sublimity of all great truth. David painted for men, whose full-dress Republican costume was the Roman toga, and for women, whose sandalled naked feet would have spurned crinoline. People at all times, and especially in times of enthusiasm, love to see their prevailing passion expressed in outward symbols. With the costume of Brutus and Portia, Parisian fashionables fancied they caught the spirit. They only succeeded in producing a sort of theatrical effect, bad in taste. When David had to bring a horse upon the stage, he made it a circus horse, mounted by a dashing performer. A late artist of equal taste and genius has given the true picture. Bonaparte, as represented by Delaroche, was mounted on a vigorous mule, sagacious and sure footed, led by a mountainer. The story is as beautiful as a poetic legend of the time of Charlemagne. The young muleteer was a lover, with whom the stranger, buttoned to the throat in a plain grey surtout, entered freely into conversation, for Bonaparte, who despised men, despised no means of satisfying his insatiable thirst of inquiry. The simple muleteer believed that the interest his answers excited, was on his personal account, and so he told his story. It is an every-day one, and yet seems never commonplace. He was a lover too poor to marry. His ambition must have set Bonaparte's active imagination making strange contrasts. He had marched as a conqueror over the three great scenes of ancient and modern civilization. He had conquered Italy, the inheritor of Greek and Roman learning, the creator of Christian art. He had deposed the head of the second and greater Rome. He had then passed into Egypt, the land of the Ptolemies, the source of Pagan science and philosophy—and having spread a hecatomb of Egypt's oppressors at the base of the colossal tombs of the Pharaohs, eclipsed the deeds of the

Crusaders in the land of Palestine, and here he was now thinking of the burning glories of the desert amongst the snows of the sublimest country of Europe, and subduing nature to his will, as he had bowed down empires. He with that expansive elasticity of spirits which dilates the breast breathing mountain air—he following the footsteps of Charlemagne, already felt his brow encircled with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, while his hand grasped the sceptre of the Empire of the West. As he thought so, a fellow-creature by his side, fashioned in the same Almighty image, sighed after the apparent impossibility of a *chalet*, with its overhanging roof casting off the winter snow, and garnering the fruits of harvest under its eaves, and a dear wife making the window musical with the sound of the spinning-wheel, while his whole empire was bounded by a little back stream, and all his subjects the winged and four-footed denizens of the farm. The poor man's tale, like low music, rather aided than impeded the hero's reflections. When he alighted at the monastery of St. Bernard, Bonaparte dismissed his guide with a note to the administrator of the army. Although the poor fellow did not in the least divine its contents—the reader may. The hand of the modern Charlemagne endowed the muleteer with the means of living more happily than the divorcer of Josephine, and the baffled son-in-law of an Austrian Emperor. Bonaparte, who declared himself a Mussulman in Egypt, and carried his hypocrisy so far as to imitate the movements of the muftis at prayer, affected towards the monks of St. Bernard the same appearance of pious conviction. It was his way of being polite, when so disposed, which was not always.

There was no force sufficient to impede the march of Bonaparte, who to the joy and astonishment of the people of Milan entered that capital June 2. When he had before entered Milan, it was through the fiery passage of the bridge of Lodi—this time it was a mountain of the Alps, one of the grandest scenes of nature, which formed as it were the avenue to the Imperial city. In either case the conqueror had heralded his way by an achievement of unusual greatness. When the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian forces heard that between the besieging army of Genoa and Milan there stood a French army, with Bonaparte in person at its head, he could not have felt more surprised had they descended from the clouds. The superstitious illusion of past ages, which beheld over doomed cities warrior hosts marshalled in the air, seemed to have been realized. An order was sent to raise the siege of Genoa; but Genoa had already surrendered. On the 4th June, the stock of provisions had sunk to two ounces of food per man—and hear what that food was; after everything eatable had been consumed, after nothing had been left even of the most

repulsive substitutes for food, a sort of bread had been made out of a mixture of ground cocoa and starch. It was of this stuff that two ounces a man remained the day that Massena, listening for the sound of guns coming to his relief, was excited to joy by a distant roar of artillery, which proved to be a deceptive peal of thunder in the Apennines. The hospitals were crowded, the streets choked with the dying. The last desperate effort made by Massena to open a way for the admission of relief had been foiled by the elements conspiring with the besiegers. After he had sallied forth, and was face to face with the enemy, a thick darkness fell on both armies, and it was when the lightning for a moment revealed each other's positions, that the artillery confounded its thunders with the awful moaning of the heavens.

Massena was obliged to withdraw, and wait patiently the promised succour. Compelled to negotiate on his last two ounces of starch and cocoa, the heroic Massena nevertheless threatened, that unless he and his famished soldiers were allowed to march out free, they would attempt to cut their way and sell their lives dear. The Austrian general, aware of what Massena knew not, that Bonaparte was nigh at hand, and with orders to raise the siege, the execution of which was prevented by capitulation, accorded the required conditions. Half the garrison had perished, and of the population the difficulty would be to calculate how many of the survivors recovered from the effects of a famine so prolonged as to have driven savage men to dispute the spoils of the graveyard with the hyena. It was the same Austrian division, which after its successful operations before Genoa, was hastening to join the main body of the army, was met at Montebello, the 9th June, by Lannes, and defeated with heavy loss. Then followed Marengo, turned from a defeat by the timely arrival of Desaix and the charge of Kellerman to a victory so decisive, that, by a convention signed the following day, all the fortresses of Piedmont, with the city of Genoa, were surrendered to the conqueror, Lombardy evacuated as far as Mantua, and the river Mincio declared the Austrian boundary.

Hastening to Milan, where an enthusiastic reception awaited him, Bonaparte there proclaimed the restoration of the Cisalpine Republic. At Turin he established a Provisional Government under one of his Lieutenants, General Jourdan. As, much to the diversion of his freethinking soldiery, he thought it good policy to act the pious Mussulman at Cairo, so, to please the Italians, he, in defiance of the wrath of the atheistical Government at home, attended the *Te Deum* chanted in the cathedral of Milan; and then it was that this extraordinary man, as quickly alive to immediate impressions as he was profoundly calculating, resolved within himself to revive respect for religion as a security for government by reconciling, as he said, Rome with the French

Revolution. There remained no more for General Bonaparte to do in Italy. At a blow he had shattered three years of Austrian triumph. By a single effort he had, as it were, reconstructed the power which had been the fruit of twenty victories, lost more by corruption and extortion of his successors than by yielding valour or unequal skill. The blow indeed was from a thunderbolt gathered in the Alps. The restorer's hand was his, who had converted chaos at home into order and power. He returned to Paris through cities wearing the look of enchantment for their own and his delight, and the laurels he carried from Marengo hid, save from discerning eyes, the imperial crown, and wreathed the sceptre which he felt already within his grasp.

Bonaparte once more master of Italy, arises the question, what did he do for that fine country? Let us recollect that France is still a Republic, and that the First Consul is a removable magistrate, his power being for ten years only. Well, the first use which the head of the French Republic made of his decisive victory over the despotic court of Vienna was to convert the duchy of Tuscany into the kingdom of Etruria, and sell the crown to the degraded court of Spain. The queen was ambitious of seeing her daughter, the Duchess of Parma, elevated to a throne, and Bonaparte, on the part of the French Republic, resolved upon gratifying her wishes. Spain was still a maritime power, and Bonaparte wanted ships to replace the fleet destroyed by Nelson at the Nile; he wanted also to turn Spain against Portugal, and by menaces oblige that country to abandon her old ally, England. For these and other considerations the First Consul exhibited to the world the singular spectacle of a republican general, who being victorious, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity, over the armies of an old oppressive empire, not merely disposes of crowns, but creates kingdoms and hands over an emancipated people to foreign rule. If he could do such things in the green tree, what would he not do in the dry? When he a few years afterwards put the imperial crown on his head, he kidnapped the same royal family of Spain, and sent his brother Joseph to play the king at Madrid. But we must confine ourselves at present to Italy. As for Italian republics, he had already resolved in his own mind to extinguish them. Brutal and tyrannical exercise of strength cannot however be exercised without danger. Bonaparte might despise governments whose mercenary immorality he had measured; with respect to such he had only to bribe and bully: he might also despise the loose and wild revolts of ill-armed and unorganized populations, because he had steeled his conscience for any necessary amount of massacre; but there is a class of fanatics who, daring not to express the feelings with which they are consumed, or to relieve their oppressed spirits with language,

allow those feelings to ferment into deadly hatred, while their minds corrupt into sophistry, until from dallying with the idea of assassination, they reach, through palliation and excuse, to the false sublimity of staking life against life. An Italian sculptor, named Ceracchi, resolved to avenge the betrayed Roman Republic by the sacrifice of the First Consul. He was joined by Topino Lebrun, a pupil of the famous painter David, and by a Corsican exrepresentative, who could not forgive his having been obliged to jump out of a window the day of the perpetration of the *Coup d'Etat* of the 18th Brumaire. They chose a night for the execution of their plan when the First Consul was to assist at the representation of a new opera. The police got inkling of the plot; Ceracchi and some of his companions were arrested; the foolish men were sacrificed, and, as usual, failure turned to the advantage of the intended victim. Addresses of congratulation were poured in, and, as usual, the pamphleteer was not wanting to point so much good zeal to a practical effect. The man whose well-acted indiscretion was to burst out into the venial sin of a premature suggestion for turning a temporary dictatorship into permanent despotism, was nominally a M. de Fontanes; but although he blew the beautiful bubbles that were to fall into the eyes of mystified gazers, it was Bonaparte's own brother who in reality held the soap lather. Bonaparte, apparently angry, punished Lucien with an embassy to Madrid, and this assumption of self-denial and republican virtue helped the suggestion to work its way in the public mind. Troops were ordered to march into Tuscany to take possession of the newly-made kingdom of Etruria. They were encountered on their march—by whom? By the poor people of the town of Arezzo, and the town, as it had been once before, was taken and punished, for its audacious love of independence by fire and slaughter. During these proceedings, an Austrian envoy and Joseph Bonaparte were sitting at Luneville haggling about poor Italy. Bonaparte's exactions grew every day more and more excessive, until Austria, in sheer desperation, resolved to hazard another campaign. While the fighting was going on in Italy, and on the Rhine and the Danube, the two commissioners sat, as it were, looking on at the terrible game of war, of which one or the other was to have the stakes. The Austrians were beaten in the decisive battle of Hohenlinden, by Moreau, whose way to misfortune, by no unusual perversity of things, lay through success. His glory excited the jealousy of one who spared no rival. Although combating with less disadvantage in Italy, the Austrians could not counterbalance the effect of the blow at Hohenlinden, and the treaty of Luneville was signed February 9, 1801. By this treaty the boundary of Austria in Italy was limited to the Adige; Tuscany was turned into a Spanish monarchy; two re-

publics, the Cisalpine and Ligurian, were for the moment, and with certain mental reservations, allowed to stand, and certain mental resolutions obnoxious to Piedmont, Naples, and Rome were kept in the dark..

The treaty of Amiens, signed the following year, left Bonaparte in a position to accomplish for Italy all conceivable good. He was at peace with the whole world; he had suppressed opposition; he had no fears to stimulate the evil within him. On the contrary, the surrounding influences were all good. The English, on peace being proclaimed, swarmed over to France full of admiration for a man in whom they were determined only to see the brightest manifestation of human genius. He had sealed differences with the Church by the concordat, and had nothing to dread from the religious apprehensions of the Italians. On the throne of Russia sat Alexander, a young prince of an enthusiastic disposition, whose warm feelings and somewhat mystical turn of mind indisposed him to the brutal trial of the sword, which for the settlement of the rights of nations ought, as he fondly believed, to give way to the precepts of religion and the voice of equity. If Bonaparte did wrong, the evil would have come spontaneously from the depths of his own selfishness. He appeared to begin well, for he re-established the Cisalpine Republic, but his motives assumed a suspicious aspect when he contrived to have himself declared its president. Before he could think of carrying out his ambitious projects, it became necessary to have his own position at home determined. He was only Consul named for ten years. If his power was to be extended, it could only be legally done through the senate, with the consent of the popular body. By artifice he contrived to have hostile members removed; he next tried an experiment on French vanity by the institution of the Order of the Legion of Honour, which, so strong was still the existing repugnance to the old order of things, he carried with much difficulty. Professing disinterestedness and moderation, while in reality conducting himself with impenetrable dissimulation, the simple were led to believe that an extension of the consulate to ten years beyond the period originally fixed, would be received by the modest hero with gratitude. The senate adopted a decree in that sense, and some zealous senators hastened away to congratulate the First Consul on this distinguished mark of his country's consideration. To their surprise they were received with sulky looks of disappointment. Then was invented the happy idea of an appeal to the people, on the plea, that owing his position to their votes, it was for them to express their will. The question put to the popular suffrage was at last in frank conformity with the Consul's secret aspiration. Would they have him for life?—Yes! and by universal suffrage a successful mili-

tary general was, by the people's voice, made absolute master of the Republic.

Here let us mark the value of institutions. The senate and the tribunate, although packed bodies with only a remnant of freedom, could find force enough in the personal dignity of educated members to set limits to an ambition which the headlong masses, in their blind admiration of success, pushed to the dizzy pinnacle of forgetfulness of every right and duty. Woe was the day when Bonaparte could assume the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, with the virtual attributes of imperial power and authority. By this act the peace of Amiens being placed in the hands of one man who had risen by war, and to whom war was in his own mind necessary as the fiery pathway to an imperial crown, amounted to a mere armistice. By a stroke of the pen the King of Piedmont was stripped of his kingdom, which was cut up into departments of France. This unscrupulous proceeding did not, however, excite so much indignation as Napoleon's invasion of the Swiss Cantons. By intrigue he had stirred up strife, and according to the old wicked system of greedy rulers, had created a pretext for interference through a suggested invitation from the weaker party. The British Government, in the hope of calling Napoleon to his senses, refused to give up Malta according to the treaty of Amiens, unless he renounced his encroachments on other States. A rupture followed; the spirit of the tyrant now showed itself in the absolute ruler. The English travelling in France were all arrested, and many kept incarcerated until delivered by the Allies in 1814. Strenuous preparations were made for a descent upon England, when the same spirit of tyranny breaking out in the most revolting form, the murder of a surprised and kidnapped man shook the whole Continent with horror; and Austria, encouraged by general sympathy, drew off the thunder cloud from Boulogne to burst on her own head. The circumstances connected with the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien on neutral territory, and his murder in the ditch of the fortress of Vincennes, lie too deep in the memory of all to need more than a general allusion. Horror at home and abroad was more deepened when Moreau, the hero of Hohenlinden, was banished, and Pichegru, the hero of Holland, found strangled in prison. The reality of a Royalist conspiracy was the pretext for getting rid of dangerous rivals. An Englishman, Captain Wright, who had been compromised by landing malcontents in Brittany, was also found dead in prison, said, without sufficient proof, to have died by his own hand. Wielding now the whole military power of France, in fear of a threatened general war, what was to prevent the machinery by which the head of a Republic had been turned into a Consul for life, being worked again to turn the same

Consul into an Emperor? It was only to set a few senators talking about the wickedness of parties, and the prudence of investing the head of the State with greater personal prestige and authority, for courtiers and place-hunters to take the bait. And so the registry-books were opened, and universal suffrage ground an Emperor out of the ballot-box, and rejoiced in the bestowal of a grander name upon their accepted master. Crowned Emperor of the French by the Pope at Notre Dame, it was only natural to expect that Napoleon would at once abolish the Cisalpine Republic; but he did something more, which could not have been so easily foreseen, he proclaimed himself King of Italy.

But as even a Napoleon could not be in two places at once, he appointed, not an Italian, but the son of that poor Josephine whom he was in a short time to divorce, Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy—and thus that beautiful country, whose hopes had been raised to expect a revival of its ancient glory unhampered by local, and distracting, and weakening jealousies and divisions, and unclouded by foreign mastery, was now sunk, by the applauded victor of Lodi and Arcola, into a Lord Lieutenancy, and the Lieutenant dared not, amidst his shadowy splendour and mock ceremonies, to question the commands of his imperial master. The Pope thought that Napoleon, having abolished the Cisalpine Republic, would now restore the provinces formerly belonging to the Church, which had been given to that Republic. The modern Charlemagne, as he loved to be called, rather differed from his prototype in this respect, that he preferred taking from, rather than making presents to the head of the Church. The Pope and Napoleon set out for Italy about the same time, the one discontented and disappointed, the other preparing for his second coronation at Milan, and preparing also to break his promise to the senate not to annex any more provinces to his empire, for he had hardly put on the Iron Crown of the Kings of Lombardy, when he abolished the venerable Republic of the Dorias by decreeing the annexation of Genoa to the French Empire. Immediately he inaugurated the system of cutting up the Continent into kingdoms, principalities, and duchies for his family, by creating the Dukedom of Lucca for his sister Elisa. These acts, although they determined Russia and Austria to enter into a coalition with England, were only the leisure amusements of a great monarch, whose serious attention was otherwise directed. His eye was upon Great Britain. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar settled the project of invasion of England.

• If England was not taken by surprise, Austria was; for while her eyes were fixed on Boulogne, the French legions were moving with such rapidity that they were already on the Rhine before it

was suspected at Vienna that they had left Boulogne. Prussia, which might have opposed a powerful barrier, had been lured into inaction by an offer of Hanover, and had soon to atone for her unprincipled cupidity at the hands of a man who punished lukewarmness more vindictively than open hostility. Ulm, surprised by an unexpected influx of troops enveloping that fortress on all sides, was compelled to surrender, leaving Vienna stripped of its strongest outpost, and by the following victory of Austerlitz the Continent was laid at the feet of Napoleon. Master of the Continent, what did he with Italy ?

As Austria had surrendered Venice, all that remained independent was the kingdom of Naples. Forthwith, his brother Joseph was sent, with 40,000 men, to turn out the royal family and put the crown on his own head, and inaugurate his reign by a system of terror which would be incredible if not attested by his own letters. Joseph, to do him justice, became sick of his brother's ruthless tyranny. And his brother Louis, father of the present Emperor of the French, abdicated the crown of Holland rather than submit to be the degraded instrument of the Dutch people's oppression. In fact, Napoleon was thwarted by the milder nature of the members of his own family, whom he chose to reproach with ingratitude. So much for Naples. The twice confiscated State of Venice was attached to the ex-Cisalpine Republic, now called the kingdom of Italy. It was thought that on the restitution of Italy the Pope would have got back, if not the confiscated Legations, yet a duchy or two ; but Napoleon had too large a family of relations and needy soldiers to provide for to think of restoring the papal provinces. Elisa was already provided for with Lucca and Massa, but poor Pauline had got nothing, so he gave her the Duchy of Guastalla, which she soon after sold for ready cash. Talleyrand received the principality of Benivento, which belonged to the Pope ; but as Talleyrand had formerly been a bishop, his scruples were probably the less. Then followed a number of duchies divided amongst his marshals, twenty-two in all, who were endowed from the confiscated lands of the conquered Italian States. Thus the aristocracy of the Empire—the new nobility—was reared on the ruins of Italy. The same system was pursued in the German States, but we confine ourselves to Italy, the greatest victim of all. The sacrifice is not yet consummated. Republics have vanished, the new as well as the old. Venice sits a forlorn slave on the Adriatic which her Doges wedded with a ring glittering with the jewels of the East. The proud and superb Genoa, the city of palaces, great in arts, arms, commerce, and freedom, with the Apennines for bulwarks and the sea at her feet for a pathway, is the dwelling of a French prefect and headquarters of a brigadier of gendarmerie. Fierce soldierly despotism

has at Naples replaced the ineptitude of the Bourbons. The whole of Central Italy has sunk from the semblance of a Cisalpine Republic into that other semblance of royalty which is personified in a deputy-king holding his viceregal court in the capital of the old Lombard monarchs. The pontiff, whose ancestors were waited on by emperors of the West, honoured by being preferred to hold their stirrups—the pontiff, stripped of those provinces which gave to the head of the Church the questionable dignity of a temporal prince—is still a sovereign; so poor, however, that he has actually pawned his tiara for money. A rival has arisen more formidable than that of the Ghibelen—nay, one who is ready to snatch the tiara which Ghibelen assailed and Guelph defended, and become in his own person Pope without belief, and universal ruler without law. Before the final struggle with the head of the Church could take place—rather say at the time when the subjection of the Continent left no ground for contest—greater battles than any we have yet named had been fought and victories not less wonderful won. The army of the great Frederick had succumbed at Jena. Obstinate Austria had resumed her arms only to lay them down with no dishonour, for she fought gallantly on the field of Wagram. Would that we could say as much of her political conduct. We have seen how abominably she had consented to receive from the hands of the spoiler the confiscated Republic of Venice. As she on that occasion renounced her principles of conservator of the public law, so is she now about to become a party in the meanest manner to a family conspiracy against a weak woman, and to violate a law which the Church, in whose name she had herself so often persecuted unto death, has ever held sacred. It was from the imperial palaces of Vienna that, on the 17th May, 1809, the conqueror of the Hapsburgs issued a decree abolishing the temporal power of the Pope and annexing the States of the Church to the French Empire. The Pope replied by fulminating an excommunication; but the time had gone by when a thunderbolt from Rome would have made a wilderness about king or emperor. Timid consciences were, no doubt, disturbed, but none dared speak, and the crowned soldier was only irritated to further violence. The Pope and his secretary, Cardinal Pacca, were dragged by French soldiers from the Quirinal. To the cardinal was assigned a solitary prison among desolate and savage rocks, in the neighbourhood of Grenoble, from which he was not liberated until Providence had declared against his persecutor. The Pope himself was immured at Savona. Having, as he thought, silenced the tongue of the Church on the subject of divorce, Napoleon forthwith resolved upon carrying into execution his resolution to repudiate the universally beloved Josephine. Here we come to the meanest of mean pages in the

history of monarchs. While the project of divorce was pending, Napoleon was carrying on negotiations with the Court of Russia for the hand of Alexander's sister. She was to bring no dower to the master of the Continent; on the contrary, he was expected to pay the purchase with a piece of Turkey. While the match-makers were haggling and Napoleon losing his temper, Austria glides in with an offer of an archduchess to take the place of Josephine, who makes way for Maria Louisa. The divorce was pronounced by the senate. The only person who could have furnished proof of Bonaparte's marriage with Josephine was Cardinal Fesch, who married them. He was silenced by threats. But as the Emperor was not without apprehension, a commission of seven prelates was formed, and they found a flaw in the religious contract which rendered reference to the Pope unnecessary. At the marriage ceremony, Napoleon, who was a great calculator, totted up the number of cardinals present. The sum total made fifteen. After this sum in addition, the happy bridegroom tried one in subtraction. Twenty-eight was the number of cardinals in France—take fifteen from twenty-eight and thirteen remain. If his first kiss was to the bride, his first whisper was to the minister of police to arrest the thirteen cardinals, strip them of the purple, seize all their property of every kind, and allow them only to walk out followed by policemen. This proceeding exposed the captive Pope to a new sort of persecution, because his Holiness refused to sanction the Emperor's bishops. The Emperor throws the Pope aside, calls a council as if he himself was pope, is again thwarted by finding that he cannot coerce the bishops into compliance with his views, and he packs off a lot of them to Vincennes under a sergeant's guard, his clemency sparing their wrists the pain of handcuffs. Rome was declared the second city of the Empire, of which the son he decreed to be born should bear the title of king. While these miserable proceedings were taking place—while monarchs of the earth were playing the most ignoble parts in the wretched spectacle, in which even the hero did not rise to ordinary dignity, the destiny of the world was turned by the peasantry of Castille. The mountains of Spain and Portugal lay, as it were, out of Napoleon's direct way. He had trampled down Italian insurrection; he had bullied the Swiss; he was obliged to conquer anew the heroic Tyrol after Austria had let go her hold of the most faithful of her provinces; he had proved his utter want of magnanimity by giving over Hofer, the Bell of the Tyrol, to execution. Having by a base trick got hold of the Spanish sovereign, he transferred his brother Joseph from the throne of Naples, which he gave to Murat, to that of Spain. The Spanish people rose in insurrection, were cut up by thousands, but the insurrection spread. At length a great disgrace befel the

Pycroft,⁵ is an excellent commentary on these opinions. Its second title is, "An Autobiography;" and there can be no doubt that the matter is for the most part genuinely autobiographical; this, however, we should think more true of the situations than the exact circumstances of the laborious life brought before us.

The most characteristic feature of the book is the complete absorption of all clerical vanities by the hard realities of the position in which a man finds himself with 2000^s poor to overlook, and 150*l.* per annum stipend to support wife and family, and meet the unavoidable expenses of his position. The constant struggle between the tastes of an educated man and the exigencies of his position is brought before us in the strongest manner—the strongest, because the most prosaic.

The petty jealousies of a small town district are daguerreotyped from the life, and made more painful by the ineffectual struggle of the author to keep himself unspotted by them. However we may approve his conscientious effort to avoid the contagion of his environment, it is but too evident that the reaction of the flock upon the pastor is as great as his influence on them; the civilizing centre is too lofty for sympathy; the gentleman perishes for want of proper society, more often than the society is benefited by his refinement. The book is most valuable where it is most desirable that it should be so, in the light it throws on the practical working of the parochial system, and upon the difficulties which beset the poorer clergy.

There is one question which, of course, the author does not arrive at in words, but which makes itself very audible throughout the narrative—viz., whether a National Church like ours is an adequate instrument for the evangelization of a nation? Whether its fixed dogma does not stand in its way by presupposing an amount of culture and thought which can only be found among the educated classes? Whether, after all, a nation must not go through the same course, and be always going through it, which the world at large has already done, and still does? Whether irregular must not precede systematic teaching? Whether the Church, after all, can be other than the flower and result of conflicting dogmas, and whether that flower can be lasting, much less everlasting? That the Church should represent the highest and most intellectual views of religion attainable by the majority of the nation will be easily admitted; but universities presuppose schools, and schools of many different degrees of excellence. This view is proposed by a Dissenting house-painter and preacher, who finds himself between the cross fire of Johnists on the one side, and the Church on the other, and is accepted by the author, with some discouragement, but ultimate resignation. The book deserves an attentive perusal, though deformed in some degree by a mild clerical jocularity, which affords but a feeble counterpoise to its general depressing effect, which is mainly attributable to a certain querulousness and somewhat unreasonable complaint, that the Church of England does not in every

⁵ "Twenty Years in the Church, an Autobiography." By the Rev. James Pycroft, B.A., Trinity College, Oxford. London: Booth. 1859.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

A VERY valuable essay on the date and composition of the Book of Job is prefixed to his translation of that poem, by the eminent Semitic scholar, M. Ernest Renan.¹ A fertile and elegant writer, as well as a profound, clear, and courageous thinker, M. Renan never offends against good taste, however his critical researches or his philosophic thought may lead him to conclusions at variance with traditional theology. The appearance of the Book of Job in the Hebrew canon is one of the most remarkable phenomena which it presents. For the scene and fundamental parts of the story are not Jewish, but Arabian; the life depicted is of the tent and not of the city; the winds of the desert are breathed upon us, not the odours of a "land flowing with milk and honey." It may be described as Semitic, rather than specifically Hebrew, and the social habits illustrated in it are those of a period and of localities wherein the nomade life was just giving way to the agricultural. But it would be a very hasty conclusion to draw, that therefore the date of the extant book of Job is to be fixed to the time when the Israelites were taking their leave of the desert before their establishment in the land of Canaan. The ancients, it is true, did not think of so transferring themselves in thought into distant times and places as to enable them to represent with fidelity manners and scenes differing from those which belonged to their own time and place; but traditions were long-lived among the Orientals, and at no time previous to the Babylonian captivity were the Jews altogether withdrawn from the influences of the desert. It is indeed open to some question, whether the Hebrew Book of Job be itself a translation or an original. M. Renan, as we think with perfect justice, concludes it to be original; and as to the further question, whether it be of the same authorship throughout, he determines, on the whole, and with the exception of the part of Elihu and a few other interpolations, that it is. There is something perhaps to be desired in this portion of the discussion with respect to the contrast between the prose and poetical portions of the book, between the framework of the story of Job contained in the prologue and epilogue, and the intervening theological dialogue. For although, in the existing work, these may be from the same hand, they are evidently not in unison; as M. Renan allows, they are even contradictory in their sentiments. In the prologue, Job

¹ "Le Livre de Job, traduit de l'Hebreu." Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. Étude sur l'Age et le Caractère du Poème. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

is a model of patience; when he takes up his parable, he is rebellious and even blasphemous. Doubts and complaints most forcibly brought out in the poem, have been quelled and beaten down only by an assertion of the Divine prerogative; and when Job has been made to abase himself in dust and ashes, merely in submission to the law of the strongest, it is an incongruous conclusion that he should be rewarded with a return of temporal prosperity. On the other hand, the transitions from the prologue to the poem, and from the poem to the epilogue, have been so managed, the material coherence, the literary suture, of those parts is so complete, that it seems impossible to sever them into distinct compositions, or to attribute them to more than one author or compiler. And the fact seems to be, that the story of Job was one popular and traditional, and of obligation in its dramatic parts, as to the personal trials of the patriarch and the *dénouement* of his history; but within this traditional framework, each poet, moralist, or philosopher might indulge himself in an *ad libitum* at his own discretion. The prologue and epilogue being *de rigueur*, the episodes might be very various. It is probable that if other editions of the poem of Job had been preserved, we should have found dialogues illustrating very different topics, interwoven with a story substantially the same.

As to the date of the book which has come down to us, M. Renan inclines to refer it to the eighth century before the Christian era. It is not likely that any Hebrew composition so late as the reign of Josiah, whether it were an entirely original work or a free translation, would ignore the ordinances of the law of Moses so totally as the Book of Job does; nor is it likely that a work of so great literary merit, or of so free-thinking a character, could have been produced before the Salomonic period. There are indications which would approximate it to about the age of Isaiah (comp. Job xiv. 11, Is. xix. 5). But the greatest delicacy and caution is necessary in handling these questions. For one main interest that we feel in them arises from our hope of discovering data for tracing historically the genesis of theological doctrine, and we must take heed that we do not involve ourselves in a circular process; first fixing the date of a book from the internal evidence presented by its doctrine, and then from the date of the book, concluding the primitive or modern character of a doctrine.

The phases of opinion among the Jewish people concerning a world to come are seen under the following variations. 1. The negative condition or mere absence of any expectation on the subject, which was continued afterwards among the sect of the Sadducees, and assumed a controversial form in opposition to the Pharisee development. There was also in a later age a philosophic denial of a future life to man, as is shown in the Book of Ecclesiastes. 2. The imagination of the *Scheol*, a shadowy kingdom, like that of the *Dii Manes* of the Latins, where the names of the great ghosts are remembered,—Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, *quo Tullus dives et Anous*, where “kings of the nations” are seen dimly seated on their thrones. 3. A doctrine of a fleshly resurrection, and this sometimes specially connected with the hope of a Restoration of Israel, a Regeneration of the people (*ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ* Matt. xix. 28), sometimes with the hope of an individual

rising (John xi. 24). To which of these forms do the sentiments in the Book of Job belong? In the tale itself it is obvious there is no question whatever of a future life; the recompence, retribution, and Divine intervention are clearly sublunary only and material. In the speculative portions of the work, there are passages, of which one is chiefly celebrated (xix. 25—27), supposed to indicate a belief in the doctrine of the Resurrection as generally held by Christians. On the other hand this has been critically disputed, and the appearance of the *Goel*, *Redeemer*, or *Avenger*, interpreted of the expectation of deliverance in this world. M. Renan translates the passage as follows:

“Car, je le sais, mon vengeur existe,
Et il apparaîtra enfin sur la terre,
Quand cette peau sera tombée en lambeaux,
Privé de ma chair, je verrai Dieu,
Je le verrai par moi-même;
Mes yeux le contempleront, non ceux d’un autre:
Mes reins se consomment d’attente au-dedans de moi.”—p. 82.

If, on independent grounds the speculative portion of the Book of Job is to be assigned to the middle or latter part of the eighth century B.C., or to the age of Isaiah, there would appear some anachronism in the development of a doctrine of a Resurrection. And the expectation of seeing God “in his flesh,” E. V., or from out of his flesh, *i.e.*, as we look *out of* a window, and “with his own eyes,” would seem to agree better with the age of Ezekiel. For there is a marked contrast between the hopefulness of Job in the prospect of dissolution, if the above passage implies an expectation of a bodily vision, and the despair of Hezekiah in the contemplation of a like event (Is. xxxviii. 10—14, 18). Unless a reconciliation of the following kind might be possible, that in this part of Job we read the creations of a poet or the speculations of a philosopher, while in the history of Hezekiah’s sickness are depicted to us the true feelings of an actual man of that age at the near approach of death. In the same way that we reconcile the fervid anticipations of immortality expressed by Cicero in his philosophical dialogues with his utter barrenness of all consolation from that source on the death of his daughter Tullia, as recorded in his correspondence with his friend Atticus: (ad Att. xii. 14, 15.) . . .

In fact, neither the calm philosophy—the close logic, of the Greek and Latin schools, nor the vehement and passionate yearnings of the old Hebrews, could solve the problem as to the future destiny of man.

“Certes, au premier coup d’œil, il semble inexplicable que les hommes du monde qui furent le plus possédés par le feu sacré de leur œuvre, un David, un Élie, un Isaïe, un Jérémie, n’aient point eu sur l’avenir de l’homme le système d’idées que nous sommes habitués à envisager comme la base de toute croyance religieuse. Mais c’est en cela même qu’apparaît la grandeur d’Israël. Israël a mieux fait que d’inventer pour satisfaire son imagination un clair système de récompenses et de peines futures; il a trouvé la vraie solution des grandes âmes; il a tranché résolument le nœud qu’il ne pouvait démêler. Il l’a tranché par l’action, par la poursuite obstinée de son idée, par la plus vaste ambition qui jamais ait rempli le cœur d’un peuple. Il est des problèmes que l’on ne résout pas, mais que l’on franchit. Celui de la destinée humaine est de ce nombre. Ceux-là périssent qui s’y arrêtent. Ceux-là seuls arrivent à

trouver le secret de la vie qui savent étouffer leur tristesse intérieure, se passer d'espérances, faire taire ces doutes énervants où ne s'arrêtent que les âmes faibles et les époques fatiguées. Qu'importe la récompense, quand l'œuvre est si belle qu'elle renferme en elle-même les promesses de l'infini?"—p. lxxxvii.

Two very different forms of expectation concerning the future life for a long while debated the ground of Christian doctrine; the one, derived from the Greeks, was of an immortality of the soul liberated from the body; the other from the Hebrews, of a resurrection of man with his body. And there has continually reappeared a tendency among many Christians to fall back upon the more abstract conception of the Greeks; while the extreme carnal or Semitic view has been developed into the sensual Paradise of Mahomet. This marked variety in the form of such an expectation is rooted in a variety of race. The psychical differences between peoples of Indian and of Semitic origin are so distinct as to confirm strongly the opinion, that they did not originate from one and the same stock, notwithstanding the efforts made by some philologists in support of the tradition that they did. The Hebrew was incapable of any logical analysis, for which the Indian and the Greek are so renowned. And our present author remarks justly on the absence of the least result or approach to a solution of the problems proposed in the Book of Job, from the employment of the *dialogue*, which became such an effectual instrument for eliciting or illustrating truth in the hands of a Plato.—(p. lxxv.) Nevertheless, if men descended from different stocks express a yearning after a future life, representing their common hopes in forms peculiar to each, this unison furnishes at least as good ground for the expectation that these hopes will be in some way realized, as if all men had sprung from one root, and had repeated without variation the creed of some one old ancestor.

M. Renan has also issued a volume of Essays,² not many of them related to the subjects noticed in this "Section," nor, indeed, of so striking a character as the "*Études d'Histoire Religieuse*;" but we must direct attention, which is all we can afford space to do, to the papers upon Cousin and upon the poetry and mythology of the Celtic races. In a preface to this volume, M. Renan vindicates his position in the presence of what is termed in England the "religious world." Many, no doubt, of the church to which he belongs are sorely scandalized at the freedom of his speculations and the acuteness of his biblical criticisms; and, as is usual in such cases, are not backward in imputing an irreligious and immoral purpose to the person whose views they dislike and of whose literary power they are afraid. M. Renan temperately declares, that his object is to find an immovable basis for religion in the principles of morality, which do not fluctuate along with the fluctuations of doctrines. He hopes that the time may come when he may be acknowledged, even by those who now denounce him, to have done good service to the cause of religion, in distinguishing

* "*Essai de Morale et de Critique.*" Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. London: D. Nutt. 1859.

between its moral foundation and the superstructure of doctrine which overlays it. He does not expect that the mass of mankind will ever be satisfied with the abstract religion which may suffice for the more able and courageous thinkers. The life-destiny, therefore, of those who withdraw themselves from the religious opinions generally admitted in their age and country is easily foretold. They must be satisfied with the approval of their own consciences and with the encouragement of the few. Nevertheless they owe something, perhaps everything which they obtain, to systems and institutions which they discover afterwards to be temporary and unsatisfying. Though some men may become "wiser than their teachers," they may remember the time was, when those teachers were wiser than they, as they will continue to be wiser than the generality. And in a generous spirit, which entirely becomes him, M. Renan says—

"Ne l'oublions pas; le tort que l'Eglise est obligée de nous faire n'équivaut pas à l'éducation morale que nous lui devons, et au service qu'elle nous rend en maintenant dans l'humanité un peu du sentiment des choses divines, sentiment sans lequel le monde, au point de vue moral, ne serait qu'un désert." —p. viii.

The value of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament as a critical instrument for the right understanding of the Greek of the New, cannot easily be overrated.³ It was quoted usually as the Scripture by Jesus and his disciples, as it was also by Philo and the primitive Fathers, and the Greek currently spoken in Palestine in their time may be said to have been formed upon it. The importance of the Septuagint as part of the *apparatus criticus* of the interpreter of the Gospels and Epistles, was acknowledged long ago, as by Grabe and Bos in the early part of the last century, and increased prominence was more recently given to it among ourselves by the publication of the Rev. E. W. Grinfield's Hellenistic Edition of the New Testament,⁴ in which the parallel passages from the Old Testament are quoted at length in the words of the LXX., on a plan most suggestive to the student, with a great saving of his time. The edition of the LXX. from the Alexandrian MS., which we now note, has not, however, been executed solely with a critical design. It has been the purpose for some time of leading persons in the English Church to promote a good understanding between their own Communion and that of the Greek Church, and to encourage the latter to make progress in sound Biblical knowledge. The Greek Church is both too poor and too ill-furnished for great literary undertakings to accomplish much for itself; and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge printed a few years ago an edition

³ "Vetus Testamentum Græce juxta LXX. Interpretes. Recensionem Græbianam ad fidem Codicis Alexandrini denuo recognovit, Græca secundum ordinem textus Hebræi reformavit, Libros Apocryphos a Canoniciis segregavit." Fridericus Field; A.A.M., Coll: SS. Trin: Cantab: olim Socius. Sumptibus Societatis de Promovenda Doctrina Christiana. Oxonii, Exudebat Jacobus Wright, Academicæ Typographus. MDCCCLXIX.

⁴ "Novum Testamentum Græcum." Editio Hellenistica. Londini: Pickering. 1843.

of the "Homilies of Chrysostom," for the use of the Greek clergy, which was transmitted to Athens, and which has been wholly exhausted. With a similar object, the same Society has now borne the expense of this edition of the LXX. This is still the authorized Scripture of the Greek Church, as it was the Scripture used by the great Greek homilist Chrysostom and the commentator Theodoret. And any amount of veneration paid to it by Greeks may well be excused, considering it merely as a monument of their language twenty-one hundred years old, and more intelligible to the Greek of the present day, than the Saxon of a thousand years since is to the Englishman. The particular special object of the promoters of this edition should be borne in mind, as having in some degree impaired its purely critical character. For strictly critical purposes, such a monument as the Alexandrian MS. should be simply reproduced in type as it now exists, without interfering with its deficiencies, its dislocations, or its mixture of Canonical and Apocryphal books. But as it is not likely that we should have had the edition at all unless the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had furnished the means for the sake of their special designs, the general student may very well be thankful for what he has obtained. "

Mr. Maurice has for several years enjoyed a certain popularity beyond the circle of his admirers or school, properly so called; or, it may rather be said, a certain degree of public expectation has hovered about his name. Some portion of the respect paid him has been a tribute due to his personal merits, his eloquence, his earnestness, his sincerity, and individual worth. A further portion has been undoubtedly owing to the circumstance of his having to some extent suffered for his opinions a few years since, and at the hands of persons of much inferior intellectual calibre to his own—mentally incapable of following his meaning, whether he were right or wrong, and morally incapable of fairly appreciating their own technical obligation in respect to his doctrines. But besides the popular favour which is always conciliated towards a persecuted person—and to the honour of Mr. Maurice it should always be remembered that he has never sought to make a popular capital out of harsh treatment—it was felt or hoped by many, who, it must be confessed, could understand him as little as his academical superiors, that the Professor of Theology at King's College, London, had made a breach in the dogmatism of his Church,—had at least relieved those who seek for their religion in the Bible from the obligation of finding revealed in it the doctrines of an eternity of inflicted punishment in another world being reserved for many multitudes of probationers in this, and of the hopeless condemnation hereafter of the heathens who have never heard the sound of the Gospel. The general impression hitherto has been one of puzzle and disappointment—disappointment at a very partial Scriptural exegesis, and puzzle at a most obscure solution of a theological problem by means of an arbitrary mystical metaphysic,—sensuous Jewish conceptions metamorphosed into German abstractions, and ghosts of Hebrew metaphors pursued into the shadowy realms of the unconditioned. This disappointment

will not be lessened by the volume now before us.⁵ It will be conclusive to the general public, that nothing will come of Mr. Maurice's theological speculations. He is still obscure as to the method by which the Universal Restitution shall be worked out, and with the exception of his Universalism, unites an orthodoxy carried unflinchingly through the details of the mediæval creeds with a persuasion, that it is given to man to have immediate communion with the Deity, spirit with spirit, to "know" God, "not figuratively, but literally," "in the same sense that we should use the word know as applied to some other subject:" this knowledge reflects to the believer the mysteries of the Divine Godhead, so that the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, become to him not doctrines but verities, which he can actually grasp; he beholds the moral nature of the Father manifested in his Divine Son, is conscious of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit with his spirit, and that the life which he so lives is the eternal life prepared for men by Jesus Christ their Elder Brother. Of course, Mr. Maurice, and those who feel with him, are sensible that the Bampton Lecturer for 1858 has smitten the mystics through the sides of the Hegelians and the Rationalists; and Mr. Maurice admits more distinctly than the lecturer had laid it down, that the axiom of the *inconceivableness of the infinite* is contradictory, not only to the first principle of the Hegelian philosophy, but to the first principle of those Christian schools, according to which "revelation" is an immediate unveiling of the Infinite Deity to the consciousness of man, in his affections, will, and reason. Mr. Maurice is determined it should be seen that the battle which Mr. Mansel has to fight is with himself—*in me convertite ferrum*—and while he avails himself of their authority, he constitutes himself the champion of St. Paul and St. John, Augustine, Tauler, Leighton, Wesley, and Whitfield. Now, the lecturer will be very well able to reply to his critic, that without denying a subjective element in the Christian consciousness, or ignoring that internal evidence in favour of Christianity which results from its felt adaptation to the wants of the human nature, he may be right in maintaining that the order in which revelation comes to man is first through sufficient external evidence of facts, secondly, through the action of those facts credibly ascertained and taken up by faith upon his inner moral and spiritual nature; and that this internal evidence, though second in time, and confirmatory rather than principal as an evidence, may become afterwards all-sufficient and apparently direct and intuitional; indeed, the question at issue may be put thus: Whether faith precedes insight, or insight faith? Whether, indeed, the external evidences, as they are called, will be found adequate to establish the facts on which the Christianity of the creeds is founded, or which it pre-supposes, is another question. Perhaps Mr. Maurice may have a misgiving, that it will not prove so when re-examined, notwithstanding the contempt with which he speaks of the "battle of the books in Ger-

⁵ "What is Revelation? A Series of Sermons on the Epiphany; to which are added Letters to a Student of Theology on the 'Bampton Lectures' of Mr. Mansel." By the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. London: Macmillan and Co. 1859.

many." And if it shall turn out that Mr. Mansel has shown indirectly, though not directly, that the human consciousness cannot embrace such statements as are made in the creeds; that they are consequently, in the major part, unmeaning; and further, if the promised review of the Christian evidences into which he has made his escape for the present shall give no tangible result, Mr. Maurice may be sure that the ecclesiastical theology will never stand firmly upon a purely mystical basis—a basis having no collateral support either from reason or from credible evidence.

The larger part of Mr. Maurice's present volume is occupied with what undertakes to be an examination of the Bampton Lectures, lecture by lecture. He is evidently so much in earnest, and as he acknowledges in his Preface so "vehement" in his criticism, that there can be no doubt he has done his best, both polemically and with reference to his own theological position. But the letters are of the most rambling kind. They are addressed to a student in theology, who is to be secured against the Hamiltonian heresy, and the form of composition facilitates the travelling off from the real matter in hand to collateral subjects. Passages containing the gist of Mr. Mansel's argument, are from time to time quoted fairly, and *in extenso*, as if they were to be replied to argumentatively; but the most pertinent part of the reply consists in indication of heterodoxy, in warning against consequences, and especially in denunciations of departure from the safe and binding forms of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. Only now and then a little fair literary chastisement is bestowed upon the enemy; as for instance, when he is criticized for confounding "terms" with the objects which terms stand for (pp. 264, 301). Mr. Maurice's usual method is not to deal with his opponent's statements and arguments in themselves, but in their deductions; to show that they are heretical, or savour of heresy; are contrary to some passage of Scripture, or to some of his own Scriptural interpretations; or to something which Church of England people are supposed to believe, as for instance, to an expression in a Collect; or to something which it is safe for a candidate for orders to acknowledge, as to a passage in the Ordination Service. Whatever satisfaction the correspondent whom he specially addresses may derive from such a method, it can be little relied on by readers generally as conducive to the eliciting of truth. To the former the "test" applied to the maxims of the lecturer, may appear a "crucial" one; not so to the public. And in the interest of the public and of free discussion, we must deprecate the practice of English clergymen, when engaged in mutual controversy, twitting each other with the obligation of the formularies. That would be quite fair on the part of those who do not belong to their body. But they advance the honour of their Church as little as they do the cause of truth, by the exhibition before the eyes of independent observers, of that kind of *argumentum baculinum*. Whatever others may say of them, they among themselves should presume of each other that they have already taken a measure of their personal obligations. It used to be the glory of a scholastic disputation, to be conducted without alleging the super-eminent authority of any Scripture text. Our Anglicans should learn

to appeal to Reason and Spirit, and not to the letter of their traditions.

Dr. Ballantyne's Essay on Christianity and Hinduism, is the result of a prize offered by a Member of the Bengal Civil Service, for the best refutation of "the Fundamental Errors (opposed to Christian Theism) of the Vedānta, Nyāya, and Sāṅkhya philosophies as set forth in the standard native authorities in the Sanskrit language,"⁶ and the author has aimed at throwing it into such a form as will be useful to the Christian Missionary when compelled to enter into controversy with the more learned Hindus. The wise Missionary will never volunteer controversy, but he should be at least well instructed as to opinions which he may be obliged to controvert, and not expose himself by arguing from principles alien to the intellects of those whom he wishes to win over. Propositions which will naturally appear to him as self-evident and involving the first elements of all religion, he will find to be scarcely admissible as questions by those who have been educated in the Hindu philosophies. He may even run into difficulty when he least expects it; he will take for granted, perhaps, that the ideas of a personal God and of a Creator, are, if not innate, necessarily arrived at by the human intellect. He will find such conceptions utterly inadmissible by influential schools. Dr. Ballantyne's work consists, first of a "General view of the Hindu Systems of Philosophy," brief, clear, and intelligible; then Christianity is contrasted with Hindu Philosophy in three books—of a partial exposition of Christian doctrine—of the evidences of Christianity—of Natural Theology. There are added some valuable notes, especially an Essay on "Translation into the languages of India." These languages are, strictly speaking, *alive*, as German is, compared with English. They are capable of giving expression to new ideas by means of further developments, compositions, and combinations of words. Thus in scientific terminology, the German has native words, *sauerstoff*, *wasserstoff*, where the English has only foreign ones, *oxygen*, *hydrogen*. The question therefore arises, whether upon the introduction of foreign ideas they should be expressed in words of foreign or of native origin. Dr. Ballantyne strongly urges the adoption of the native principle of translation, and his experience entitles his opinion to the greatest weight. In the abstract there can be no doubt that it is the right principle, and if it can be carried out in scientific instruction without too great a sacrifice of immediate results, it should be adopted in institutions for the instruction of the natives. The naturalizing the English terms would probably show a more rapid result, though not on the whole so solid a one. Dr. Ballantyne's work will well repay attentive perusal by those who are interested in the future culture of the Hindu mind.

⁶ "Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy: An Essay, in five books, Sanskrit and English: with practical suggestions tendered to the Missionary among the Hindus." By James R. Ballantyne, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Principal of the Government College at Benares. London: James Mac 1859.

A first-rate work upon the turning point of all theological speculations is that of M. Saisset.⁷ He describes himself as having entered upon the course of free theological inquiry as long ago as the year 1840. At first he did not perceive through what anxieties—what thorny paths his investigations would lead him. Rumours of a great Pantheistic movement in Germany had reached him—the force of which was felt in France. Leading philosophical minds appeared to negotiate at least with Pantheism, while, on the other hand, it was declared,—*Entre le Panthéisme et la foi Catholique point de milieu*. At this commencement of his theological studies, M. Saisset was little of a German scholar. He set himself to the serious study of Spinoza. The contradictions which he met with in Spinoza led him to examine more profoundly the Pantheistic and Mystical systems of ancient and modern times—more especially of the latter. Descartes, Malebranche, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, were now carefully studied: and he flattered himself at the conclusion of his labour that he had not only discovered the foundation principle of Pantheism—but could confute it by a *reductio ad absurdum*. Pantheism certainly does not deny the Infinite, but identifies the Finite and the Infinite. God and Nature are two phases of the All; God the immanent cause or life—Nature the necessary development or manifestation. What, then, becomes of either the human or the Divine Personality? For the human personality is merely illusory if it be no more than a manifestation of the immanent life of the Universe; and if God is All, He cannot be a personal self—for there is no other from which he can be consciously distinguished. Up to this point in his inquiries, M. Saisset had not perceived that the Divine Personality itself was not only called in question, but, in fact, abandoned by the Hegelians. Brought up himself in the faith of a personal Deity, he had interpreted many ambiguous expressions of various philosophies in their most favourable sense. He was now startled to find that the very question, which lay at the root of the whole discussion, had been determined in the negative by the Hegelian and kindred schools; and, moreover, that some other philosophical and theological influences, though hostile to Hegelianism, were tending in a like direction. Even much religious teaching, both of Roman and Protestant sources, has been continually repeating, that it is as useless as profane to attempt to fathom the Divine Nature; but especially the Hamiltonian philosophy, with one and the same argument, destroys Hegelianism, and declares it impossible to rear in its place any other theory of the Infinite.

“Suivant eux en effet, la suprême loi de la pensée humaine, c’est de déterminer ses objets, c’est de les concevoir dans l’espace, dans le temps, avec telles propriétés, telles limites, telles relations. Il suit de là que Dieu, l’absolu, l’immense, l’éternel, échappe à l’esprit humain par sa grandeur même.”—p. lxxii.

Accordingly the issue of M. Saisset’s work is directed principally against the negative or Hamiltonian philosophy. The book itself con-

⁷ “*Essai de Philosophie religieuse.*” Par Emile Saisset. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

sists of two parts—the former contains analyses, clear and thorough, of the principal theological systems of modern times, from Descartes to Hegel. In all these he finds some things unsatisfying, or illogical, or erroneous, or absurd; after thus destroying preceding schemes, he proceeds in nine “Meditations” to raise his own. We are conscious of our own imperfection—the imperfect implies the perfect; we cannot have a conception of the imperfect without the relative conception of the perfect, though it be not and cannot be an adequate conception. So if there be in us imperfect life, thought, will, they imply severally, perfect life, not broken and successive but uniform and even, perfect thought, intuitive, not halting upon memory and reasoning, perfect will, not determined by hesitation and choice, but free and spontaneous. It is true that God is Infinite, and everything in Him infinite—absolutely inconceivable, as He is in Himself, by any other besides Himself. But it does not follow, because we cannot penetrate the very Being of God, or because in His very Being He is incomprehensible and incommunicable, that we can know nothing of Him, or receive nothing. M. Saisset lays his foundation by frankly acknowledging the mystery of the Divine Essence, and that the Being of God cannot, strictly speaking, be demonstrated *à priori*; “en tant qu’il est par soi, il est inconcevable à l’homme. Nous savons qu’il est, nous ne savons ni pourquoi ni comment il est.” (p. 351.) But while He is unprovable and incomprehensible in His essence, He is accessible in His manifestations—there is in Him a dark and a light, a mystery and a revelation.

But there is an objection which lies both against the Theistic conclusion and the Hegelian theory, both against the Personal and the Impersonal Absolute; to think the Absolute is impossible, for thought implies limitation in that which is the object of it; and more than that, a Personal Absolute is a contradiction in terms, for to think self implies the not-self,—determination is limitation and negation. M. Saisset’s solution of this difficulty, on which so much depends, deserves to be submitted to the reader in his own words.

“Rien de plus arbitraire, rien de plus faux que ce principe. Il vient de la confusion de deux choses essentiellement différentes, savoir, les limites d’un être et ses caractères déterminants et constitutifs.—p. 357. Toute détermination, disent-ils, n’implique-t-elle pas relation? Point du tout. Si vous appelez détermination ce qui dans les êtres imparfaits tient à leur limitation originelle, par exemple, leur durée, leur figure matérielle, leur distance, je conviens que ces déterminations sont relatives, et qu’une durée absolue, une étendue absolue, une distance absolue, sont des idées contradictoires; mais s’il s’agit des caractères intrinsèques, des qualités constitutives des êtres, par exemple, de la pensée de l’activité, il n’y a rien qui implique une limite, une borne; rien par conséquent qui répugne à la nature de l’absolu. Quoi! dit Hamilton, l’absolu n’est-il pas un, et la pensée n’implique-t-elle pas diversité? ne suppose-t-elle pas la différence du sujet qui pense et de l’objet pensé, sans parler de plusieurs autres conditions? Je réponds; vous confondez l’unité réelle de Dieu avec l’unité abstraite de votre absolu imaginaire; cette conscience que l’être parfait a de soi-même, cette contemplation dont il jouit, ne supposant aucune séparation entre le sujet et l’objet, aucune disproportion, aucune intervalle, aucun effort, aucune succession, il n’y a rien là de contraire à la plus rigoureuse unité.”—pp. 359, 360.

The effort of M. Saisset is twofold; to show the hollowness of those philosophical schemes which negative the existence of a personal God, and to transfer the question from the realm of speculation to the realm of fact. *Y-a-t-il un Dieu?* is a question of fact. The speculations which he passes in review are so many hypotheses constructed to account for certain phenomena, embracing sufficiently, or sufficiently according to the apprehension of those who raised them, some particular appearances; failing, however, all of them, when applied to the whole, of the facts. None of them are hypotheses founded upon accurate observation, much less sufficiently confirmed by observation to enable us to predict. The test of a valid hypothesis is that it enables us to predict. Neither the Leibnitzian theory of monads, nor the Hegelian theory of the Universal Idea, are capable of verification, nor will they enable any prediction or anticipation of hitherto unascertained phenomena, either in materials or spirituals. In this respect how different was the Newtonian hypothesis concerning the law of gravitation, founded upon observation, verified by observation, and enabling us to anticipate that which has not yet been observed, from another hypothesis of the same great man, which *accounted* for the Omniscience and Omnipresence of the Divine Being, by supposing Space to be the Divine Sensorium. Now it does not appear that we are in a condition to verify our hypotheses concerning the Great Being, except upon the outer circle of His manifestations in material, animal, and human existences. And with respect to the grand question of Personality, we cannot, as with our fellow-beings, evoke that kind of response to any interrogation or appeal, which would justify, philosophically speaking, the supposition of a personality with attributes like the human. Moreover the accidents of the human personality are so connected with the conditions in which the human being is placed, that only by figure of speech, or under an hypothesis incapable of verification, can we attribute to the Deity properties which we know to be essential to our own personality. M. Saisset touches indeed upon the subject of prayer; but it is only to meet the difficulty of supposing a change in the universal order to be wrought in response to the individual prayer. His answer, following, as he says, Malebranche and Leibnitz, is sufficient for that point:

“Dieu de toute éternité a embrassé la suite des siècles. Tout est lié dans ses desseins. Il sait toutes les causes et tous leurs effets; il les a coordonnés dans son plan. Dieu donc sait que telle créature, à telle minute, sur tel globe, réclamera dans sa faiblesse un secours nécessaire. D'avance il le lui a ménagé. Nos prières, nos besoins, nos soupirs, et nos larmes sont éternellement devant ses yeux, et il en tient compte autant qu'il le juge bon.”—p. 485.

This meets an objection to an hypothesis, but furnishes no test of the hypothesis; the hypothesis itself of a Divine order pre-established and providing beforehand, as far as is wise and consistent with the well-being of the whole, for all individual demands, even precludes the supposition of an answer to prayer, in any such sense as would constitute a proof of a consciousness in the Great Being resembling the human.

But there is, concludes M. Saisset, a kind of prayer which is an act of resignation and full acquiescence in the Divine order of things, wherein,

“La personne humaine concentrant toutes ses puissances dans un acte d’amour s’associe et se subordonne à la personne divine. Le grand mystère de l’existence, la distinction et l’union des deux personnalités, ce mystère où la raison pure se confond, où le raisonnement tant de fois s’égare, ce mystère n’en est plus un pour l’âme qui a prié.”—p. 488.

Mr. Theodore Parker’s health had been more or less failing for about two years, when, on the 9th of January last, he was prevented from addressing his congregation as usual, by what seemed to be “a slight attack of bleeding in the lungs or throat.” He was bidden by medical advisers to seek for restoration in the South, and from Santa Cruz he addressed, on April 19, the members of the Congregational Society, of which he had been minister, in a letter also intended for the eyes of the public.⁸ Uncertain whether it should be in store for him to return to a life of ministerial utility, Mr. Parker felt himself to be set in one of those resting places at times provided for us against our will, wherein the best thing to be done is to take a retrospect over the paths which we have trodden, to gather counsel and encouragement from the past, and to prepare with renewed faith for the next stage of life if it shall be granted. And if in this case the sick man’s labour has been comforting to himself, it has been a grateful offering to friends, and must convey a useful lesson to the public. Or if the great mass be too deaf or too dull to profit by the lesson, a few will learn that it is possible for sincerity and perseverance to obtain at length a hearing for unpopular doctrines, and for earnestness of moral purpose to live down clamour and persecution.

Parker, like many others who have become distinguished in after life, acknowledges a great debt of gratitude to parents. His early education was “most precious,” not in dollars but in its fitness of training. His powers of observation, attention, and memory, were especially cultivated, he was early taught “constantly to speak the truth,” and to regard the conscience as “the voice of God in the soul of man.” He was taught likewise to regard God rather as a Father than as a mighty and terrible Potentate, and he never heard from his parents “a bigoted or irreverent word.” At an early age Parker already felt himself destined for the ministry, and made to himself promises, as many a youth does who has less strength of purpose to keep them, that he would seek the truth, follow the right, and endeavour to represent them in his life. So he entered zealously on his Theological education, “with many ill-defined doubts, and some distinct denials of the chief doctrines of the Ecclesiastical Theology of Christendom;” that is to say, of Eternal Damnation, a Wrathful God, and the dogmas of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. So in due

⁸ “Theodore Parker’s Experience as a Minister, with some account of his early life, and education for the ministry; contained in a letter from him to the Members of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston. Boston: Rufus Leighton. January, 1859.

time he entered the Theological School at Cambridge, then under the charge of Unitarian Professors, who left the student free to think for himself, and moreover "the pulpits of Boston were within an easy walk, and Dr. Channing drew near the zenith of his power." The result of Mr. Parker's Biblical studies at this period is thus expressed:

"I soon found that the Bible is a collection of quite heterogeneous books, most of them anonymous, or bearing names of doubtful authors, collected none knows how, or when, or by whom; united more by caprice than any philosophic or historical method; so that it is not easy to see why one ancient book is kept in the Canon and another kept out. I found no unity of doctrine in the several parts; the Old Testament 'reveals' one form of religion, and the New Testament one directly its opposite; and in the New Testament itself I found each writer had his own individuality, which appears not only in the style, the form of thought, but quite as much in the doctrines, the substance of thought, where no two are well agreed."—p. 39.

At this time he solved to himself the question of the inspiration of the Bible, in so far as all truth, of which the Bible contains much, is from God; but the matter of miracles still continued to puzzle him. He studied also the history of religion and its philosophy, searching under the guidance of renowned leaders of all ages for the basis or principle on which it rests. He found this basis ultimately in three "primal intuitions":—"1. The instinctive intuition of the Divine—the consciousness that there is a God. 2. The instinctive intuition of the Just and Right—a consciousness that there is a moral law, independent of our will, which we ought to keep. 3. The instinctive intuition of the Immortal—a consciousness that the essential element of man, the principle of individuality, never dies."—p. 42.

In 1837 Parker was ordained minister of the Unitarian Congregation at West Wroxbury, a little village near Boston. The Unitarians were carrying on, under the leadership of Channing, a not unsuccessful warfare with the Trinitarians. But Parker was more consequent than his old teachers. Their controversy can only end in a drawn battle, so long as the letter of the Bible supplies the ultimate appeal; both sides can claim some words therein as making for their own view, many more as adverse to their opponents; and they can alike put aside things which are adverse to them as insoluble "difficulties." Meanwhile all denominations exalt the Bible into what Parker calls a Fetish; and men are taught to bow down indiscriminately to that which is Divine and human in it. So he set himself to work against that superstition, explaining details, resolving some things into poetry, popular opinion, accessories, and the like. But the decisive step to Parker himself was the preaching of two sermons on the "Contradictions in Scripture," historical, scientific, moral, and religious; and the step decisive of his position in the theological world was the delivery, in 1841, of his "Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity." No bookseller in Boston would put his name on the title of this discourse, which was received with a din of clamour, even by those who considered themselves advanced and liberal. After two years' life in the midst of outery and persecution, Parker visited Europe; and it

was soon after his return, in the early part of 1845, that the Society was formed of which he became the minister. His connexion with it is now severed, for a time at least, by the illness which gives occasion for this retrospect. He is able to look back on great success, and his influence was for many years a growing one. Whatever opinion be entertained of Mr. Parker's theological views, however much by many they may be abhorred, all must honour him for the courage with which he has brought forward the relative obligations of religious persons. While other teachers of all denominations are too prone to connive at the vice and worldliness of their congregations, and to leave society at large to deal with its own moral evils, Parker declares war, in his character of minister of religion, against all evil within and without the congregation. Especially does he deserve honour for his outspoken denunciation of the great crime of his countrymen; a subject on which so many Christian teachers who would look upon Parker's speculations with horror, have shown themselves faithless to the cause of Him whose mission it was to preach deliverance to all captives.

Parker has always studiously discouraged the founding of a sect, or the assumption of any denomination by his admirers, which should have that appearance. But it seems that recently they have formed among themselves a "fraternity," of which, in the present volume, he speaks with approval as a thing which he desired, but could not originate. We have seen no statement of the special objects of this Association, nor of the manner in which it is defined. If its design is to carry on the moral amelioration of mankind, without the machinery of vows and pledges, as we may be sure it will be free from spiritual extravagances, it will deserve the adhesion of all good men. The Christian churches and brotherhoods have hitherto failed of effecting great moral objects, by reason of the prominence they have given to their creeds, or by encouraging their disciples to concentrate their attention upon the inner feelings—by making positive beliefs or positive experience a qualification of membership. A fraternity for moral objects must not fall into a like error of making a disbelief or negation a qualification for its membership. None should be excluded by reason of their creed, who would not for the sake of their creed exclude themselves.

A little of the iconoclast spirit shows itself in this sketch of his Ministerial experience, as it does in others of Parker's works, as for instance in a Sermon for Midsummer-day,⁹ otherwise abounding in beauties, and produces a jarring note in the midst of a harmony of poetry and truth. But most strange is it that neither Mr. Maurice nor Mr. Theodore Parker should have any misgiving concerning the sufficiency of immediate spiritual insight as a basis of religion: Mr. Parker might consider, that the most orthodox have in all ages appealed to their intuitions as confidently as he appeals to his: Mr. Maurice must know likewise

⁹ "Beauty in the World of Matter considered as a Revelation of God." By Rev. Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society. With Prefatory Letter from Mr. Parker at Santa Cruz. Boston: Published by the Fraternity. 1859.

—although he does not appear to draw the necessary inference from it—that besides the Eckharts and Taulers of the fourteenth century, and the Wesleys and Whitfields of the eighteenth, who comprehended a complicated objective creed within their spiritual experiences, many others have imagined themselves to have an immediate knowledge of things supernatural and divine; that spiritualist Unitarians do so in our own day; and others also who have broken still more thoroughly than they with the ecclesiastical authority of Christendom—"the creed of which is not their creed, nor its God their God, nor its Scriptures their Word of God, nor its Christ their Saviour."—(p. 77.)

And here we may quote the words of a wise Arabian¹⁰ of the eleventh century, very fit to recal us from such themes as have been principally before us:—

"The wise man was asked, 'Who is the Creator?' He replied, 'To discuss a subject which cannot be comprehended is folly, and to dispute on matters beyond the power of conception is sinful.' He used to say, 'A wise man chancing to enter an assembly of disputants, he addressed them as follows: Your argument will never lead to a satisfactory result. On being asked, Wherefore? he replied, A successful result would simply imply unanimity of opinion.'"—(p. 15.)

Mr. Bain's work on the Emotions and Will,¹¹ proceeds upon an excellent method too little pursued in psychological investigations—the method of observation. We must rather regret the bulk and somewhat diffusive style of the volume, both for our own sakes and for that of the general reader, who will come after us. The mental organization is treated of under the heads of Emotion, Volition, Intellect, and the genesis of these in their special forms is elaborately traced; they are, in fact, products of which the origin escapes us. It has been a favourite phraseology to speak of *the* consciousness as if it were an ultimate element, whereas it is a mode, a condition or state of an unknown element, and there are necessary antecedents of consciousness of which we are not conscious; necessary to all consciousness is perception of difference; and this holds both with respect to consciousness of Feeling, of Will, or of Knowledge. The chapters to which we should especially direct attention in this elaborate and instructive treatise, are the 15th on the Ethical Emotions, and especially on the origination of conscience, "that it follows and imitates external authority instead of preceding it," the chapters on the growth of the Will, and the discussion on Consciousness.

¹⁰ "A Choice of Pearls, embracing a collection of the most genuine Ethical Sentences, Maxims, and Salutary Reflections, originally compiled from the Arabic, by the Father of Poets and renowned Philosopher Rabbi Salomon Ibn Gabirol, and translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Jehudah Ibn Tibbon. Accompanied by a faithful English translation," &c. &c. By the Rev. B. H. Ascher, &c. &c. London: Trübner. 1859.

¹¹ "The Emotions and the Will." By Alexander Bain, A.M., Examiner in Logic and Moral Philosophy in the University of London. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

THE Colonial Administration of Great Britain,¹ by Mr. S. S. Bell, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, had its origin in an inquiry which the author, about six years ago, felt it his duty to institute "as to the foundation of the law he was to administer under Her Majesty's commission." The object of the work is to give a summary view of our past colonial history, and to infer from it those principles which ought to direct our future colonial policy. Mr. Bell first examines the nature of the relation which has existed between colonizing countries and their colonies in ancient and modern times. In antiquity, he asserts, colonization was employed to relieve redundancy of population, or to obviate the inconveniences of political fermentation. In modern times it has been used for extension of territory and augmentation of wealth. Ancient colonies were free and independent; modern colonies have been treated as the property of the parent States. The prosperity attained by the latter is attributable to their own natural advantages, and not to the wisdom or practical excellence of their administration. Venice, Genoa, Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland have, argues Mr. Bell, all acted upon the doctrine maintained by the elder Pitt, with special reference to Great Britain and her North American colonies, that her sovereign authority over them extended to every point of legislation whatsoever; to bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever. This policy has been attended by signal failure. The eventual benefits have accrued to the mother countries, in an indirect and not in a direct manner; these benefits varying with the degree of recognition or rejection of the axiomatic principle, "that trade to be flourishing and prosperous must be perfectly free from restrictions of every sort." The emancipation of the North American colonies is a capital lesson, and striking representative fact, in the science of politics. The despotism of the parent State was asserted from the very first. The Republicans, who objected to royal interference with their own purses, were the first to put their hands into the purses of the American colonists. An Act of Charles II., prohibited exportation of produce to any foreign country till it had first been laid on the shores of Great Britain. An Act of 1663 forbade importation into British settlements, unless shipped in England, Wales, or Berwick-on-Tweed, and in English-built ships. The impatience of colonists at this selfish restrictive system of Great Britain, was finally inflamed into rebellion by an act of the Imperial Parliament, in which they were wholly unrepresented, authorizing the levy of a stamp duty. This Act was rescinded by a statute which was rather a deed of abdication than one of legislation. The colonists now learned their own

¹ "Colonial Administration of Great Britain." By Sidney Smith Bell, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Co. 1859.

strength. The concession only encouraged them to struggle for entire emancipation from imperial control. Their resistance was triumphant; but it was not till our manufacturing and commercial supremacy was jeopardized that we abandoned our system of self-interested restriction, and conceded free-trade to our colonies. The time has now come when we may inquire what inducements there are for retaining the colonies in dependence; or what motives for voluntarily abandoning our authority, and attempting to secure to the great body of the people a more advantageous trade by appropriate treaties of commerce, agreeably to the recommendation of Adam Smith. At this point of the discussion, Mr. Bell proceeds to "ascertain rights," especially inquiring "how far Great Britain possesses a sovereign authority over her colonies," excluding only, according to Mr. Pitt, the power of pecuniary appropriation. This question is examined in the ensuing chapters under various relations, as the constitutional power to rule possessions beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, inherent in the British sovereign, in the British Parliament, the House of Peers, the House of Commons, severally, or in all these constituents of imperial power conjointly. The conclusion at which Mr. Bell arrives is: 1. That the law allowed a power of legislating for colonies acquired by conquest to be in the Crown, only prior to the grant of a new constitution, and in subordination to the Imperial Parliament; but 2nd, that the law altogether denied a power of legislation over colonies voluntarily settled by English subjects to exist in the Crown, and at most allowed it to reside in the Imperial Parliament. The operation of the supreme legislative power is then reviewed, and the errors and embarrassments which characterize colonial administration are most strikingly exhibited. The four sections relating to our government of the West Indian colonies, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, abound in historical composition and valuable illustration. The same struggle for independence has characterized alike our North American and West Indian colonies. The only difference has been in the process. "The West Indians thought to gain their point by passive resistance to the home Government, and failed. The North Americans chose active resistance, and failed also." In both cases the home Government has yielded everything short of independence. "When that also is asked, it will be difficult to refuse it." Their ultimate independence is a necessary consequence of the liberal nature and *autonomous* tendencies of the constitutions granted them; all being more or less analogous to that of Great Britain. It is superfluous to inquire whether even Parliament can place Englishmen under the absolute government of the Crown. The enforcement of the monarchical principle, the suspension of their rights as Englishmen, has been attended by but one result. New South Wales has won its constitution. Canada has its responsible government; in the Cape there is a colonial Parliament. The fault of our system, however, is not in the men who have been our ministers. Partly it lies in the frequent supersession of the Secretary for the Colonies, arising out of home or foreign politics. (According to the explanation given to the Kafir chief, a new doctor is sent to the Cape by the Queen to try the effect of a new medicine; *

and as each successive governor arrives, the question is repeated, "Is this the doctor who is to make the Cape well?" The nature of our own political institutions presents fresh difficulties. These various causes of failure induce Mr. Bell to suggest the emancipation of those colonies that desire it. In six sections, the reasons against parting with our colonies are considered, comprising the duty of protection, the power and influence which they confer on the mother country, the effects of colonial trade, and their value in affording harbours for British military and mercantile marine. The reasons in favour of parting with them arising out of the sources of weakness inherent in our connexion with them; their capacity for emancipation on the ground of population and wealth are considered in two distinct chapters. The twenty-first chapter institutes a comparison between the nature of the established populations of Europe and that of the colonies. The comparison is succeeded by suggestions, recommending, in default of immediate emancipation, a statutory declaration of "the circumstances under which the mother country would be disposed to emancipate her colonies generally;" so that when the conditions were realized, they could claim the right thus conceded. The final chapter attempts to show how the present system, if it must continue, may be improved, and concludes with an imposing tableau of Great Britain reproduced in three quarters of the world, with a federal union of the five North American colonies, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, under a sovereign derived from the collateral branches of our own royal family, and with an old nobility taken from the decayed or younger branches of that of the mother country. Emancipating her colonies, yet retaining their trade, connected with them by treaties offensive and defensive, "bound to her by every social tie which binds men or nations to each other, what a front of strength would Great Britain, backed as she and her daughter nations would undoubtedly be in such a struggle, by the generous sympathies, if not by the active co-operation of the United States of North America, present to the despotic sovereigns of the earth for the maintenance of freedom of thought, action, and utterance!"

Some account of the sea service of a formidable neighbouring despotism is given us in the "*Études sur la Marine*,"² three essays by the Prince de Joinville, formerly published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and now reprinted in a collective form. The subject of the first paper is the Mediterranean squadron. In the spring of 1839 it consisted of three vessels, increased to thirteen before the end of the year. In 1840 it comprised twenty ships. In 1847 it fell to five, its present number. Two of these vessels were employed under Admiral Lalande during the war with Mehemet Ali, to detain the Turkish fleet in the Bosphorus. The admiral attempted persuasion where force was impossible, but finding his eloquence ineffectual, made for Ourlac, where he was joined by four other vessels. This little naval force generally lay at anchor in the Bay of Besica, in sight of the ruins of Troy, with the design of seizing the forts which defend the passage of the Dardanelles, in the event of

* "*Études sur la Marine*." Paris: Michel Levy, Freres. 1859. Nutt: London.

a Russian demonstration at Constantinople. This period was that of the education of the squadron. From Besica it passed to Smyrna, and thence to Toulon. The beautiful basin of Toulon, sheltered from the winds by the chain formed by the isles of Hyères, offered an admirable arena for the exercise of a fleet. The further movements of the squadron before Bastia, Elba, in the Gulf of Naples, Tunis, Brest, and Cadiz, are described in sustained and animated language. The paper concludes with a triumphant review of French naval and military resources, and a recommendation to maintain the squadron in the Mediterranean as the holy ark of the French marine, the sacred depository of the traditions of honour and duty, the permanent school in which officers and sailors learn their profession and find their inspiration, the fertile parent of successive squadrons which the exigencies of war or the will of the country may demand. The essay is dated 1852. The Chinese question is the subject of the second dissertation. The author regards China as a decadent empire. In its growing corruption, its political and administrative venality, its religious schism and military insurrection, its prodigious importation of opium, legally prohibited but officially encouraged, its system of monopolies, and government of falsehood, he sees so many prophetic indications of its approaching decay. A lucid and interesting narrative, written in a spirit of friendly admiration for English prowess and diplomacy, brings down the history of China to the present day. The opium war is pronounced to have been a purely English and commercial war; but the Chinese Question is now one in which European interests are involved. The conquest of China would give the victorious nation an excess of power, which would make the whole world combine against it. England has no wish to effect this conquest. Sincerely disinterested and confiding in her commercial superiority, she desires the independence of China. A European coalition, however, is recommended, in order that China may not become either Russian or English. The coalescing nations are to pledge themselves to exercise on China a moral and material action; to obtain for Europeans the rights of traffic, residence, property, and the privilege of professing and teaching their religion, in every part of the empire; and to make the acquisition of territory or subjects in China dependent on common principles and the general consent. The social and political organization of China will be gradually reconstituted by the influence of the manners, ideas, and religion of the West, and instead of aggrandizing one of the two antagonist powers which dispute the supremacy of the East, China will assume its appropriate place among the self-governing members of the great Christian family. This second paper, written in June, 1857, is followed by one, dated February, 1859, which recounts the operations of the French steam fleet employed in the Crimean war, celebrates the marvellous advantages of land and water locomotion possessed by the French nation, and in the hypothesis of a war with Austria or Prussia, predicts that its fleet alone would render French superiority irresistible. Highly eulogizing the resources of England for maintaining an advantageous position on the seas, the author announces that she must abandon her traditional method of manning

her navy, adopting that of the Continent, either by continual augmentations of the Marine corps, or by institutions analogous to those which she now attempts under the name of *coast volunteers* and *continuous service men*. These disquisitions are literary and narrative, not statistical or didactic. Their spirit is not *imperial*; they evince no hostility to England, and they condemn the "impatient ambition" of the first Napoleon.

In the preface to the new series of "Friends in Council,"³ Mr. Helps informs us that the Essay on War was written when the peace of Europe had not been disturbed. While far from "counselling remissness in a judicious preparation" for hostile contingencies, the accomplished author regards the duty of diminishing the large standing armies, which disgrace our modern civilization, as imperative on every good citizen. Sensible and influential persons should in his opinion form a federation to prevent monarchs from being entrusted with these terrific instruments for the molestation of the human race. Seventy millions of money were expended in the Russian war; a parliamentary loan of eight millions was raised for India last year; a further loan of twelve millions was threatened; "sums," says a living statesman, "which, if applied to growing the raw materials for our manufactures in the valley of the Ganges, raising there the wages of the ryots, and facilitating the payments of the landed proprietors in India, extending the manufacturing and commercial industry of Lancashire and of the West Riding, would thus have benefited simultaneously the eastern and western dominions of our Queen." Mr. Helps can indicate, however, no specific for persuading potentates to disband their armies. "Who is to begin the good work?" he asks. One would think the answer would be—The sovereign whose aggressive attitude or warlike preparations are most minatory to the peace of Europe. In some future international congress, would a proposition for a gradual and reciprocal reduction of these monster armies be entirely ineffective? The mischief of an armed, or may we not say of an *over-armed*, peace, the temptation to employ an enormous available force, the hindrances to war, the restraints on warlike tendencies, are some of the questions discussed by Mr. Helps in this long and interesting essay. Eighteen hundred years ago the peace of Europe was maintained by 378,850 men, including the marine; before the recent war in Italy the united land forces alone of Europe consisted of 2,682,929 men. Mr. Helps may well call for a federation of the uncrowned wise to preclude the crowned fools from "the despotic amusement of war." In his Essay on Government our author laments the growing parliamentary inefficiency and enforced postponement of bills, our frightful financial expenditure, and the functional usurpation of the House of Commons. As remedial measures, he advises that the collective wisdom "should leave things alone," at least provisionally, confiding in the quiet and enduring character of the British people, the assumed force and prosperity of the empire, and the countervailing tendencies of personal

³ "Friends in Council. A Series of Readings and Discourses thereon." London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1859.

effort. Mr. Helps recommends, however, the strengthening of the executive government, the representation of minorities, with the view to the admission of "peculiar ability into the House of Commons, and the attachment to the imperial interests and councils by some patent expedient of the eminent and forcible men of the colonies." In another Essay on Despotism, after allowing that "in very early ages, when there was but one great art, the art of war, the despotic monarch might have been the foremost man in his dominions," Mr. Helps argues, "either a despot acts with the wisdom of the majority of a nation or he does not." If he does, the wise part of the nation ought to have an opportunity of acting for itself, in order to increase its wisdom. If he does not, "he is merely sustaining a high part of forcible folly," and ought to be summarily abolished. Mr. Helps does not deny the "cleansing and beautifying" qualities, the promptitude, the resolution, the charity of despotism, but he signalizes the fatal flaw in it, "that it destroys individual independence." A despotic government may do for children, and if you can stop their growth, no other need be provided, but if the child is to become a boy, you must allow for the difficulties of boyhood—"the occasional errors and inefficiencies of parliamentary government"—with the assurance that as years go on, it will correct the follies and blunders of immaturity. The remaining distinctive essays in Mr. Helps' volumes are Worry, Criticism, Biography, Proverbs, Self-advancement, Tolerance, the Miseries of Human Life, and Pleasantness. There is a dyspeptic precision and irritable detectiveness in the minute photographing of the ills that complicate our mortal life, in more than one of these essays, which evince a penetrating insight into the morbid anatomy of evil, and prove that the author has "a fine eye for consequences." Whether he endorses in part the sncer of Voltaire, that "the physician is one who pours drugs, of which he knows little, into a body of which he knows less;" or describing the soldiers and sailors, complaining of their dull, formal, and uninteresting career, adds, "that he sees no reason for doubting their word;" or satirizes the artist and literary man, "who go on droning at the same thing which they can do a little better than some one else;" or the lawyer, "in his wearisome round of nice cavilling and dull verbiage-spinning;" or the divine, "with a deeper and wider career, but always comprehended within narrow limits, and who finds it very dangerous to think out anything of his own; or lovers, the magical mirror of whose affection "reflects only the brightest feelings of man's nature," but who, "after being in a seventh heaven of their own creation, return to careful, tiresome, ordinary life again;" we find the same charming sympathy with the gloomy side of things, the same enviable talent for depicting the "dark delight of being miserable." It is true the essayist endeavours to restore the equilibrium in complementary disquisitions, but all the after-papery and painting of the edifice cannot make us forget the brilliant touch in which we are reminded that "there is not only a skeleton in every house, but a skeleton which requires to be fed and clothed—a skeleton not merely unproductive but consuming." This sympathetic insight into the occasions and varieties of misery, is perhaps rather intellec-

tual than moral or constitutional. The same genial feeling, the same love of humanity, the same faith in good and hope for a better, which characterize Mr. Helps' previous utterances, will be found in the new series of "Friends in Council." Pleasant illustrations, playful wit, and characteristic anecdotes alternate with rational and popular reflection, statistical fact, and poetic fancy, with that felicity of distribution which wins for Mr. Helps such deserved favour from those to whom profounder speculations would prove unattractive.

A still more instructive publication awaits us in the collected essays contributed by Mr. Mill chiefly to the "Edinburgh and Westminster Reviews."⁴ Among them are included "all of the writer's miscellaneous productions which he considers in any way desirable to preserve." While the author has not attempted to render papers written at so many different times a faithful representation of his present state of opinion and feeling, he has, he tells us, removed from them all such expression of thought and sentiment as he has altogether ceased to think true. We may, therefore, extract from these valuable volumes a synopsis of Mr. Mill's views on the highest subjects of human speculation, which will interest those who are unable to accept his conclusions no less than those with whom his writings have already acquired an almost canonical authority. An adherent of the Experience Philosophy, Mr. Mill holds that the nature and laws of things in themselves, or of the hidden causes of phenomena, are radically inaccessible to the human faculties; that all our knowledge is limited to experience and inference from experience by the analogies of experience itself; and that every idea, feeling, or power in the human mind may be accounted for without referring its origin to any other source. Rejecting the distinction between the Vernunft and the Verstand, he regards sensation and the mind's consciousness of its own acts (our bodily senses and our intellects), as not only the exclusive sources, but the sole materials of our knowledge (vol. i., pp. 123, 404, 409). Conformably with this principle, the Law of Causation itself is divested of its absolute character, and is described as a "law co-extensive with the entire field of successive phenomena," that is, as the highest generalization of human experience. (See "Inductive Logic.") It is plain that if we have no direct intuition of truths not cognizable by our senses, that if even scientific certainty is but a relative certainty, Theology, on Mr. Mill's principle, could have no firmer basis than inference from experience by the analogies of experience itself. Our author, however, attempts no solution of the religious problem, neither affirming nor denying, but remanding transcendental inquiries to a transcendental logic. In Ethics, Mr. Mill maintains that the ideas of right and wrong are not ultimate and inexplicable facts, but depend on the same laws on which all our other complex ideas and feelings depend; that the distinction between them requires only sensation and intellect for their recognition; that the property in actions which constitutes them moral or immoral is the influence of those actions and the dispositions from

⁴ "Dissertations and Discussions, Political, Philosophical and Historical." By John Stuart Mill, 2 vols. London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859.

which they emanate on human happiness (vol. i., pp. 122, 123); and finally, that the happiness of mankind is the end for which morality is enforced. If, however, Mr. Mill repudiates the doctrine of an innate and ready-made conscience, he by no means pretends that our moral feelings are factitious and artificial associations, and no more congenial to our natural feelings than the contrary associations:—

“The idea of the pain of another is naturally painful; the idea of the pleasure of another is naturally pleasurable. From this fact in our natural constitution, all our affections both of love and aversion towards human beings, in so far as they are different from those we entertain towards mere inanimate objects which are pleasant or disagreeable to us, are held to originate. In this, the unselfish part of our nature, lies a foundation for the generation of moral feelings.” —(p. 137).

In addition, however, to the *moral* aspect of an action or its right and wrong, depending on its foreseeable consequences, we have to notice its two remaining aspects:—its æsthetic aspect, or that of its beauty, and its sympathetic aspect, or that of its loveableness. Sentimentality consists in setting the last two of the three above the first; the error of moralists in general is to sink the two latter entirely (pp. 387, 388). Unlike Bentham, Mr. Mill not only does not overlook the moral part of man's nature, the desire of perfection, or the feeling of an approving or disapproving conscience; he recognises also the sense of *honour*; the love of *beauty*; the love of *order*; the love of *action*; the love of *loving*; the need of a sympathizing support or of objects of admiration and reverence. He accepts the pursuit of an ideal end; he approves the passion of the artist; he asserts the social value and educative and modifying power of the arts of music, painting, sculpture, and poetry. Those who read Mr. Mill's *Essay on Poetry and its Varieties*, and that on the writings of Alfred de Vigny, for the first time, will see with a surprised delight that the successful expositor of the doctrines of political economy, and the first philosophical logician in Europe, has that far-reaching insight into the nature of art, that exquisite appreciation of its properties and influences, which would qualify him to be an equally triumphant interpreter of the laws of æsthetic science. Poetry, says Mr. Mill, when it is really such, *is truth*. Its truth is to paint the human soul truly. The poet finds within him “one highly delicate and sensitive specimen of human nature, on which the laws of emotion are written in large characters, such as can be read of without much study.” The poetry of a poet is feeling, employing thought only as the medium of expression. The capacity of strong feeling is the material out of which all *motives* are made: the motives, consequently, which lead human beings to the pursuit of truth. In another essay (p. 28), Mr. Mill observes, the instruments of this work (that of making men wiser and better) are not merely schools and colleges, but every means by which the people can be reached either through their intellects or through their *sensibilities*, from preaching and popular writing to national galleries, theatres, and public games. Holding that the primary and perennial sources of all evil are ignorance and want of culture, our essayist honours Coleridge for having rescued from discredit the principle of an endowed class for the cultivation of learning.

and for diffusing its results among the community. For this reason—while opposed to all eleemosynary establishments, in which men “get rich, like the licentiate in ‘*Gil Blas*,’ by taking care of the affairs of the poor” (p. 26), while exhorting the laity to claim their property out of the hands of the clergy, and willing to get money or money’s worth out of all useless *corporations*, *abstractions*, and *phrases*, so that he “cares not though the whole English dictionary had to beg in the streets”—Mr. Mill asserts that educational endowments are worthy of encouragement, where a sufficiency do not already exist. In politics, Mr. Mill is the uncompromising advocate of a representative government. The first condition essential to good government is identity of interest between rulers and ruled; the second, that political questions be decided by the deliberately formed opinions of a comparatively few, specially educated for the task. Here the problem to be solved is, how “to combine the greatest amount of the advantage derived from the independent judgment of a ‘select’ few with the greatest degree of security for rectitude of purpose derived from rendering those few responsible to the many.” “The idea of a rational democracy is not that the people themselves govern, but that they have security for good government. The State may be defined, says our author, as a concentration of the force of all the individuals of the nation in the hands of certain of its members to realize the advantages of systematic co-operation. While Government must not chain up the free agency of others, it may exercise a free agency of its own in promoting the public welfare. A State ought to be considered as a great benefit society for helping that large proportion of its members who cannot help themselves (pp. 432, 454). The greatest service which Coleridge has rendered to politics is, continues Mr. Mill, in reviving the idea of a trust inherent in landed property. Property in land is a public function, created for certain public purposes, and held under condition of their fulfilment. Equality (in property), though not the sole end, is one of the ends of good social arrangements. Socialism is the modern form of the protest raised in all ages against the unjust distribution of social advantages. Distrusting the means which socialists propose (co-operative production with division of profits) for correcting the unjust inequalities in the lot of mankind, Mr. Mill deems it incumbent on philosophers and politicians to use their utmost endeavours for bringing about the same end by an adaptation of the existing machinery of society. The right to employment is a half-truth which requires its complementary half-truth, the practical result of the whole truth possibly being, that all persons living should guarantee to each other, through their organ the State, the ability to earn by labour an adequate subsistence, but that they should abdicate the right of propagating the species at their own discretion and without limit—the legitimate conditions of the exercise of this right being obligatory on rich and poor alike.”—(vol. ii. p. 387.)

In foreign politics, Mr. Mill denies that to assist a people struggling for liberty is contrary to the law of nations. In his vindication of the French Revolution of 1848, he separates himself from those professing liberals who are shocked at the idea that the King of Sardinia should

assist the Milanese in effecting their emancipation; as precedents for stopping mischief and benefiting humanity, he refers to the combination of the great powers of Europe at Navarino, Antwerp, and St. Jean d'Acre, and boldly avows that the improvement of international morality can only take place by a series of violations of existing rules (vol. xi. pp. 378, 380). Mr. Mill laments that in Germany the sentiment of nationality so far outweighs the love of liberty, that the people are willing to abet their rulers in crushing the independence of any people not of their own race and language, and considers that while these barbarous feelings are cherished, the establishment of a common freedom being impossible, the question of nationality is practically of the very first importance. Mr. Mill's views on the philosophy of history, are in general accordance with those of Guizot, Comte, and Michelet. "They are far removed from either those of our Protestant or sceptical historians." He regards the Church as having once been at the *head* of civilization, the clergy as the preservers of all letters and all culture, as the champions of the people against their oppressors, as co-operators with the kings against the feudal anarchy. The essays on Mr. Grote's "History of Greece" are very masterly and instructive. In the science of history Mr. Mill's central idea is that of the positive school which conceives "all history as a progressive chain of causes and effects. . . . The facts of each generation, as one complex phenomenon caused by those of the generation preceding, and causing in its turn those of the next in order." We must not conclude this rapid survey of Mr. Mill's opinions, without alluding to his chivalrous, we should almost say rapturous, exaltation of woman. He would, however, place her on no pedestal to be worshipped, but make her the copartner with man in his active and intellectual enterprises, in his social and political privileges and responsibilities, recognising no essential difference between her powers and his. He celebrates the heroic women of feudal days who fully equalled in every masculine virtue the bravest of the men with whom they were associated, often greatly surpassed them in prudence, and fell short of them only in ferocity (vol. ii. p. 263). If these interesting "*châtelaines*" are to be considered not as exceptional instances, but as types of what all women may become, an Englishman's house will ultimately cease to be *his* castle. Men, we suppose, will then be tolerated as necessary evils, or be regarded as simply available for the practical solution of the original and awe-inspiring question, once innocently proposed by a fair young sociologist, "Are husbands luxuries?"

Passing from this high argument, we encounter a subject of deep though morbid interest. In "*Les Suicides Illustres*," by M. Dabadie,⁵ we have a first series of the portraits of those men and women who exemplified Roderigo's opinion, "It is silliness to live when to live is a torment." The series comprises about 120 names, among them our old friend Ajax, surely too mythical a character to be entitled to recognition here. Hannibal, Antalcidas, Artemisia, Cleopatra, Demo-

⁵ "*Les Suicides Illustres*," &c. Par F. Dabadie. Première Série. Paris: F. Sartorius. 1859.

stheneſes, Caius Gracchus, Mithridates, and Themistocles, among the ancients; Condorcet, Castlereagh, Charles VII. of France, Lord Clive, Haydon, Roland, Pichegru, and Villeneuve, among the moderns, may be instanced as some of the more eminent characters in these "Annals of Suicide." In an unpretending but interesting introduction, M. Dabadie opposes the wide-spread but untenable notion that insanity is the sole cause of self-slaughter. Decius, Lucretia, Cato, Brutus, and Arria were not the victims of mental aberration. As little can it be maintained that suicide is always an act of cowardice. Was Hannibal a coward? or were Cassius and Boadicea cowards? On the contrary, the best and bravest of the Romans under the empire preferred voluntary death to a life of dishonour. Incurable maladies and hopeless love are common incentives to suicide. In our sophisticated civilization *ennui* supplies a motive.

Among the varieties of suicide, M. Dabadie mentions imitative and hereditary suicide. The former is observed principally in the army, where a change of quarters suffices to check the epidemic. In the latter case a predisposing organization leads the child or grandchild to commit self-murder at the same age, and by the same means, as the father or grandfather. "Is suicide morally justifiable?" inquires M. Dabadie. With the exception of Plato and his school, the philosophers of antiquity regarded it as one of the rights of men. The Church has condemned it, but not without exceptions. Many women, who at the commencement of the Christian era destroyed themselves to escape the outrages of the soldiers, afterwards received canonization. Our author concludes that suicide is not permissible where a man has social obligations to discharge, but maintains that it is sometimes not only excusable but praiseworthy, as in the case of Bisson, a young French officer, who blew up his ship rather than surrender. Ordinary suicides, M. Dabadie thinks, are to be pitied rather than blamed. Only the most cruel suffering could induce man, so wedded to existence, thus to anticipate its term. The statistics of suicide are striking: at the end of the last century the number of suicides trebled that of assassinations. In France three hundred thousand cases are enumerated since 1800. In 1851, the deaths by self-destruction amounted to 3598; in 1853, they fell to 341; in 1855, they were no fewer than 3830. In this last year, the cases of male exceeded those of female suicide by 1832. Suicides in France are more numerous in the spring than in the autumn or the winter. Our author might have extended the remark to England, where the gloomy months are precisely those in which self-inflicted death is the least frequent. Male suicides are more numerous than female suicides, owing to the faculty which the man possesses of preoccupying himself for entire years with one idea or sentiment. This besieging character of thought, as it leads to great actions and great discoveries, so also results in death. The excessive mental concentration produces suicide. With woman in general it is not so; her very mobility precludes self-absorption. The reflection which she admires, is the reflection of her own fair face in the glass. "She rarely commits suicide, because she is always the daughter of Eve and the sister of Narcissus."

A vivaciously-written narrative of a vacation voyage to Cuba and back,⁶ by the author of "Two Years before the Mast," will be found to repay perusal. Embarking at New York, crossing the Gulf Stream near Cape Hatteras, with its thirty-mile "burial-ground of sailors," skirting along the coast of Florida, Mr. Dana at last got sight of the northern shore of Cuba, and through the entrance of the beetling Morro and the Punta, the spreading harbour, and the innumerable masts. He lands. He describes the harbour, the shipping, the streets of Havana: its domesticities, hospitalities, and amusements. From Havana he proceeded to Matanzas, in the Plaza of which, about fourteen years ago, Gabriel Valdez, "a man of genius and valour, but a mulatto," was shot, charged with heading a conspiracy in favour of the freedom of the slaves. From Matanzas Mr. Dana goes by rail to Limonar. He is soon whirled into the interior of Cuba, land of the palm, cocoa, banana, and plantain. There he sees jungles rich with white, purple, pink, and blue flowers, full of birds of all plumage, clumps of the prim orange-tree, with its dense and deep-green polished foliage gleaming with golden fruit, and acres upon acres of the sugar-cane. The twelfth chapter of his narrative contains graphic and informing notices of the sugar estates; the cultivation of the cane; the process of sugar-making; the treatment and labour of the negroes, and the duties of the officers of a plantation. In science, arts, letters, the people of Cuba have no part. The Cuban has no public career. A planter, merchant, or physician, he cannot hold a commission in the army or an office in the police. He may be a lawyer, but he cannot be a judge. He may publish a book, but the Government must be the responsible author. He may edit a journal, but the Government must be the editor in chief. There are three classes in the island, the Cubans or Creoles natives of Cuba, the Spaniards or natives of old Spain, and the foreign residents. The Spaniards, who monopolize all the important offices in the State and Church, are opponents of the independence of Cuba; the Creoles are in general disaffected to the present Government, and desire something approximating to self-government. When Spain enjoyed a liberal constitution Cuba partook in its advantages. The only constitution of Cuba now is the Royal Order of May 29, 1825, which puts it under martial law and keeps it in a state of siege. Since 1825 there has been no legislative assembly in Cuba, jury, junta, or independent tribunal; since 1836 it has been deprived of its right to a delegation in the Cortes. No religion is tolerated but the Roman Catholic. The Church, however, has neither civil nor political power. All the Church property has been confiscated and all the Church functionaries are salaried and appointed by the Government. The Church allows marriage between whites and mulattoes or quadroons; the civil law prohibits it. In consequence, concubinage, though often with recognition of offspring, prevails. Mr. Dana thinks the slave population amounts to 600,000; the free blacks to 200,000; the whites to 700,000. The law favours emancipation;

⁶ "To Cuba and Back." By Richard Henry Dana, Jun. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1859.

on paying a valuation a slave receives his free papers ; and " in point of civil privileges the free blacks are the equals of the whites." Mr. Dana testifies to the enormities of slavery ; to the plantation belonging " to the young man who spends half his time in Havana, the abode of licentiousness and cruelty ;" to the tall hounds chained at the kennel, Cuban bloodhounds " trained to track and to seize ;" to the professed hunter of slaves ; to the mountain range inhabited by runaways, where white men hardly dare to go ; to the slave jails and the whipping-posts, " where lad whites do the flogging of the city house-servants, men and women, at so many reals a head." " The national process for Cuba," concludes Mr. Dana, " is an amelioration of her institutions under Spanish auspices." If her connexion with Spain be dissolved, the protection of some other power is the probable alternative. " She has been called the key to the Gulf of Mexico. But the Gulf of Mexico cannot be unlocked. Whoever takes her is more likely to find a key to Pandora's box.

We draw attention to an exceedingly beautiful volume of antiquarian research, entitled " Catalogue of Antiquities, Works of Art, and Historical Scottish Relics, exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, during their Annual Meeting held in Edinburgh, July, 1856."⁷ Antiquities from Egypt, Greece, Rome, from Scotland, England, and Ireland, in the earlier periods, as well as in the Middle Ages ; original documents, seals, coins, medals, carvings, paintings, casts, embroidery, and tapestry, all illustrated by wood-cuts of exquisite workmanship, and interpreted by an accompanying letter-press. Among the miscellaneous objects connected with the house of Stuart are the silver-gilt handbell and agate cup, once belonging to Queen Mary ; the seal used by Prince Frederic, son of the King of Bohemia ; the Darnley ring, found at Fotheringay, and the silver spoon and case of Prince Charles Edward. Besides the portrait of the Queen of Scots from the monumental effigy at Westminster Abbey, which forms the frontispiece, there are three others of this lovely and ill-fated Helen of the modern world. About 140 illustrations, in wood and steel, of delicate and elaborate execution, embellish a work which gives us many a glimpse into the life and circumstances of the Historic Past.

⁷ " Catalogue of Antiquities, Works of Art, and Historical Scottish Relics," &c. Edinburgh : T. Constable and Co. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.

SCIENCE.

THE revival of an old foundation at Cambridge, entitled "Sir Robert Reade's Lectureship,"¹ has afforded to Professor Owen an opportunity of bringing before a general audience those new views regarding the classification of Mammalia, which he presented not long since to the Linnæan Society, and which are destined in our opinion to gain general acceptance among such scientific Zoologists as are not too strongly prejudiced in favour of existing systems. While the scheme propounded by Cuvier was doubtless an improvement upon antecedent methods, it involved anomalies which could not but disagreeably impress the zoological mind even at first view; such, for example, as that of placing the sloth above the horse, the mole above the lynx, and the bat above the dog: whilst the progress of anatomical and physiological knowledge, mainly stimulated by the writings and example of Cuvier himself, brought into view defects of an even more serious character; such as the association of the Marsupialia with the Carnaria and Quadrumana, and the inclusion of the Monotremata, with the Sloth, Armadillo, and Afit-eater, among the Edentata. The necessity of bringing together the Marsupialia and Monotremata, and of placing them at the bottom of the Mammalian series, in closest approximation with oviparous Vertebrata, has been of late generally admitted; and many Naturalists have ranked these two groups as a sub-class of "ovo-viviparous," or "implacental" Mammals; making this equivalent in value to the whole remainder of the class, which consists of the "truly viviparous" or "placental" Mammals. The other features of the Cuvierian classification, however, have remained pretty much as he left them; for although various attempts at improving it had been made by naturalists of greater or less eminence, who have endeavoured to make it express more truly the natural affinities of the several orders, no one had propounded any new basis for the arrangement of the class, until Professor Owen brought forward the views to which he had been led by a long course of extensive observation and profound reflection. Of these views we shall now give a brief summary.

The entire class of Mammalia is divided by Professor Owen into four sub-classes, according to characters furnished by the conformation of the brain.

I. To the lowest of these sub-classes, which corresponds with the ovo-viviparous or implacental group, the name *Lyencephala* is given, significant of the comparatively loose or disconnected state of the cerebral hemispheres. For, as Professor Owen first discovered in 1836, the brains of the Marsupialia and Monotremata are deficient in the corpus callosum or great commissure of the cerebral hemispheres, the

¹ "On the Classification and Geographical Distribution of the Mammalia, being the Lecture on Sir Robert Reade's Foundation, delivered before the University of Cambridge, in the Senate House, May 10, 1859." To which is added an Appendix "On the Gorilla," and "On the Extinction and Transmutation of Species." By Richard Owen, F.R.S., &c. &c. London. 1859. 8vo, pp. 103.

presence of which had been previously regarded as a distinctive character of the Mammalian brain; the cerebral hemispheres in these animals, as in Birds, being connected only by the fornix and the anterior commissure, and presenting, moreover, very little advance upon those of Birds as to the proportion which they bear to the other ganglionic centres of the encephalon. This feature in their organization is obviously related to those peculiarities in their generative economy which bring them into approximation to the oviparous vertebrata; and it also coincides (as might be expected) with a very low condition of intelligence and educability. The strict limitation of the Monotremata to Australia and Tasmania, and the almost entire restriction of the large order of Marsupialia to the same region, constitute one of the most remarkable features in the geographical distribution of the Mammalia; and the marsupial conformation is shown by Professor Owen to have a very interesting relation to that one of the climatal peculiarities of Australia,—namely, the irregularity of the supply of water,—which constitutes the greatest impediment to its occupation by Man.

II. Closely allied to the preceding in many features of its organization, and still presenting many points of affinity to the oviparous Vertebrata, is the group denominated by Professor Owen *Lissencephala*, expressive of the smoothness or absence of convolutions on the surface of the cerebral hemispheres, indicative of a low grade of development that is also marked by the small size of the hemispheres relatively to that of the sensory ganglia. This group includes the four orders, Rodentia, Insectivora, Cheiroptera, and Bruta. The mutual resemblance of many members of the first two of these orders, both in general conformation and in habits of life (such as that of the Shrew and the Mouse, the Hedgehog and the Porcupine), their differences being chiefly such as relate to the nature of their food and their means of acquiring it, are such as to indicate that their affinity is far closer than would appear from the positions they hold in the system of Cuvier, in which the primary divisions are based upon the dentition. As the Rodents are connected with the Marsupials by the Wombats, so are the Insectivora connected with them by the smaller Opossums; and it is a remarkable circumstance that Insectivora, although abundant elsewhere, are not found either in South America or in Australia, where their office is fulfilled by Marsupials. Closely related to the Insectivora are the Cheiroptera, which repeat their chief characters with a special adaptation to flight through the air. It is among these orders that we find that remarkable development of the architectural, migratory, and other instincts, which strongly reminds us of Birds; and it is in them alone that we meet with that periodical reduction in the power of maintaining the heat and general activity of their bodies, by which they are reduced for a time to a physiological condition approaching that of Reptiles. The order Bruta, which corresponds with the Edentata of Cuvier, has no very obvious affinity with the three already named, save in the smoothness of its cerebral hemispheres; but this character is associated with many points in the anatomy and physiology of the Sloths and Anteaters, which indicate that they bear a relationship not

less near than that of the Rodents and their allies to the oviparous type of Vertebrate structure. And Professor Owen shows that such a remarkable parallel may be drawn between the typical forms of the Lyencephalous and Lissencephalous series, as forms a cogent argument for their correspondence in rank as primary subdivisions of the Mammalian class.

III. The third primary group includes those Mammals whose cerebral hemispheres are so much increased in relative proportion as to extend more or less over the olfactive lobes anteriorly and the cerebellum posteriorly, and have their surface augmented by being folded into gyri or convolutions; from which last character (which is wanting in a very few exceptional cases of the smaller and inferior forms of Quadrumana) the designation *Gyrencephala* is assigned to this subclass. We here look in vain for those marks of affinity to the oviparous vertebrata which were presented in the two preceding groups; the resemblance which the Whale tribe presents to Fishes being merely external and adaptive, and masking a really high grade of Mammalian organization. The sub-class *Gyrencephala* comprehends three groups, each of which includes two or more orders; these groups being characterized by the conformation of the extremities. (1.) The lowest, which is designated by Professor Owen "Mutilata" on account of the deficiency of posterior extremities, includes the Cetacea or Whales proper, with the Sirenia, or Herbivorous whales; the latter, however, presenting so many points of approximation to members of the succeeding division, that their proper place is not altogether beyond question. (2.) To the Ungulata or hoofed *Gyrencephala* belong the Toxodontia, an order composed of two extinct South American genera; the Proboscidea, or elephant tribe, which, from the evidence of its fossil remains, seems to have once been the most cosmopolitan of hoofed herbivorous quadrupeds; the Perissodactyla, which have an uneven number of toes, giving a single hoof in the horse and a triple hoof in the tapir; and the Artiodactyla, which have an even number of toes, as in the double (or cloven) hoof of the camel or sheep, or the quadruple hoof of the hippopotamus. The series of existing genera that present the perissodactyle type is so imperfect that their mutual affinities would be but imperfectly intelligible, were it not for the discovery of numerous extinct genera by which it is rendered continuous; and the same may be said of the artiodactyle type, which includes with the Ruminants the hippopotamus and pig. This arrangement of the Ungulata differs materially from that of Cuvier, who first set apart the Ruminants as a very natural and well-characterized group, and then associated all the remaining hoofed quadrupeds into one heterogeneous assemblage, the Pachydermata, the members of which had scarcely anything in common. It has been chiefly by the study of the numerous extinct forms, our knowledge of which has been of late years greatly extended, and by the failure of his first attempt to group these with any degree of consistency, that Professor Owen has been led to this new classification of the Ungulata; the right progression of the affinities of which was broken in the Cuvierian arrangement by the interposition of the Horse and other Perissodactyles between the non-ruminant (or omnivorous) and

the ruminant Artiodactyles, and by the assignment of too high a value to the ruminant type in making it equivalent to all the other Ungulata collectively. It is interesting to observe that the last-named group, which contains the animals most directly useful to Man, has been augmenting in genera and species, whilst the Perissodactyles and omnivorous Artiodactyles seem to have been gradually dying out through the latest geological periods; and that there is a higher specialization among the existing Ungulates, in virtue of which they can do more effective work of particular kinds, than prevailed among their representatives of the miocene and eocene tertiary periods. (3.) The third subdivision of the Gyrencephala consists of the Unguiculate orders of Carnivora and Quadrumana, in which we meet with a gradual elevation of the mammalian type, alike in regard to intelligence, as in its general approximation towards the conformation of Man. It is pointed out by Professor Owen as a remarkable feature in the geographical distribution of the Quadrumana, that the peculiarly limited range of the Orangs and Chimpanzees contrasts strikingly with the cosmopolitan range of Man. The former appear inexorably bound to their localities by climatal influences regulating the assemblage of certain trees and the production of certain fruits; and with all our care in artificially supplying these conditions, the healthiest specimens of Orang or Chimpanzee, brought over in the vigour of youth, perish within a period never exceeding three years (and usually much less) in our climate. "By what metamorphoses," he pertinently asks, "has the alleged humanized Chimpanzee or Orang been brought to endure all climates? The advocates of transmutation have failed to explain them."

IV. In Man, the brain presents an ascensive step in development, higher and more strongly marked than that by which the preceding sub-class was distinguished from the one below it; for not only do the cerebral hemispheres overlap the olfactory lobes and the cerebellum, but they extend in advance of the one and further back than the other; and their posterior development is so marked, that anatomists have commonly assigned to that part the character and name of a third or "posterior lobe." The superficial grey matter of the cerebrum, through the number and depth of the convolutions, attains its maximum of extent in Man; and the system of intercommunicating fibres, by which the various parts of the convoluted surface and the ganglionic centres covered in by the hemispheres are brought into relation with each other, is greatly augmented in complexity. The peculiar mental capabilities which are associated with this highest form of brain, and the possession of which constitutes the essence of Man's immeasurable superiority to all other Mammals, give an importance to his cerebral characters which it is scarcely possible to overestimate; and we are fully satisfied, therefore, of the correctness of Professor Owen's view of his zoological relations, in making him the representative not merely of a distinct order, but of a distinct sub-class, for which he proposes the name *Archencephala*, significant of the overruling superiority of his cerebral organization.

Of the appendix to this treatise it is unnecessary for us to speak at any length; the question of the extinction and transmutation of species

not being discussed in such a manner as to throw any new light upon it; and the essay on the Orang, Chimpanzee, and Gorilla being a justification, by the comparison of minute anatomical details, of the opinion formerly advanced by the author, that the large, ugly, powerful, and brutal species of Chimpanzee, whose existence in the neighbourhood of the Gaboon river on the Guinea coast first became known to naturalists about twelve years since, really presents a nearer approximation to Man in its anatomical structure, than does any other tailless ape.

The second Part of the excellent work of MM. Claparède and Lachmann on the Infusoria and Rhizopoda² has followed with commendable diligence very closely upon the first, of which we gave an account in our April number. The account of the ordinary infusory Animalcules given by M. Claparède is now completed by the description of the families *Colpodina*, *Dysterina*, *Trachelina*, and *Colepina*, which are ranked with those previously described, in the order of *ciliated* Infusoria. A second order, that of *suctorial* Infusoria, is established for the *Acineta* and its allies, which are distinguished from the ordinary ciliated animalcules by their incapability of locomotion in their adult state, and by their peculiar mode of obtaining nourishment by means of numerous retractile suckers. A third order is composed of the *cilio-flagellate* Infusoria, which seem intermediate between the ordinary ciliated and the flagellate Animalcules. This group, including the *Peridinium* and its allies (which we have ascertained to form an important part of the food of the Comatula) is one whose nature is still problematical; many authors, amongst them Leuckart, being disposed to rank them in the vegetable kingdom, a view to which we ourselves incline. Our authors for the present pass by the *flagellate* Infusoria, as they do not consider that they are yet qualified to undertake the reform of this order with a prospect of success; and the remainder of the Part is devoted to the Rhizopods.

The separation of the Animalcules of the Rhizopod type from the ordinary Infusoria, and the discovery that to this type belong the animals which form the beautiful microscopic shells known as *Foraminifera*, constitute two of the most important of M. Dujardin's contributions to this branch of Zoology. The second of these positions, although fully confirmed by the researches of Professor Max. Schultze, has recently been stoutly contested by Professor Ehrenberg, who clings with a tenacity that seems almost inconceivable to the doctrine which he put forth a quarter of a century ago, that the animals of the *Foraminifera* were really *Bryozoa*,—a doctrine which has not, we believe, found a single supporter amongst modern Zoologists. As to this question, our authors cast in their lot unhesitatingly with Dujardin and Schultze, although they seem indisposed to admit the extreme homogeneity of structure attributed to these organisms, chiefly on account of the complexity which has been recently shown to exist in the conformation of their shells. But this complexity does not, as it seems to us,

² "Études sur les Infusoires et les Rhizopodes." Par Édouard Claparède et Johannes Lachmann. Seconde Livraison. 4to, pp. 221, avec 11 Planches lithographées. Genève. 1859.

afford any valid argument against the simplicity of the animal; for it is easily shown that even in the most elaborate forms of shell-structure presented by the Foraminifera, the apparent complexity is the result of the mere multiplication of similar elements, and does not involve any but the simplest kind of organization; and further, the history of development in higher organisms affords many instances of the origination of structures of high complexity in the midst of an apparently homogeneous blastema. The entire group is divided by our authors into four Orders; *Proteina*, *Echinocystida*, *Gromida*, and *Foraminifera*. The last is separated from all the rest by the possession of a calcareous shell, usually many-chambered, having its walls pierced with minute foramina for the exit of the delicate filamentous prolongations, or *pseudopodia*, into which the jelly-like body extends itself. The order *Gromida* is nearly akin to the *Foraminifera*, the animal being similar in every essential particular, but having a membranous envelope with a single orifice, instead of a calcareous foraminated shell. On the other hand, the *Proteina* (including *Amœba* and *Actinophrys*) and the *Echinocystida* (comprehending those beautiful radiary forms with silicious envelopes, the investigation and arrangement of which was among the last labours of Professor Müller) are distinguished by the absence of that tendency to *fusion* among the pseudopodia, which indicates their want of any investing membrane; and the former present many points of approximation to the ordinary Infusoria. It must be quite obvious to any one who studies a living *Amœba*, that it is not a mere particle of homogeneous sarcode, but presents a decided differentiation between an external containing layer and an internal fluid containing granules which occupies the cavity; and that the massive pseudopodia which are projected singly or in small numbers in one and another direction, are really lobular extensions of the body itself, into which the granular fluid can be seen to pass. Further, it does not appear that the particles which serve as food can be introduced into the substance of the body (as in the ordinary Rhizopods) through any part of the surface; and although our authors do not profess to have seen a distinct mouth, or special aperture for the ingestion of aliment, they believe in its existence. The presence of a contractile vesicle is another important point of affinity to ordinary Infusoria; and by the constancy observable in its position, our authors are led to conclude that the ordinary mode of locomotion in *Amœba* is not one of rolling upon itself, as is commonly believed, but that this creature has a true ventral as distinguished from its dorsal surface, and usually crawls upon the former. In *Actinophrys*, on the other hand, which still presents, in the possession of the contractile vesicle, a certain approximation to the Infusoria, there is in other respects a closer conformity to the ordinary Rhizopod type; true pseudopodia being protruded from every part of the surface, and these being able to draw in nutritive particles at any spot, by the extempore formation of a mouth wherever and whenever it is wanted. Our authors do not discuss in detail any other order than *Proteina*; the memoir of Professor Müller on the *Echinocystida* having well-nigh exhausted the subject for the present; whilst the study of the *Foraminifera* consti-

tutes a department altogether special, on which they have not entered. —We trust that the remaining Part, which is to embrace the history of the Reproduction and Development of the Infusoria and Rhizopoda will not be long delayed; as its appearance will be a valuable boon to all who are engaged in the study of these interesting groups. The subject is at present in great confusion, owing to the contradictory accounts which have been given by observers of creditable repute; and MM. Lachmann and Claparède will render most important service, if they can not only eliminate the truths from the errors of their predecessors, but can also explain the sources of those errors.

The series of scientific manuals in course of issue under the auspices of Messrs. Galbraith and Haughton, being designed to include Natural History, the editors, whose forte lies in the physico-mathematical sciences, have naturally sought the assistance of one of their own countrymen in this department; and although Professor Greene³ has not had much previous experience in authorship, he has produced a very creditable summary of the present state of our knowledge respecting the principal types that are recognisable among the lowest forms of animal life, interpreting, as he tells us in his Preface, the observations of others by the light which he has gained from the results of his own observations. Such a treatise must, of course, be extremely concise; but it contains, notwithstanding, a valuable body of information, which is judiciously selected and clearly set forth, so as to accord well with the general purpose of the editors of the series, which they state to be that of "impressing the mind of the reader with clear ideas of the general principles of the natural and experimental sciences." The manual before us being the first of the series which is to treat of the several departments of the animal kingdom, a brief introduction is prefixed on the general principles of zoological science; and of this also we can speak in terms of commendation. A Bibliography is appended; but this, though on the whole judiciously selected, does not contain the titles of several books and memoirs to which the student who desires further information on any of the specified departments ought unquestionably to be referred.

The activity with which the study of Human Physiology is now prosecuted in Germany, is remarkably evidenced by the rapid succession with which fresh treatises of a high order of excellence make their appearance in that country. The "*Physiologie der Menschen*" of Funke, the completion of which was noticed by us not long since, has already reached another edition, notwithstanding the rivalry of several works of established reputation; and we have now before us the first published ~~portion~~ of two other works on the same subject,—one of them being a translation from the original Dutch of an excellent treatise by Professor Donders⁴ of Utrecht, whose high reputation amongst

³ "A Manual of the Sub-Kingdom Protozoa. With a General Introduction to the Principles of Zoology." By Joseph Reay-Greene, B.A., Professor of Natural History in Queen's College, Cork, &c. London. 1859. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 28. With 16 Wood Engravings.

⁴ "F. C. Donders Physiologie des Menschen." Deutsche Originalausgabe, vom Verfasser revidirt und vervollständigt, und aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von

those acquainted with his labours will doubtless be now more widely extended,—whilst the other is an entirely new work by Professor Schiff,⁵ the colleague of Professor Valentin of Bern, to whom it is dedicated. The first volume of Professor Donders' treatise is devoted to the Organic functions; including the Blood and the Circulation, with Digestion, Absorption, Sanguification, and Respiration; Professor Schiff, on the other hand, whose treatise seems to form part of a Medical Library brought out by an enterprising publisher at Lahr, commences with the Physiology of the nervo-muscular apparatus, to which he has given special attention, and as to some points of which he entertains peculiar views. The work of Professor Donders is copiously illustrated by wood-engravings; that of Professor Schiff is destitute of illustrations of any kind.

A small popular treatise on Human Physiology,⁶ having special reference to the improvement of the physical frame by properly-devised exercises, has been issued by Dr. Schreber, of Leipzig. This, being much more scientific in its character than treatises having special reference to such systems usually are, is well worthy of the attention of those who are engaged in education; a well-devised system of gymnastics having indubitably a most valuable influence in the development and invigoration of the frame during the approach to adolescence, and being capable of correcting, or at least of keeping in check, many unfavourable tendencies.

We are glad to receive from Dr. Hoffmeister a continuation of his admirable researches upon Vegetable Embryogeny.⁷ No observer has more effectually contributed to the recent advance in that department of science; since he was not merely among the first to promulgate and maintain, in opposition to Schleiden and his followers, what is now generally accepted as the true doctrine in regard to the relative functions of the pollen-tube and the embryo-cell in the impregnation of the Phanerogamia, but he has also laboured more systematically than any one else to develop that view of the sexual process in Cryptogamia, which was first definitely opened-up by the researches of Suminski upon the prothallium of Ferns. Dr. Hoffmeister appears to be now applying himself to the like systematic study of the early de-

Fr. Wilh. Theile. Erster Band: die Ernährung. Mit 124 eingedruckten Holzschnitten. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig. 1859. 8vo, pp. 506. London: D. Nutt.

⁵ "Lehrbuch der Physiologie des Menschen." Von J. M. Schiff, aus Frankfurt a. M. Professor in Bern. I. Muskel- und Nervenphysiologie. Lahr. 1859. 8vo, pp. 424. London: D. Nutt.

⁶ "Anthropos. Der Wunderbau des Menschlichen Organismus, sein Leben und seine Gesundheitsgesetze, Ein allgemein fassliches Gesamtbild des menschlichen Natur für Lehrer, Schüler sowie für Jedermann, der nach gründlicher Bildung und körperlich geistiger Gesundheit strebt." Von Dr. Med. D. G. M. Schreber, Director der Orthopädischen Heilanstalt zu Leipzig. 1859. 8vo, pp. 136. London: Williams and Norgate.

⁷ "Neue Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Embryo-bildung der Phanerogamen. I. Dikotyledonen mit ursprünglich einzelligem, nur durch Zellentheilung wachsendem Endosperm. Aus den Abhandlungen der Mathematisch-physischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Leipzig. 1859. 8vo, pp. 140. With 27 Plates. London: Williams and Norgate.

velopment of the several groups of Phanerogamia; and it may be hoped that this study will lay the foundation of a more satisfactory assemblage of the Orders into primary divisions, than any that has been hitherto proposed. In the memoir now before us, he gives the embryological history of the group of Dicotyledons, which, originating in a single cell, form an endosperm by cell-division; in this group are included the orders of Loranthaceæ, Santalaceæ, Aristolochæ, Asarineæ, Cytineæ, Balanophoreæ, Orobanchæ, Scrophularinæ, Acanthaceæ, Plantagineæ, Labiata, Selaginæ, Globulariaceæ, Bignonaceæ, and Hydrophyllæ, the early development of each being studied in one or more characteristic species, and the descriptions being amply illustrated by figures.

Mr. Dresser⁸ has lost no time in working out the plan of which the treatise noticed in our last number constituted the first instalment; having already put forth the work which he there announced as in preparation, on the essential unity that prevails throughout the vegetable kingdom. This is characterized by the same merits and defects as its predecessor. A large amount of information is conveyed in short aphoristic sentences, respecting the varieties of conformation which are met with among organs essentially the same; and the descriptions are copiously illustrated by excellent figures. But the author's information seems to extend but little beyond the Phanerogamic division of the vegetable kingdom; which used to constitute the stock-in-trade of all but a few eccentric Botanists, whose peculiar tastes led them to the study of the more concealed beauties of the Cryptogamic terrestrial flora, or of the less accessible vegetation of the ocean waters; but which is now recognised by all truly scientific votaries of Botanical science as only constituting (like the Vertebrate division among animals) the highest among several types of vegetable structure, each of which has an equal claim to consideration in any treatise that professes to develop the essential unity prevailing through the whole. Hence, though suitable for the instruction of Art-students who want little beyond a knowledge of external forms, this work is deficient in much that is needful to those who desire to lay a solid foundation for higher attainments in a scientific study of the vegetable kingdom as a whole.

The object of Professor Balfour's treatise⁹ is altogether different; the study of Botany being treated with reference, not to its applications in art, but to its bearing on religion. We must confess that books of this kind, in which the descriptions of vegetable organization and the

⁸ "Unity in Variety, as deduced from the Vegetable Kingdom: being an attempt at developing that Oneness which is discoverable in the Habits, Mode of Growth, and Principle of Construction of all Plants." By Christopher Dresser, Lecturer on Botany, and Master of the Botanical Drawing Classes in the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington Museum. London. 1859. 8vo, pp. 162. With 300 Wood Engravings.

⁹ "Botany and Religion; or Illustrations of the Works of God in the Structure, Functions, Arrangement, and General Distribution of Plants." Third Edition, much enlarged. By J. H. Balfour, A.M., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh. With upwards of 200 Illustrations. Edinburgh. 1859. Post 8vo, pp. 436.

history of growth and reproduction are continually interrupted by quotations from the Bible, theological discussion, and moral reflections, are less to our taste than treatises in which the scientific and the religious topics are separately handled. But that there is a large class of readers, especially in Scotland, who approve of the former method, is obvious from the popularity of the book before us, which, originating in a course of popular lectures delivered by the Edinburgh Professor of Botany, has attained to a third edition within a few years. Dr. Balfour possesses every qualification for success in such a production, uniting a popular style and ample biblical knowledge to a thorough knowledge of his science; and we can strongly recommend this work, therefore, to such as prefer combining with the study of the economy of plants, that of the theological and biblical questions which may be connected with it.

We are glad to receive from Sir William Logan, the energetic and accomplished Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, a further report of the progress of his great and important undertaking;¹⁰ and we trust that no niggard economy will be allowed to interfere with the continuation and completion of a work so sure to conduce to the development of the resources of the country, and so creditable alike to the Government which supports it, and to the scientific men by whom it is carried on.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

DR. VAUGHAN'S historical narrative¹ is an attempt to simplify the subject of English History, by rejecting all foreign material and giving prominence to native interests and native phenomena, so that while not entitled a History of England, it is intended to serve the purpose for which all such histories have been professedly written. Dr. Vaughan's knowledge is not of a derivative or second-hand character. He examines for himself the documentary evidence which he adduces, draws his own conclusions, and exhibits the results of his own independent and not un-original thinking, in an emphatic and attractive form. By the term *Revolutions*, the author intends to denote the great phases of change in our history, with fitting recognition of the principal corresponding causes. In Dr. Vaughan's view there are three cardinal questions to be settled. The first is that of race, down to the close of the fourteenth century; the second that of religion under the Tudors; the third that of the English Constitution, or rather of its future destiny in the seventeenth century. "In the progress of Great Britain since

¹⁰ "Geological Survey of Canada; Report of Progress for the Year 1857." Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, Toronto. 1858. London: Williams and Norgate.

¹ "Revolutions in English History." By Robert Vaughan. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1859.

1688, no single cause has acquired the prominence of the causes above-mentioned;" and though previously to that period there were other collateral and tributary causes, these are felt to be the direct and leading antecedents of change. The first volume of the "Revolutions in English History," as yet the only volume published, is divided into five books. Agreeably to the hypothesis of the author, the first four books are characteristically headed Celts and Romans; Saxons and Danes; Normans and English; English and Normans; while the fifth book bears the dynastic title of Lancaster and York. Dr. Vaughan commences his inquiry with a brief glance at the prehistoric period, collecting all the evidence that illustrates the primæval position of Britain back to the time when the great Carthaginian captain Himilco first saw the Scilly Islands, Mount Bay and Mount St. Michael, B.C. 360; or still earlier, to the age of Herodotus, identifying "the islands called Cassiterides whence tin is imported," with those already specified. The revolution by the sword under Cæsar and his successors, and the influence of Rome on the government, religion and social life of the Celtic population, are next described. In the second book, having enumerated the sources of Anglo-Saxon history, and presented us with a picture of Britain after the final departure of the Romans, Dr. Vaughan relates the history of the Saxon migration, the rise of the English and Danish monarchies, the influence of the new conquests in the distributions of race, and estimates the character of the religious, civil and social revolution thus effected. The settlement of the Saxons and Danes in Britain was, says Dr. Vaughan, a settlement by the sword. It not only subjugated, but largely displaced the old population. "The restless sea-king became stationary, as a great landholder." His followers lived contentedly beside him as small landholders and tenants. Increase of property, security of life and limb, and improvement in law and its administration, accompanied this change. In Anglo-Saxon Britain the law was made "by the constitution of the king and with the consent of the people." To convene the Witanagemote or Council of the State was the prerogative of the king. "But he had not the power to dispense with its meetings, nor was it to be dissolved at his pleasure;" an usage "favourable alike to the freedom of the subject and the safety of the throne." Dr. Vaughan next conducts us to Normandy, and shows us how a race cognate with Saxons and Danes, first invaded Neustria, established the Dukedom of Normandy, and prepared themselves for the conquest of England. The history of the invasion is then given, and the effects—social, political and religious—of the Norman triumph are graphically recorded. The Danes in general were allowed to retain their possessions. But in less than twenty years, the Saxon landlord was displaced over the greater part of the kingdom by the Normans, and "the English became tenants where they had been landlords." Some of the elements of the feudal system were in existence in this country before the Conquest; but William gave universal extension to the principle, and established it definitely after the Continental model. The institution of knight service covered England "with a great military network." Fortresses arose throughout the land. The Tower of London, the

stronghold of the conquering king, was represented in the castles of the victorious barons. There was an ever-available force of 50,000 armed men, prepared to obey the summons of the sovereign chief, under the standards of their respective leaders. Dr. Vaughan's sympathies lie mainly with the oppressed Saxon races. He sees great significance in the fact of the outspoken admiration for the career of those lawless patriots who succeeded Hereward in East Anglia and beyond the Humber, of whom the famous Robin Hood is the pre-eminent type. He denies the accuracy of Lord Macaulay's brilliant eulogy on the character of the Normans, maintaining that though the invaders of England were at the head of the military science of their age, they rarely surpassed, and were frequently surpassed by, the English. The higher education which England gave them made them English. Their skill, however, in architecture, even before the Conquest, Dr. Vaughan admits was considerable, and the effects of taste in this form became even more conspicuous in England than it had been in Normandy. The patronage of literature and art by the powerful and wealthy, and its valuable practical results, can as little be denied. By the Conquest, concludes Dr. Vaughan, our island almost ceased to be insular. England became consolidated. She participated in the discussion of all European questions. There were five hundred monasteries in England, and all these monasteries had their schools; but the five hundred towns and cities, adds the historian, were all schools, and in these last the lessons taught . . . were ceaseless, manifold and potent. By degrees, Norman and Saxon became more equal, and at the end of the reign of King John, in the eyes of the law and the magistrate, the two races were two races no longer. The Norman was about to disappear in the Englishman. This is the point of transition from the third to the fourth book of his history, in which the English take precedence of the Normans. The life of England, industrial, intellectual, political and religious, from the death of King John to the accession of Henry IV., is portrayed, and the influence of the wars of England on the English nationality, including those of Henry V. with France, is discussed in the five chapters which make up the book. Among its subjects will be found the Middle Age Navy, the Introduction of Weavers; Merchants of the Staple; Parliamentary interference with wages, and the incipient Emancipation of Labour. The first religious reform under Wycliffe, the closing topic of the fourth book, is followed in the fifth by an account of the reaction in the Lancaster and York period, and the political and social phenomena which announced the Protestant Reformation and the partial assumption, by Human Reason, of its rights and responsibilities, previously to the accession of the House of Tudor. With the revival of learning, the Pagan spirit outgrew the spirit of Christianity, and its influence as a solvent of mediæval doctrine may be estimated by the fact, that "on his death-bed Cosmo de Medici is attended by Ficinus, who assures him of another life on the authority of Socrates, and teaches him resignation in the words of Plato, Xenocrates and other Athenian sages." We can sincerely recommend Dr. Vaughan's "*Revolutions in English History*," as a thoughtful, interesting, scholarly presentment

of the principal sociological vicissitudes of more than two thousand years of our British existence. Dr. Vaughan's composition is extremely lucid and nervous; not without a certain sedate ornamentation, but quite free from the misleading exaggerations of a seductive rhetoric.

The consolidation and approaching fall of another great monarchy, in its final and most absolute form, are treated with gravity of thought and style by M. de Carné, in his studies of the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.² In the first chapter the system of Louis XIV. is considered in its political results. The unlimited power of the king had become the religion of the country. During a period of fifteen years the diplomatic triumphs won by Louis XIV. had equalled his military successes. The peace of Nimeguen was in itself an additional victory. Louis found himself surrounded by men as renowned for letters as for arms. His reign will be for ever memorable. It extended the frontiers of France, fixed its language, developed its intellect; but, tested by events, the political system then enthroned is deserving only of condemnation. The *bourgeoisie* had no other care than to augment its fortune and improve its position by the purchase of the numerous taxes incessantly imposed by the pecuniary exigencies of the State. The magistracy had lost the right of remonstrance, and with it its last political power. The provincial nobility had found itself deprived of nearly all its administrative functions by the institution of officials styled *intendants*. The pretensions of the princes of the blood were abridged, and power was concentrated in the person of the Grand Monarque. Such a system could not endure. Illustrious ministers were succeeded by complaisant mediocrities. To Lyoñne, to Colbert, to Le Tellier, succeeded Louvois, Seignelay, Le Pelletier, Boncherat. In fact, when the "radiant zenith" of the monarch had passed, we discover only domestic and national calamities, and miserable and ignoble controversies. Society has now become false to the principles which made France once the "head and arm" of the West. The king has degenerated into a sultan, the church into a political institution, the aristocracy into an Indian caste, and the court into a kind of vast khan, inaccessible to the nation. In the second chapter the Comte de Carné reviews the administration of Louis XIV. in its origin and effects. Side by side with the monarch, and lost as it were in the splendour of royalty, we find the chancellor and the superintendent of finance, with the three secretaries of state; the secretary-at-war, one for foreign affairs, and one for the management of the affairs of Protestants. This division of ministerial power was, however, modified by the substitution of a general control for a financial superintendence, and by the establishment of a particular minister for the navy, commerce, and the royal household. In all important political interests, the secretaries of state formed the sole council. Each of them, besides his special province, had certain general functions, which were really no obstacle to that unity of direction which characterized the govern-

² "La Monarchie Française au Dix-huitième Siècle, etc." Par le Comte Louis de Carné. Paris: Didier et C^{ie}. London: Nutt.

ment of Louis XIV. All resolutions were taken in the presence of the king. To this political mechanism, brought into action by one sole volition, was attached a network of provincial functionaries, whose name was Legion; treasurers, secretaries, eccleins, mayors, consuls, collectors, controllers, intendants of administration, army and finance, judges and counsellors, &c. The reforms of Colbert, the rapid and extensive conduct of public works, the formation of the army and navy, and the literary patronage of the monarchy, are also discussed in the second chapter. The protectorate of letters cost the king only 75,000 francs a-year; half the sum expended by Bernier, in a travelling expedition, of which the sole result was an indifferent bust of the "*Grand Monarque*." Among his pensionaries were Corneille, Racine, and Molière. In the protection thus accorded to men of genius, our author sees not so much the intention to encourage talent as an indication of the fugitive favour of fashionable life. As to the industrial policy of this time, commercial companies, destined soon to pass away, were organized by State enactments, and the kingdom was covered with manufactures, which conferred on France some elegant branches of industry, without creating any true industrial life.

The military constitution founded equality, if not in the nation, at least in the army. For forty-four years Louis XIV. laboured to impose on all classes the habits of civil equality and to centralize the life of France in the portfolios of ministers. The ruling idea of a despotic monarchy which animated him was a traditional one, traceable through his grandfather up to Henry IV., Francis I., and Louis XI. The sentiment of liberty was a later growth. In concentrating all the powers of government in his own hands, Louis XIV. acted in complete harmony with the public sentiment of his time. M. de Carné tells us in the next chapter that the See of Rome itself regarded with apprehension the menacing attitude of Louis Quatorze. His emphatic injunctions made the pontificate of Innocent VI. one long martyrdom. His energetic rule affected the clergy no less than all the institutions of the State. From 1678 downward we may trace the double idea by which Louis XIV. attacked at once the Papacy in its spiritual rights, and a considerable portion of his subjects in their religious liberty. The royal declaration of 10th February, 1678, was welcomed by the magistracy, because its subordination of episcopal to kingly rights was consonant both to its principles and passions. On the other hand, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, testified to the Catholic fidelity of the *Grand Monarque*. The sole motive for the persecution of the Protestants was the extension of administrative unity. Towards the close of the seventeenth century Louis XIV. became more moderate. After the death of Innocent VI. he renounced the claims that he had advanced to the prejudice of the Holy See, and France and Rome were once more in political conjunction. Two years before the close of the century, a royal declaration was published in favour of the Protestants. Incurable wounds, however, were discernible in the religious organism. The principal evil was Jansenism, menacing the church in its hierarchy and Christianity in its essence. Personal antipathies divided the clergy. Mysticism, with its priestess, Madame

Guyon, was in the ascendant. Fénelon and Bossuet were in opposition. The intellectual anarchy generated a spirit of negation. The air became charged with impiety, and on the death of Louis XIV., the presentiment of a formidable crisis for the Christian Church and Christian doctrine became general. The butchers of the Revolution were preceded by the sophists of the monarchy, and the intellectual hostility and social disorder were the direct consequence of a system of mental compression. The fourth chapter of this work contains some account of the court, and criticises the character and genius of the Duke de St. Simon, at once pitiless as Dante and comic as Molière, and whose influence on posterity will perhaps be more irresistible than that of Tacitus. The historical features of the regency of Anne of Austria and Philippe d'Orleans are then portrayed. Anne, with her thousand weaknesses, enveloped in an atmosphere of elegance and taste, is contrasted with the regent, less the institutor than the expression of that society which preferred the pleasure of boasting of evil to that of doing it. Mazarin has no title to rank with Richelieu, and while in the signatory of the Triple Alliance M. de Carné sees only a venal minister trafficking with England for the honour and interests of his country, he discerns in the regent, and his minister Dubois, the able advocates of a new federative system, necessitated by "the multiplied manœuvres of Alberoni, the incarnate demon of war and intrigue." Our historian next describes the progress of events under Cardinal de Fleury, the most accessible of ministers and most charming of men of the world. Then follows a chapter on the government of Madame de Pompadour, the policy from 1753 to 1764 being characterized as a series of contradictions, and the presiding genius of the period as a woman without passion and without remorse, who commenced her career with the determination of becoming the king's mistress, and who, resolving to maintain that position, played her part like an actress, in a rôle unsuited to her, and always remained below mediocrity. The next chapter, on the Church and Parliaments, is occupied mainly with theological and ecclesiastical questions. The immortal youth of the Church seemed impaired by the senility of the monarchy. Catholicism had to defend itself against the State, against Jansenism, against philosophy, with a clergy incompetent, timorous, and recoiling. Its open enemies have been less dangerous than its domestic foes. The French Revolution saved it, for it emancipated it from a double peril. It has ceased to aspire to power, and it no longer dreads servitude. In a chapter entitled, "Ministry of the Duke de Choiseul and Accession of Louis XV.," the growing intellectuality is forcibly described. We are told of the brilliant love-feasts, where, under the light of chandeliers, and with the smile of facile beauty to reward them, the directors of opinion every evening brought their contingent of rash investigations, till denied by Holbach, insulted by Diderot, discussed by D'Alembert as a pure hypothesis, God had little left him but the protection of Voltaire, who resolved, if necessary, to *invent* him. This God of precaution, continues M. de Carné, closely resembled a gendarme placed in the sky to play the policeman on earth, and prevent the rich and respectable from being crowded by the poor and lowly. Three

forces, by their mutual equipoise, concludes our historian in his final summing up, constituted the régime interposed between the commencement of the eighteenth century and the accession of Louis XVI.; the Parliaments, the last accredited representatives of opinion; the Court, which had annulled the nobility; and Royalty, the sole power henceforth both in the political and religious order.

A monograph of the Parliament of Paris, by M. Charles Desmaze,³ describing its organization and *personnel*, and followed by a notice of the other parliaments of France, will be found valuable to the minute student of history. During the barbaric period, there was in France but one national annual assembly. The *Champ de Mars*, under the Merovingians, and the *Champ de Mai*, under the Carlovingians, were at once political, military, and judicial *re-unions*. All other convocations of the king's court were extraordinary and accidental. Charlemagne, however, established a second assembly of the magnates of the kingdom in the autumn, and (769) enforced that two *placets*, afterwards increased to three, should be held annually in every county. In the seventh century, military judges were replaced by permanent magistrates called *scabini*. Under Louis IX., Philippe le Bel, and the succeeding kings, there was much various legislation on the subject of these parliamentary conventions. The Parliament of Paris, the model of all the provincial parliaments, under Saint Louis and Philip Augustus, was, properly speaking, the court of the king, and consisted of the great vassals, the prelates, and the chief officers of the Crown. By attributing the political functions to the Great Council, the judicial functions to the Court of Parliament, and the financial functions to the Chamber of Accounts, Philippe le Bel conferred on it (1302) a more regular organization, and a periodical right of session. M. Desmaze discusses in about forty chapters the province and privileges of this assembly, and gives a minute account of its different chambers, courts, and officers. In twenty chapters he describes the origin and constitution of the Eleven Provincial Parliaments; the superior councils, with the Court of Repeal, chronological tables, parliamentary biography, and lists of the presidents and attorney-generals, form the subject-matter of the remaining nine chapters.

A work of more immediate interest is a historical epitome of the remarkable events which have occurred during the last forty-five years, by M. Ferdinand de Cussy.⁴ Its object is to reproduce the principal scenes of the great modern drama, to sketch the revolutions which have shaken so many countries, especially those which have given rise to international congresses, with the view of maintaining the European equilibrium established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The analysis exhibits also the changes which have modified the political chart traced by the plenipotentiaries of that celebrated

³ "Le Parlement de Paris." Par Charles Desmaze. Paris: Michel Levy, Frères. 1859.

⁴ "Précis Historique des Evénements Politiques les plus remarquables qui se sont passés depuis 1814 à 1859." Par le Baron Ferdinand de Cussy. Leipzig: F. N. Brockhaus. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

assembly. The leading events thus portrayed, comprise the revolutions of 1820-21, in Spain, the Two Sicilies, Piedmont, and Portugal; the erection of Brazil into an empire; the erection of an independent kingdom of Belgium; the Greek insurrection, and the establishment of a Hellenic monarchy; the recognition of the free republican governments of South America; the liberation accorded by Charles X. to the Isle of St. Domingo, with its empire of Hayti in the north, and its republic in the south; the annexation, under protest of England and France, of Cracovia to the empire of Austria; the cession by the King of Prussia of the Principality of Neuchatel to the Swiss Republic—the acquisition by this sovereign of the port of Juhde in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh; the conquest of Algeria by France, and the abolition of piracy by treaty with the beys of Tunis and Tripoli; the revolutions of 1848-9; the war in the Crimea, and peace of Paris; the redemption of the Sound Dues, &c.; the treaties concluded by France, England, Russia, and the United States, with China, and the definite organization of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. This historical *précis* terminates with a notice of the territorial modifications, changes of dynasty, abdications, and the consecration by treaty, since 1814, of the principles of international and maritime right, which characterizes the period selected. As a skeleton sketch of the political history of nearly half a century, the summary of M. de Cussy will prove of service to the general reader. It abounds in State papers of every kind.

The history of mediæval Rome, from the fifth to the sixteenth century, by Ferdinand Gregorovius, is a book that will attract many readers, if we may infer the merit of the completed work from that of the instalment now before us.⁵ The author claims novelty and originality for his purpose. While the annals of the Papacy and the relations of Rome to the world in the Middle Ages have occupied countless pens, its history as a self-contained and consistent whole has not yet been written. To supply this want is the aim of the present historian. The period which he undertakes to illustrate is that which intervenes between the Fall of Rome under the Visigoths, 410, and the time of Clement VII., or the plundering of Rome by the Bourbons and other mercenaries, 1527. His object is not the exclusive recital of intra-mural political events, but the delineation of the collective image of the city, its people, and note-worthy objects, for more than eleven hundred years. The formation of the Church, the form assumed by the Christian cultus and by the spirit of the Middle Age in Rome, the relation of the Papacy to the Romans, their conflict with the Popes, the German Emperors, and themselves, their repeated attempts to reconquer their old ancestral freedom, their various civic constitutions, the legendary representation of the Rome of antiquity in the mind of the mediæval Roman, the Roman legends, the culture of the arts and sciences, the influence of Rome on the civilization of the West, are the

⁵ "Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter." Von Ferdinand Gregorovius. Erster Band. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

principal topics which the author has aimed to treat with philosophic and artistic completeness. One special object which he has had in view is the constant reference of Christian to Heathen Rome; believing that the modern Rome is the outgrowth of old Rome, as the Christian culture is the development of the Pagan. Twice the head of the civilized world, once in virtue of the absolute State, once by the power of the absolute Church, Rome alone is entitled to bear the proud appellation of the Eternal City. In Asia, Jerusalem only has any pretension to a general importance as influencing the destiny of humanity, as the central point of monotheistic belief. Her sanctity, transferred to Christian Rome, the New Jerusalem, was yet powerful enough to inspire the devout sentiment which animated the West during the period of the Crusades, when she once more became the Holy City, and the supreme object of a great contest between Asia and Europe. In Europe, however, Athens will always be recognised as the Sanctuary of Culture; and Rome and Athens, in inseparable conjunction, represent classical antiquity, properly so called, each being the correspondent of the other, as thought and action, intellect and will, the ideal and practical. Happiness, or natural perfection, the aim of individuals as of States, was exhibited in beautiful reality in Athens, where all the noblest works of thought and imagination were collected in a central fire of culture, for the universal diffusion of warmth and light; while the fundamental principle of freedom, on which the enjoyment of happiness depends, was practically displayed in the most active political life. The planetary power which attracted humanity to Rome resolves itself, when analysed, into military efficiency and discipline, enterprise, persistency, prudence, an organizing, exploring, and colonizing genius, and the exercise of a kind of world-wide sympathy, compatible, however, with the retention of an energetic feeling of nationality. If, in the triumph of Rome over free and noble peoples (her intellectual superiors) we are compelled to recognise the victory of material force over spiritual power, it is impossible not to see in it also the victory of a practical and world-regarding object, of an intelligence, whose highest moral energy was shown in the creation of private and public right, fashioning the individual, society, and the State—an intelligence which, however prosaic, is really more valuable than all the products of the poetic imagination. The military expeditions, the high-roads and colonies of Rome were the channels through which social and intellectual improvement was directed into the most distant parts of the world. From Rome, the march of civilization in the deluge of barbarism the mediæval life began its progress. The Middle Ages are characterized as barbaric or romantic; barbaric, because ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, and lawless power had established themselves on the ruins of ancient civilization; romantic, because the animating impulses of mankind were then marked by an unlimited and adventurous emotiveness—a mystical yearning after the super-terrestrial, which transformed them from the realm of the natural into the glimmering and enchanted kingdom of fancy. Thus, a child-like reverence for the Eternal City characterized the people of the Middle Ages. They regarded it as the ark of Christian culture,

the sanctuary of martyrs and apostles, the source of sacerdotal and imperial magistracy, and the fountain-head of civilization. In the darkest corners of the West, where the sound of Rome was heard, a longing and a fear arose in men's hearts, as before some nameless mystery, and the excited imagination beheld in the ideal Rome which it portrayed that beautiful Eden whose golden gates opened into heaven. Such is a brief presentment of the views entertained on the mission and character of the Rome of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages, by the reflective and eloquent author of its history during more than a thousand years. The portion of the work now before us begins with a general survey of Rome at the close of the imperial period, and ends with the institution of the exarchate. In the seven chapters contained in the first volume we have much valuable and picturesque topographical description. Rome, with its temples and statues, stands before us, and we see the material transformation of the Pagan into the Christian city, under the influence of the new religious ideas. The last gladiatorial contests in the amphitheatre, the triple march of Alaric to Rome, Attila's desolating progress through Upper Italy, the overthrow of Ætius, the rule of Odoacer, the government of Theodoric, the regency of Amalasuntha, the projects of Justinian, and the exploits of Belisarius, the triumph of Varses, the capitulation of the Goths and the Longobard invasion of Italy, form the great narrative argument of the two books which make up this first instalment of Rome's mediæval history. In them too are recorded the ecclesiastical and religious movements of the period, the public monuments and social life of the Roman people, their theatres and aqueducts, the games and factions of their circus, all receive their appropriate notice. The author insists much on the mildness and forbearance of the Goths, and reproves the literary exaggerations of their destructive action in Rome. He equally acquits the Vandals of the wholesale devastation imputed to them, ascribing the demolition of the memorial buildings of the city to the "lazy greed" of the Romans themselves, to a home-bred, and not a foreign vandalism. The lucid and simple style of this exquisite writer, with his graphic power of presentment and his philosophic and poetic insight, are specially praiseworthy.

Christian or Papal Rome attained its full splendour in the eleventh century of our era. The history of the pontificate of Gregory VII., says the author of "*La Grande Italienne*," is the political and religious history of Europe.* All the great ideas of the Middle Ages, including that of the Crusades, seem to date or emanate from him. His courageous and commanding intellect inspired him with perhaps as magnificent a system of supremacy as was ever conceived. A great religious Reformer; a believer in eternal truth and justice, an enthusiast in the cause of humanity, he sought to realize his dreams of social perfection through doctrines which we are all unable to accept, and through institutions which we should regard with the strongest antipathy. The position of this great man was inevitably one of combat. He had to

* "*La Grande Italienne*." Par Amédée Renée. Paris : Didot, Frères et fils. London : Williams and Norgate.

struggle at once against the Empire and against the Church. The knights or barons, whom the Church had called to her aid, could not resist the temptation of becoming her masters. Gradually they acquired what they were summoned to defend. Abbeys and bishoprics became the appanages of the noblest and strongest. Force threatened to supersede all other qualities, and valiant priests and mailed bishops carried into the sanctuary the manners and morals of their age. Their mistresses followed them, and publicly assumed the title of priestesses. To oppose these abuses, the only possible expedient in Gregory's view was the prohibition of marriage to the priests. The salvation of the Church, says M. Renée, depended on the celibacy of the clergy. The question of investitures, the invasion of emperors, were only questions of policy. But the celibacy of the priests then involved the whole of Christian discipline and morality. Opposed by Henry IV., who trafficked in the properties and privileges of the Church, Gregory had a double combat to sustain. By the side of this extraordinary man fought Matilda, the Great Countess, "the angel of peace and good council" to him, as she was the "armed Egeria" of his feeble successors. To her the Church symbolized justice, humanity, love, and maternity. A Christian theocracy, a barbarian empire, and a feudal anarchy, were then the three great embodiments of power. She elected the first, and maintained its cause against all its enemies, championing it with her genius in council and her courage in battle. She conferred on the Church of St. Peter the whole of her possessions in Tuscany, Parma, Placentia, Reggio, Modena, &c.; her noble and impersonal attachment to the great Gregory was, in some sense, continued to his heirs in the Holy See, for the intrepid heroine, whom neither age nor malady could arrest, exhibited her magnanimous devotion to the Church for thirty years after the death of its most remarkable Pontiff. Assuming the sword at fifteen years of age, this Joan of Arc of the Church, this patriotic assertor of Italian independence against German despotism, was disarmed by death alone in or about the seventieth year of her age. Faithful to the traditions of her family, she constructed bridges and embankments, she improved harbours, and founded monasteries, hospitals, churches, and schools. Matilda, the Great Countess, was at once descended from the Capets and the Emperors of Germany. Her mother, Beatrix, daughter of Frederic II., Duke of Upper Lorraine, became the wife of Boniface I., Duke of Tuscany. Of this marriage Matilda was the sole surviving offspring. By the death of Godfrey of Lorraine, Marquis of Tuscany, and that of her mother, Beatrix, whom he had married after the death of her first husband, Matilda became sovereign of the most splendid domains in Italy. She was herself twice wedded, first to the son of Godfrey of Lorraine, afterwards, on compulsion, to the young Guelf of Bavaria. Strange stories are told about her conjugal life and vow of perpetual purity. The Crusades may be said to have been inaugurated by this extraordinary woman. Her moral grandeur and beauty, her love of study and art, her exploits in war, and devotion in life and death, are not unworthily celebrated in M. Renée's biography of *La Grande Italienne*. She died at Bondeno, July 24, 1115. As her ancestors

had opened Italy to foreign domination, she, the last of her race, exhausted her life in efforts for its redemption. In this light, at least, does her present biographer regard her. To him she wears a legendary or symbolical character, and "the generous liberator of Italy," and an illustrious "princess who unites to the culture of art the liveliest sympathies for that beautiful country," appear to agree with the author, who proudly indicates the august auspices under which his book is given to the world in this interpretation of the personal and historical qualities of "La Grande Italienne."

Three essays on the Italian war of 1848-9, and the last Italian poet, written by the late Henry Lushington, and first published in the *Edinburgh and British Quarterly Reviews*, are now collected in one volume, prefaced with an interesting memoir of the author by Mr. G. S. Venables.⁷ The story of the war of ten years is clearly and admirably told in two parts—the Struggle and the Defeat. All the principal actors and influential persons, including Lamartine, Pepi, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Charles Albert, Manin, and Radetsky, are summoned to the court of the historian to give an account of their actions, and explain their views and intentions. Mr. Lushington has done his work with an impartial hand. No advocate of the Mazzinian theories, he does justice to the courage and sagacity of the triumvir of Rome; without any partisan exultation of Garibaldi, he testifies to the heroism displayed and the stern discipline maintained by that enterprising chief; in Charles Albert, though not of "stainless memory," he recognises the first constitutional king of Piedmont and the champion and martyr of Italian freedom; granting the dominion of Austria in Italy to be more antinational than in Hungary, he selects "from the crowd of combatants one hero to admire—that old man of eighty-three,"—the resolute and tenacious Radetsky, "the determined soldier of a dominion which seemed destined to destruction." In an admirable passage Mr. Lushington attests the usurped and interfering supremacy of Austria. "The presence of Austria in Lombardy," he tells us, "embodied not only the denial of that freedom and nationality to which *the Italians* aspired, but the sum of all the practical misgovernment under which they suffered. Austria countenanced, upheld, restored, the petty despotisms which the people had overthrown." "Her government was the great insurance office for the otherwise dangerous speculations of tyranny;" and though, "in 1845, the best in Italy, formed, not the less, the strength of the very worst." Mr. Lushington's third essay, on the poet, Giuseppe Giusti, the *Beranger* and *Heine* of Italy, with his "bursts of high lyrical tone and grave, bitter Dantesque irony," convey no inadequate idea of a man who for his genius, his patriotism, and moral elevation, is, indeed, worthy to be remembered. The biographical preface by Mr. Venables is a manly tribute to the memory of a valued friend.

⁷ "The Italian War, 1848-9, and the Last Italian Poet." By the late Henry Lushington. With a biographical preface by George Stevin Venables. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1859.

Henry Lushington was born on the 13th April, 1812, at Singleton, in Lancashire. Educated at Charterhouse, till he had attained his seventeenth year, he became, in October, 1829, a student of Trinity College, Cambridge. Having twice obtained the Porson prize for Greek Iambics, he graduated in 1834 as Senior Optime, with a first class in the Classical Tripos. In 1837, he ceased to reside at Cambridge, and, entering himself at the Inner Temple, was called to the bar in 1840. Seven years after, he accepted the appointment of chief secretary to the government of Malta. This appointment he held during seven or eight years. The climate of Malta appears to have acted prejudicially on a constitution which had never completely recovered from an early inflammatory attack, and an illness of which the immediate cause was a protracted sitting of the council, which postponed his projected departure, speedily proved fatal. He died 11th August, 1855. A man of varied gifts and high accomplishments, of liberal and patriotic sympathies, Henry Lushington took an intelligent interest in the political and social questions of his age. In 1837, he was the author of a spirited pamphlet against "Fellow-commoners and Honorary Degrees;" in 1844, he published a small volume under the title of a "Great Country's Little War." Four years after, he issued two pamphlets in favour of the "Broad Gauge," regarded by all who read them as masterpieces of controversial and forensic ability. Enthusiastic in the cause of Piedmont, he wrote, in 1849, the first of the essays on the Italian war, and two years after, while residing at Sorrento, he drew up, at the suggestion of the British embassy, "A Detailed Exposure of the Apology put forth by the Neapolitan Government in Reply to the Charges of Mr. Gladstone." A scholarly poet, he was associated with Mr. Venables in the production of a little volume of "Joint Compositions," and in "*La Nation Boutiquière*," he has bequeathed to us his last political thoughts in a succession of poems which have been characterized as "full of truth and warmth and noble life."

The life of a potentate, who saved and glorified his country, and threw his protecting ægis over Intellectual Freedom, in such fashion as was possible in the seventeenth century, will, we may hope, be one day pictured forth to us in its epical completeness by a renowned compatriot, with all his humorous earnestness and veracious rhetoric. Meanwhile, an unambitious but welcome contribution towards the elucidation of the external life of the Great Frederic, in his relations to the Russian Court, from 1740 to 1772, is offered us by Kurd von Schlözer, a man wholly guiltless of humour or rhetoric, under the title of "*Friedrich der Grosse und Katherina die Zweite*."⁸ The personal and political relations in which the King and the Czarina stood to each other during this period are specially described, and the history of the first division of Poland, with the object of correcting the misrepresentations of various foreign authors, is related in a distinct and perfectly intelligible manner. Austria had laid claim to

⁸ "*Friedrich der Grosse und Katherina die Zweite*." Von Kurd von Schlözer. Berlin: Herz. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

certain States on the frontiers of Hungary, at that time included, whether in violation of treaty or not, in the kingdom of Poland. Prince Henry was informed, when at Moscow, by the Empress, half-jestingly, that Austria had possessed herself of these States; "and why," said the imperial lady, with apparent ingenuousness, "shouldn't all catch that catch can?" Suspecting an allusion to his brother, who had drawn a *cordon de santé* on the Prussian-Polish frontiers when the plague had broken out in Poland, the Prince rejoined—"Ay, but the King has not taken possession of *States* (*starosties*)."⁹ "But why not take possession?" was the answer. "For instance," said Count Czernicheff, "why not get hold of Varmie?" "which," says the Prince to his royal brother, "seemed to *mean something*, and you might possibly improve the occasion." To which the great Frederic rejoins—"The concert wont pay for the lights;" giving a broad hint of what *would* pay. Ermeland was offered. The hero-king couldn't see the attraction, and regarded it as a political crime to aggrandize a power that might one day be a formidable neighbour to all Europe. Subsequently, the great Fritz ("pinch of" necessity, we suppose, "compelling") saw nothing for it but to do in Rome as the Romans do; plead ancient rights, which his archives would suggest, as a counterpoise to those pretended ones alleged by Austria. Austria, in turn, explained that she couldn't allow Russia and Prussia to lay hand on Poland. Finally, the Polish question was solved by a joint arrangement. The Three Powers were placed on an equal footing in reference to Polish acquisition, and agreed to support each other in their common scheme of apportionment, not failing to take possession of their respective shares, in virtue of a reciprocal agreement, before the end of the year 1772. It remains only to say, that Herr Kurd von Schlözer, untroubled by the sympathies or antipathies of the day, professes to have consulted original and authentic documents, including the correspondence of the Great Frederic himself.

In "George Canning and his Times,"⁹ Mr. Stapleton presents us, not with a detailed biography of that eminent statesman, but with a supplementary and explanatory narrative, designed to aid some future biographer. Taking up his career at the period when he left Oxford—the beginning of 1792—the author relates all the principal incidents in the ministerial and political life of his hero, with a running commentary on his policy, a copious exposition of his opinions, and an elucidatory selection of his letters, from his first entrance on public life till its termination by death in 1827. A year after quitting the university Mr. Canning was returned to Parliament for the borough of Newport, through Mr. Pitt's influence, and entered the House of Commons as his warm and avowed supporter. As an orator he rose rapidly in favour and distinction. His celebrated reply on the Portuguese Question was a "splendid victory." His speech on the alteration of the Corn-Laws, in 1827, when all the great landowners were against him, and would listen to no compromise, perplexed and unsettled their

⁹ "George Canning and his Times." By Augustus Granville Stapleton. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand, 1859.

opinions. Of his Bullion speeches, "Mr. Horner said that he played with the most knotty subtleties of the question as if it had been familiar to him." According to Mr. Stapleton, the depth and not the brilliancy of his oratory was its most remarkable characteristic. From a general appreciation of Canning as a speaker, our author proceeds to show his devotion to his official duties after he had been appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with Lord Grenville as his chief. Though actuated in earlier years by a speculative fondness for the idea of a Representative Republic, his sentiments and wishes were completely changed by the revolutionary experiments in France. When Bonaparte became an "apostate from the cause of liberty," Canning exulted in this "extinction of all the hopes of the proselytes to new opinions." Mr. Canning continued in office for about seven years. In 1801, when Pitt resigned, in consequence of circumstances connected with the Catholic question, Canning followed his example. Pitt advised him not to do so, but he nobly rejected the advice, arguing, "I must act as *I* think right. My road must be through character to power." Mr. Addington's administration was formed. The Peace of Amiens was concluded—the preliminaries on which that treaty was based being strongly condemned by Mr. Canning. Obtaining an independent seat in 1803, for the borough of Tralee, he became an active opponent of the Addington policy, till, yielding to the strenuous opposition of Pitt, the First Minister resigned. Pitt was restored to power, Canning being included in the new ministry as Treasurer of the Navy. In 1806 Pitt died. A new cabinet was formed, with Lord Grenville for Premier and Mr. Fox as Foreign Secretary. "Lord Grenville offered splendidly to Canning, but Canning remained steady to principles," testifies Lord Malmesbury. Practical experience convinced Mr. Fox that peace with Bonaparte was impossible, and he died enjoining on his survivors the vigorous prosecution of the war. An attempt to make further concessions to the Roman Catholics led to the retirement of the Grenville ministry. The Duke of Portland then formed an administration, and the Foreign Office devolved on Canning. The Peace of Tilsit followed. Fascinated by the genius of Napoleon, the Emperor Alexander had agreed to join him in his projects for the overthrow of British power. When the treaty was settled, it contained several secret articles. A person concealed behind a curtain of the tent, where the conference between the two potentates was held, heard Napoleon propose, and Alexander consent, to the proposition that the French should take possession of the powerful fleet of Denmark. He reported this compact to the English Government and convinced Mr. Canning of its truth. To prevent the Danish fleet from falling into Napoleon's power, Mr. Canning sent a strong naval force to Denmark, demanding a surrender of the fleet in the harbour of Copenhagen, to be returned at the conclusion of a peace in as perfect repair as when it was surrendered. The expedition was successful. The vessels of war, eighteen sail of the line, fifteen frigates, and thirty-one brigs and gun-boats, surrendered, unconditionally, though not till after a bombardment. This transaction has been vehemently condemned. A

vindication of it will be found in Coleridge's "Friend" and Mr. Stapleton refers to a passage in the posthumous memoirs of Fouché as a justification of the expedition. Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, devised "for destroying the maritime supremacy on which British power was based, were met by retaliating measures," embodied in the "Orders of Council," prohibiting goods passing to the Continent which had not come from Great Britain. Though these "orders" are mentioned in the President's justification of the war in which the United States engaged with England, Mr. Stapleton argues that there were other motives which induced their hostility, grounded on the selfish and ambitious character of the Young Republic. After two years continuance the American war terminated, and a treaty was concluded, "leaving wholly untouched the maritime grievances which had served as a pretext for the declaration." In 1808, Mr. Canning saw in the enthusiastic resistance of the Spanish patriots a prospect of the deliverance of Europe from Napoleon's tyranny. Pledging himself and his administration "to pursue such measures as might ensure Spanish success," he, in conjunction with his colleagues, soon gave practical effect to the sentiments he had expressed. Five weeks after they were uttered, Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived at Corunna, at the head of 10,000 troops. General Spencer, with 6000 men, was in readiness to join him off Cadiz, and an ampler expedition was preparing to quit the English shores. Six weeks after landing in Portugal, Sir Arthur had twice defeated the French, and freed that country from their presence. "In the speech from the throne, the British generals were blamed for acceding to the terms of the Convention at Cintra." Canning, too, was dissatisfied with Sir John Moore's proceedings, and considered Mr. Frere's advice to that gallant commander, not to abandon Spain, as wise. To aid Austria in her efforts to recover her former power, the well-known expedition to the Scheldt was proposed in 1809. After the failure of this expedition, occurred the duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. Canning had earlier in the year determined that a change in the War department, over which Lord Castlereagh presided, was necessary, urging that no concealment should be practised towards that nobleman; and assured by the Duke of Portland that the required communication had actually been made, Mr. Canning having previously "tendered his own resignation to enforce disclosure," was contented to go on. Afterwards, learning that no steps had been taken to reconcile Lord Castlereagh to the change, and that the "Duke himself intended to retire," Canning definitively resigned, September 7th. On 19th Lord Castlereagh sent the challenge which occasioned the duel. It was not till fifteen years after that the seals of the Foreign Office were "again confided to Canning's custody." During Mr. Perceval's administration, Canning vigorously supported the war policy in Spain, and under that of Lord Liverpool had the satisfaction of witnessing the downfall of Napoleon. In the autumn of 1814, after formally disbanding his party, Mr. Canning, strongly urged by the King's Government, accepted the Lisbon embassy; an acceptance which though morally obligatory on him, he afterwards pronounces a great political mistake. On his return from Lisbon, he joined the Government, on

the understanding that the Roman Catholic question should be treated as an open one. On 22nd June, 1812, he brought forward a resolution, the object of which was to bind Parliament to attempt a final and conciliatory adjustment of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, when he first publicly avowed his opinions in favour of the removal of the Catholic disabilities. In 1820, the Princess of Wales was raised, by the death of George III., to the rank of Queen Consort. Her trial commenced on 17th August. "Before the bill was introduced, Government decided, contrary to their original determination, on the insertion of a divorce clause." Mr. Canning thought the claim of divorce untenable, but after it had been put in, he objected to its omission; complications threatened to ensue, and, regarding all accommodation as impossible, Canning resigned his office, that of President of the Board of Control. A solution of the accruing difficulties presented itself in his acceptance of the Governor-Generalship of India in 1822. The death of Lord Castlereagh, however, led to his restoration to the Foreign Office. Mr. Canning disapproved of the principles on which the Vienna settlement was made, and entirely changed the system of our foreign policy. He declared against the invasion of Spain for the purpose of abolishing the Spanish constitution; he threatened that Prince Metternich should find "most inharmonious music if he did not leave us quiet in our sphere;" he opposed the preposterous pretensions of Spain in the New World; he maintained that, as foreign powers had no right to interfere between Spain and her American colonies, so they had no right to aid Spain in her attempts to reconquer them. Regarding Spain as essentially French in her foreign policy, and thinking it a duty "to prevent Spanish America from being brought within the same subjection," he insisted on the recognition of its independence. "Behold," he exclaimed, "the New World established, and if we do not throw it away, ours."

To the Greek insurrection Mr. Canning was not favourable. His policy was to compose the differences between Russia and Turkey, so as to deprive the former of all pretext for war, and to secure the Greeks against oppression without diminishing the strength and resources of the Ottoman Empire. In 1826 he sent the Duke of Wellington to the Court of St. Petersburg. The result of this mission was a protocol between Great Britain and Russia, regulating the action of the two Powers in the affairs of the East, and so "bringing the Greek question into a train of settlement, but without affording to Russia opportunities of undue aggrandizement. The occupation of Spain by the French army, the Spanish invasion of Portugal, were events that now engaged much of Mr. Canning's attention. An expedition was determined on; the "Spanish Government abandoned its plan of overthrowing the Portuguese constitution through the instrumentality of Portuguese deserters, and the peace of Europe was preserved." On Lord Liverpool's death, in 1827, Mr. Canning received the royal commands to reconstruct the administration. The Catholic question again perplexed his negotiations. Sir Robert Peel declined serving under a pro-Catholic Premier. The Duke of Wellington, too, resigned the command of his Majesty's

Forces. But the embarrassments produced by "official separation" were soon brought to a decisive close. The funeral of the Duke of York, on which Mr. Canning had attended, in a bitter January night, proved fatal to him. "He caught a cold, which resulted in an illness from which he never really recovered." Born April 11, 1770, George Canning died August 8, 1827.

Authentic memorials¹⁰ of one, whose exquisite genius and chivalrous assertion of earnest conviction will make his memory eternally dear to all that value the creations of the emotional intellect, or acknowledge the divine utilities that lie in a sincere expression of individual opinion, have been edited by Lady Shelley, with a loving appreciation of the man and poet, and with a certain discriminative and delicate critical faculty. A complete and satisfying biography of the subject of these Memorials must, we are assured, be postponed to a remoter day. Meanwhile we gladly accept this portraiture of Shelley's life and character, as a true, if imperfect, representation of what he really was. Lady Shelley feelingly protests against the "fantastic caricature" exhibited of him by his early friend, whose misuse of the materials originally entrusted to him has led to their inevitable withdrawal. In addition to occasional letters by Shelley, Mrs. Shelley, Godwin, and others, interspersed in the genial editor's graceful narrative, we find a letter to Lord Ellenborough, never before published—a very masterly and energetic production, written when the poet was eighteen years of age. "The crime of inquiry," Shelley forcibly remarks, "is one which religion never has forgiven." The Essay on Christianity, with which the volume concludes, is an immature and unfinished production. It is interesting, however, as embodying Shelley's views on the nature and origin of Christianity, and the genuine character of Jesus Christ. His method of interpretation seems to us arbitrary; but his remarks on Theism and on the distinctive tenets of the Christian faith are sometimes clothed in language of great beauty and power. Occasionally, too, we find a really philosophic observation, as when in condemning the artificial system of communism practised by the early Christians, he maintains that "the progress of equality is accommodated to the progress of wisdom and of virtue among mankind."

BELLES LETTRES.

THE Dean of Westminster has added another to his popular Manuals on the English language.¹ He hopes, as he tells us in his preface, that those too early engaged in the bread-winning occupations of life may find, in the study of their own language, some of

¹⁰ "Shelley Memorials, etc." Edited by Lady [Shelley. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.

¹ "A Select Glossary of English Words formerly used in Senses different from their Present." By Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Dean of Westminster. John W. Parker and Son, Strand. 1859.

those mental and moral advantages which the study of Latin and Greek supplies to the more leisured classes. We may be sure that this hope will not be disappointed; and to no one is the public more indebted than to the author for the prospect of so desirable a result. The popularity of his works, and of such similar ones as "Cræik's Essay on the English of Shakespear," may be attributed before all things to the desire of the classes he has in view to acquire more mastery over their own language, and clearer ideas on language in general. The history of any language is the best, and almost the only history of the beliefs of the country in which it is spoken, and often an inquiry into the obsolete meaning of a word gives an insight into modes of thought and habits of action which have long since passed away, and which the present time may confront with its own to its great profit and advantage. Words, the instruments of thought, often suffer great harm at the hand of time, and from being made to do servile work, lose all their power of suggesting their origin, often far higher than the uses they are put to. It is a satisfaction to know that our servants have seen better days, and most likely an advantage too, for we can scarcely do other than treat them better for the knowledge. But there is a strong tendency in the reverend author to assume that all changes are deteriorations and melancholy proofs of "the mournful way in which high gifts are most commonly misapplied." This view constantly recurs throughout the volume, and however much in harmony with the opinions of those who look upon all changes as unjustified innovations, is in direct opposition to all true views of language. Every language has a life of its own, and this vitality is inseparable from such changes as are deplored above. The distinction gradually established between the meanings of cognate words is one of the healthiest signs in any language, as may be seen in this very book under the head of "ingenious and its congeners."

Being a glossary, the book confines itself for the most part to the notice of obsolete meanings of words still in use (though some few are called obsolete which are still used in their old signification), and very seldom enters on their etymology. The desire to make the book portable and compendious is no doubt the cause of this, but it often leaves the notice imperfect in an important manner, as in the case of "garb," including the whole outward presentment of a man. Feltham and Ben Jonson are quoted to prove this use of the word, but its derivation from "gebchrden, or carriage," is not noticed. The same remarks apply to "egregious," and others. In many instances of words derived from the Dutch and French languages used by Elizabethan authors, we are led to suppose that the sense in which they are used in the passages quoted, was then general in the English language; but few can be acquainted with these authors, and be ignorant that they were very fond of embroidering words picked up in the Low Country wars on their own language, and that they are perhaps only to be found in the place quoted.

We subjoin a few extracts, not in support of the above remarks, but as some of the most striking instances of changed connotation in words still in use.

"Buxom. The modern spelling of 'buxom' (it was somewhat, though not much better, when it was spelt 'bucksome') has quite hidden its identity with the German Biegsam Beugsam, bending, pliable, and so obedient. Ignorant of the history of the word, and trusting to the feeling and impression which it conveyed to their minds, men spoke of 'buxom health,' and the like, meaning by this, having a cheerful comeliness. The epithet in this application is Gray's, and Johnson justly finds fault with it. Milton, when he joins buxom with blithe and debonair, and Crashaw, in his otherwise beautiful line—

"I am born

Again a fresh child of the buxom morn."

show that already for them the true meaning of the word, common enough in our early writers, had passed away."

"I submit myself unto the holy Church of Christ, to be ever buxom and obedient to the ordinance of it, after my knowledge and power, by the help of God."—*Fore, Book of Martyrs*—(*Examination of W. Thorpe*).

"Buxom, kind, tractable, and pliable to one another."—*Holland, Plutarch's Morals*, p. 316.

The origin of the expression "common sense" is curious, and well shown in the following quotation from Henry More's "Immortality of the Soul," book iii. c. 13:—

"That there is some particular or restrained seat of the *common sense*, is an opinion that even all philosophers and physicians are agreed upon, and it is an ordinary comparison among them, that the external senses and the *common sense* considered together, are like a circle with five lines drawn from the circumference to the centre.

"Wherefore, as it has been obvious for them to find out particular organs for the external senses, so they have also attempted to assign some distinct part of the body to be an organ of the *common sense*; that is to say, as they discovered sight to be seated in the eye, hearing in the ear, smelling in the nose, &c., so they considered that there is some part of the body wherein seeing, hearing, and all other perceptions meet together, as the lines of a circle in the centre, and that there the soul does also judge and discern of the difference of the objects of the outward senses."

The general use of authors but little read to exemplify the old meanings of the words treated of, is of course of the nature of the case; but where Shakespear, Milton, or Spenser, would serve the turn, we think Tyndal or Henry More should be set aside. To the word "harness," signifying a man's armour, we have these two authors quoted, and Macbeth's resolve to die with harness on his back omitted. The same may be said of "censure," which is shown to have had a different signification from that it now has by quotations from Fuller and Hacket, while Polonius's advice to Laertes to take all man's censure but reserve his judgment, is forgotten.

"An Essay on National Peculiarities,"² offers a strong temptation to its author to pronounce a panegyric on his own nation; the opportunity is so seducing that we hardly remember any treatise in which the writer does not avail himself of this facile occasion for self-laudation; it may be questioned whether this kind of composition is ever prompted by other motives, whatever else may be its ostensible aim.

² "New Exegetis of Shakespear: Interpretation of his principal Characters and Plays on the Principle of Races." Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1859.

By using in the favoured case terms of description, not untrue, but with a constantly favourable subaudition, and by pursuing the opposite course with all races but his own, the desirable result is arrived at, without apparent misrepresentation, and the author brings forward his own people as the crown and flower of mankind, with an appearance of philosophical impartiality which makes the flattery the sweeter to his compatriots. As existing national distinctions cannot be traced to any other origin than the influence of the circumstances under which the nation has grown up, the distinctions themselves must be, as fluctuating as their cause, and cannot be assumed to arise from any permanent and inherent force in the races themselves. The opposite theory of the essential difference of race has found a strong advocate in the author of a "New Exegesis of Shakespear." Having settled opinions on the peculiarities of the Italic, Teutonic, and Celtic races, he endeavours to support them by elaborate discussions on Iago, Hamlet, and Macbeth, as typical representatives of these races.

In his essay he displays a most discursive reading and no small acuteness. His remarks will strike many as new, but the most pregnant of those on "Hamlet" have been anticipated by Boerne in his famous criticism on that play. The animus of the author, however, differs greatly from that which prompted Boerne to look in Hamlet for the weaknesses of the Teutonic race. The result of the author's theories may be best judged of by the following extract, p. 117, in which the Celtic is compared with the other two races:—

"In intellect, the predominance of the reasoning faculty, as opposed to the reflective and perceptive tendencies; or, in the language of method, the control and the completion of induction and analysis by the means of synthesis; the conduct, ratiocinative, circumspective, systematic. In morality, the test of media or the consequences of the act, as opposed to the criteria of motives and of ends; for reason, coming at last to know that human impulses or purposes cannot possibly have power to alter the moral order of the universe, resigns itself to learn and pursue this natural order, through a tissue of relations, whose all is graduated consequence. In speculation, this race should be methodic, organizing, as opposed to the exclusively accumulative and explorative; and in the theological aspect, set the fixity of institution against the turbulence of prophetism and the torpor of priestcraft; or, in more familiar terms, Calvinism or Gallicanism, against the extreme contraries of Romanism and Protestantism. The manners should be at once dignified, courteous, and cordial, as proceeding from a temperament in which the nervous eminence has raised the slavishness of celerity, and ruled the rudeness of muscularity. In fine, the tendencies, not introverted, individual as in Hamlet, nor retroverted to family passions and pursuits, as in Iago; but circumverted, expansive, generous, magnanimous—in one word, social."

That is to say, Scotch, as we see by page 252.

"But this position of rationality, universality, *sociability*, has been perceived to be organically that of the Celtic race, and the power of representing this race, with all the others, to be a specific distinction of the genius of Shakespear."

This passage occurs at the end of a summary of ethnological proof that Shakespear could not have been an Englishman, but a Celt, as the author elsewhere tells us were seven-eighths of those who have made

the English language famous. The Scotch lion is indeed rampant throughout the book; the author avenges that oppression to which the Scotch have been (as is so well known) subjected by the English, in passages like the following:—

“There is no people, perhaps, in the world of whose gentlemanly qualities so much is talked by themselves and so little by other nations. Is it that nature would make up by protestation for want of practice, as in the Celt she builds up air castles, since he will not take the land ones. The principle is simple and of universal prevalence. Whenever nations are heard habitually parading *their* gentlemen, their liberty, their institutions, or any special mode of eminence, they may be held with almost certainty to be deficient in that particular. For with the facts on a scale so large, if they existed they would be evident, and so there would be no occasion to keep repeating them to others.”
—Page 226.

Treating of Shylock and the Jews, he remarks—

“The Hebrews hated Egypt no less fiercely than the Britons Rome. They hated all the world, save for purposes of gain, *and wanted but an island in a sequestered position to have become the ‘chosen people’ of trade and ‘liberty’ as well as God.*”

The book, however, is far from commonplace, and will reward those who can put up with a style like that of the following passage from the introduction, p. 13.

“If Shakespear opened, as is shown, a wider province to the art, he must proportionably have receded in the application of the unities. For the observance increased in difficulty as the subject in comprehensiveness, and, on the other hand, as the three unities themselves in relative complexity.

“The series of this quality is from the person to the place and time, as it, indeed, is stated usually, and may be rendered plain to sense. In fact, the unity has in the category of persons a physical groundwork, by which the attributes constituent of the character are offered concretely, and the mind eased of the twofold effort of *combining* and *continuing* them.

“In that of place, the former effort, the combination must be met; the various characters must be manœuvred upon an abstract but still fixed basis; where, however, the relations of locality are coexistent, and even take a sub-embodiment from the surface of the earth.

“But this in turn becomes fluctuant in the category of time, which, without concrete or coexistence, can derive unity but from the intellect, and hence the difficulty Goethe noted in conceiving an æsthetic whole.”

These be northern lights indeed. The author reserves on his title-page the right of translation in all languages; after the above, we are tempted to inquire whether the vernacular be one of the interdicted tongues.

The Reverend Mr. Kingsley has republished, with what we must consider an extravagantly laudatory preface, H. Brooke’s “Fool of Quality.”³ In structure, method, and incident, this book strongly resembles Day’s “Sandford and Merton,” and the “Memoirs of the

³ “The Fool of Quality; or, the History of Henry, Earl of Moreland.” By H. Brooke, Esq. A new and revised Edition, with a Biographical Preface by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, M.A., Rector of Eversley. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 2 vols: 8vo.

Fairchild Family," and is partly an imitation of, and partly a protest against, Rousseau's "Emile." The incidents follow each other without either external connexion or development from the characters of the persons concerned in them, as is most commonly the case in the didactic novels of the last century. The actors are forcibly placed in circumstances which will give the author an opportunity of displaying his views on the particular moral thesis in question. Unlike the two works with which we have compared it, the "Fool of Quality" extends its observations over the whole sphere of life, and is not confined, as they are, to its educational period alone.

The "Fool of Quality" (to explain its somewhat ambiguous title) is a young nobleman, brought up by an ideal merchant uncle in antagonism with the fashionable vices and opinions of the time. Though prolix and somewhat antiquated, the book may still be recommended—for the nursery—as in many respects better calculated for children than those compendious *ologies* with which they are too often uselessly crammed. How then, it will be asked, comes it about that the Rector of Eversley has taken the pains to edit and re-introduce the work to a forgetful public? The answer to the question will be found in the peculiar tone of morality sustained throughout the volumes, which is drawn from the works of William Law and his followers. The confident dogmatism and unquestionable purity of the ethical doctrines of this school recommend themselves to the editor as a wholesome antidote to the critical and positive tendencies of the present day. The mystical basis of that dogmatism has long since proved an obstacle in the way of the general usefulness of W. Law's moral works, and will always continue to do so; the recognition in them, as the ultimate and supreme judge, of an interior sense guiding men through every difficulty, has been adopted by the Quakers and Wesleyans, with the latter of which sects the "Fool of Quality" has long been popular; but the absence of all logical foundation for this speculative doctrine has naturally limited their sphere of usefulness. It may be remarked that the mode of teaching by example followed out in the "Fool of Quality" is copied from W. Law's didactic works, and, in our opinion, the copy does not rise to the excellence of the original.

To turn from this book to the "Ordeal of Richard Feverell,"⁴ is to exchange the atmosphere of the eighteenth for that of the nineteenth century. The subject of both works is the same, the careful development of a young man by an old one; but how different the treatment, how wide asunder the results! The very conception of the problem differs in them, and is as opposite as instruction and education, as light and darkness; and yet we of the nineteenth century cannot avoid loving our darkness in conflict with a better light more than such poor conceptions of the light as are offered us in the "Fool of Quality." It is strange that so short a time should have brought about such a change in the modes of thought on a subject treated of and profoundly

⁴ "The Ordeal of Richard Feverell, a History of Father and Son." By George Meredith. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859.

felt from all time. The political is the smallest of those revolutions which have intervened between the dates of the two publications.

Are our notions of morality different from those of our grandfathers? Was human life with them so simple as shown us in the "Fool of Quality?" Did men then stalk about with conceptions as impersonal as the skeleton of the Decalogue? Did flesh and blood, young passion and mature thought, find room within that narrow circle? Were all conflicts external and none deep-seated in the mind? Were good and evil such simple alternative as there represented? We cannot remember two books which, read immediately after one another, will give a clearer insight into the modes of thought of their respective periods. The "Ordeal of Richard Feverell" is the history of a father and son; the former, disappointed in, and forsaken by his wife soon after the birth of his son, devotes himself, with all the resources that high position and great wealth put at his command, to the education of that son. A scientific Humanist, he proposes to stand between the object of his affections and every ill that can befall him from the world or from himself, and the result—with every exertion and self-denial on the father's part, in spite of the deepest love and profoundest calculation—is to leave his noble-minded son, at the close of the narrative, afflicted with the heaviest sorrows and the bitterest remorse that the human heart can suffer and survive. How can this be? it will be said. We reply, take the "Ordeal of Richard Feverell" and see; the framework of the story is so simple that it will not bear extracting from the book without injustice to its author and great detriment to its perusal; but if any one is attracted by profound observation, humour, passion, and tenderness, let him procure this book and a quiet day for its enjoyment. The characters are numerous and well-defined; among them will be found representatives of almost every prevailing conception of life; but, true to its time, the book offers no solution of any of the difficulties it lays open to us; the nineteenth century struggles through it with but faint glimpses of its goal.

The "Shaving of Shagpat" had already shown us that any work of Mr. Meredith's might be expected to abound in poetical images, rich language, and facile invention; but the present work rises far above the limited circle of an Arabian tale, and shows its author to be as observant of his contemporaries as deep read in Oriental fiction.

It is often maintained by the apologists of the Church of England, that its parochial system, if it does nothing else, insures some 20,000 centres of civilization throughout the country; that the enforced residence of a refined and educated man in districts that would otherwise be hopelessly given over to their bucolic or manufacturing impulses, is one of the most valuable steps that can be taken in the direction of the ultimate elevation of such localities; that there is every chance of this little leaven leavening the whole lump, and that whatever the theological colour of the teaching, the system insures by example, the best and most forcible of all teaching, some appreciation of higher aims in life than the mere satisfaction of our daily wants; and that on this basis is most surely built still higher aims for a life to come. "Twenty Years in the Church," by the Rev. James

Pycroft,⁵ is an excellent commentary on these opinions. Its second title is, "An Autobiography;" and there can be no doubt that the matter is for the most part genuinely autobiographical; this, however, we should think more true of the situations than the exact circumstances of the laborious life brought before us.

The most characteristic feature of the book is the complete absorption of all clerical vanities by the hard realities of the position in which a man finds himself with 2000^s poor to overlook, and 150*l.* per annum stipend to support wife and family, and meet the unavoidable expenses of his position. The constant struggle between the tastes of an educated man and the exigencies of his position is brought before us in the strongest manner—the strongest, because the most prosaic.

The petty jealousies of a small town district are daguerreotyped from the life, and made more painful by the ineffectual struggle of the author to keep himself unspotted by them. However we may approve his conscientious effort to avoid the contagion of his environment, it is but too evident that the reaction of the flock upon the pastor is as great as his influence on them; the civilizing centre is too lofty for sympathy; the gentleman perishes for want of proper society, more often than the society is benefited by his refinement. The book is most valuable where it is most desirable that it should be so, in the light it throws on the practical working of the parochial system, and upon the difficulties which beset the poorer clergy.

There is one question which, of course, the author does not arrive at in words, but which makes itself very audible throughout the narrative—viz., whether a National Church like ours is an adequate instrument for the evangelization of a nation? Whether its fixed dogma does not stand in its way by presupposing an amount of culture and thought which can only be found among the educated classes? Whether, after all, a nation must not go through the same course, and be always going through it, which the world at large has already done, and still does? Whether irregular must not precede systematic teaching? Whether the Church, after all, can be other than the flower and result of conflicting dogmas, and whether that flower can be lasting, much less everlasting? That the Church should represent the highest and most intellectual views of religion attainable by the majority of the nation will be easily admitted; but universities presuppose schools, and schools of many different degrees of excellence. This view is proposed by a Dissenting house-painter and preacher, who finds himself between the cross fire of Johnists on the one side, and the Church on the other, and is accepted by the author, with some discouragement, but ultimate resignation. The book deserves an attentive perusal, though deformed in some degree by a mild clerical jocularity, which affords but a feeble counterpoise to its general depressing effect, which is mainly attributable to a certain querulousness and somewhat unreasonable complaint, that the Church of England does not in every

⁵ "Twenty Years in the Church, an Autobiography." By the Rev. James Pycroft, B.A., Trinity College, Oxford. London: Booth. 1859.

case offer a genteel establishment for wife and family to each and every of its ministers.

In Mr. Masson's "British Novelists and their Styles,"⁶ we have a laborious review of our prose fictionists, from the first appearance of that form of literature among us up to the publication of "Adam Bede." The arrangement of the work is very elaborate, but the principle on which it is accomplished, is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. Thirteen different styles of existing novel are enumerated, which are distinguished only by the external peculiarities of their subjects—a method which affords a sort of Linnæan arrangement, but no approximation to a natural or truly informing classification. Novels, if classed at all, must be so from the animating principle or prevailing purpose of their authors, and in an historical survey, the only point worth attention is the attitude assumed by their authors, over against the prevailing tendencies of the time. By this method, a cotemporary fiction throws the greatest possible light upon the social state of which it is a product, and a clear view of the progress of society may be drawn from the questions debated by successive generations of novelists, who are the clearest indicators of the *average* tone of thought of their readers.

A historical survey of any particular department of literature is a history of the time over which the survey extends treated from a particular point of view. In this way only can internal coherence be given to such a survey, otherwise the justest remarks leave no impression on the mind, and the fullest statistics of the kind of literary production under review leave the mind barren and the inquiry without result. In spite of the undoubted industry and conscientious inquiry which are evident in every page of Mr. Masson's book, we are sure that few persons have read it without fatigue, and that fewer still have drawn from it any clearer views on the subject which it treats of. It is as far from being an adequate history of our novelists, as a *hortus siccus* is from a fresh garland. A history of British novelists should be something more than a mere catalogue of the different forms assumed by novels.

N. P. Willis's "Convalescent,"⁷ is a series of articles *de omnibus rebus*, contributed by him to the "Home Journal," and here collected under a common title for the enjoyment of those who relish lively gossip and somewhat adventurous witticisms. The daily adventures of the author at Idle Wild, how he ate his breakfast, how he walked or rode, the events of short trips, and sketches of any thing or person that came across him, are the whole substance of the book. A full description of a visit to Washington Irving at Woolfert's Roost, will interest many; we prefer, however, giving the History of a hard-ruf. Squirrel and two celebrated Editors, which is one of the happiest instances of the author's style.

⁶ "British Novelists and their Styles, being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction." By David Masson, M.A. Macmillan: Cambridge. 1859.

⁷ "The Convalescent: his Rambles and Adventures." By N. P. Willis. London: Bohn. 1859.

"I will venture to tell you a story of a hard-run squirrel and his deposits.

"As the two gentlemen who 'made the run' upon the banks in which the little stockholder was interested, were no less personages than two of the most celebrated journalists of New York, (Dana and De Trobriand), the fidelity of a reporter for the press will be expected of me. Two other gentlemen who were witnesses of the 'operation' (Hicks and Kensett, artists so well known to fame), are at hand, to correct any inaccuracy.

"My narrative, therefore, I take pains thus carefully to premise, may be looked upon as inevitably veracious.

"It was an Indian summer's day at Idle Wild. 10 a.m., and breakfast just over. With the four gentlemen who had given us a charming quartette of brain play, over our coffee and hammocks, I led off with thick shoes and walking-stick—a quiet conversation loiter through the glen, with the autumnal idleness of the air, being voted preferable to a drive.

"Ladies bade adieu to, for the morning, we took it leisurely from the back-door opening into many aisles of our cathedral of fir-trees; even the smoke of my friends' cigars overpowered by the incense of nature's ever-green worship swinging fragrantly from the countless censers of pine-tassels.

"(Those last few lines, being rather prefacial, may be omitted in the affidavit.)

"We were bound, first, to the upper cascade; but, more at home than the others, in the wild tangles of the ravine, our friend, De Trobriand (the gay 'chronicle' of the French journal of New York) had preferred to follow the drip-rock path, under the precipices close to the brook; and I may so far anticipate my story as to record, that, in consequence of this blind belief in his own better guidance to the spot, the wilful baron got a tumble over the rocks, so bruising an exceedingly well-developed leg (to the polished plumpitude of which I admiringly called attention, while Dana, his brother journalist of the *Tribune*, tenderly Florence Nightingaled the bruises from a bottle of arnica), that he is likely to be a 'better boy next time.'

"But, to my narrative—

"You remember our upper falls, and the single-plank bridging the cascades at their middle leap. We had idled thus far, by the crooked path along the southern slope of the ravine, and, having crossed to the sunny side, were waiting for the baron to overtake us. I had whiled the time by pointing out, to the two artists, the tall cliff, fifty feet above, which (to my mental eye) is crowned always with a tableau vivant of memory.

"There stands the beloved Bayard Taylor;—for, as he bathed, one summer's day in the rocky basin below the fall, he was suddenly seized with an adventurous desire to see the view from the foam-encircled peak, so apparently inaccessible; and, clad simply in his hat (the point to which his toilet had arrived when the thought occurred to him), he had dashed through the spray and darted with the agility of an antelope to the summit; and there giddily poised, with arm uplifted, he had called to me in delighted wonder at the scene—the handsomest of unconscious Apollos, as he stood relieved against the sky, clad only in his happiness and his hat.

"And, to the base of the same cliff, Hicks was now scrambling, with the intention, probably, to put the vision on canvas, and cudcavoured to realize it, as far as possible, in his broad-cloth and boots.

"And below, on the edge of the rapids, stood Kensett, his inspiring hand pulling at one end of his silken moustache, while his deep-brown eyes were fixed dreamily on the sun flecks in the foaming water.

"And the two Pressditti, meantime, (Dana and myself), seated on the rocks with professional decorum, were exchanging in friendly gossip, the public opinion that we probably should have been respectfully manufacturing, had we been seated at our editorial work-benches.

"Suddenly there was a flutter among the dry leaves; and along the giddy footpath, hewn out of the slaty side of the precipice below the bridge, tripped the tamest of little squirrels. He took it leisurely, stopping every now and then, and seating himself in his auto-easy-chair of a tail; and presently, (the squirrel, as we anticipated, being an *avant courier*) our expected loiterer limped slowly round the cliff.

"There was a dash of sadness over the fine-cut features of the baron; and, in answer to our tender inquiries as to his biography for the previous fifteen minutes, he entered upon the history of his *decadence*.

"(And here commenced the panic of the dealer in corn-stacks). Whether frightened at the liveliness of our friend's well-known powers of description, or at the slight French accent that still lingers in his wonderful fluency of English, the squirrel, at the first rush of emphasis in the baron's tale, started from his. Down went those enviable limbs that serve alike the purposes of legs or arms, and away he scudded up the bank. But the bank was steep, and the gesticulating arms of the tall foreigner looked formidably prehensile. There was but one alternative—the bridge across the chasm.

"But alas! with his loss of 'confidence' the little cornmonger's usual foresight had forsaken him. He did not look ahead far enough to see, that, instead of taking him to the safe side of the glen, that narrow bridge ended in the very centre of a 'large town in Cappadocia.*' Dana was astride of the far end of that single plank, his formidable lap presenting a toll-gate that there was no manner of getting round.

"Two-thirds across before he discovered this, the fugitive turned to go back. But, with the quickness of a practised sportsman, De Trobriand had closed up the retreat. Stopping in his story at the sight of the squirrel's blunder, he sprung to the bridge, and dropped his Parisian boots on either side of the plank; and there set the two — a parenthesis of editors enclosing a very reasonably frightened topic of discussion!

"(And now comes a phenomenon of natural history, to which I beg to call the attention of Professor Agassiz). After running backwards and forwards, in terrified perplexity, for two or three minutes, the little victim came to a standstill, and proceeded boldly to reason upon it. He looked first at one side and then at the other. The two ends of the plank were laid on the ledges of the two opposite banks, and, by jumping across the barricade of the *Tribune* on one side, or that of the *Courrier des Etats Unis* on the other, he might, at least, land on a rocky precipice with the danger only of slipping off as he should alight, and so falling into the torrent below. And this he decided to do—but observe the almost human reason shown in his two or three subsequent expedients!

"His two cheek pouches (he was a ground squirrel, you understand, one of the *tamias lysteri*, with pockets in his face) were swollen to their utmost distension with his morning's pick-up of provender. With a knowing alternation of his sharp eyes from one desperate outlet to the other, he evidently made up his mind that it would be easier to overleap the Frelichman than the Yankee; but he came to the conclusion also, after carefully measuring the jump, that *he could not do it, and carry weight!*

"He quietly disgorged therefore, upon the centre of the plank, eight or ten kernels of corn, and thus lightened, ran to the edge. But here a new thought occurred to him. You recollect the long hickory sapling which serves as a balustrade to that otherwise giddy bridge over the torrent. Up one of the pine cleats which support this slight railing, ran the squirrel, evidently seeing that he could jump to more advantage from this higher point. But sitting here for a moment, to gather his courage and his forces, he bethought himself, that,

* Dana, a large town in Cappadocia.—*Classical Dictionary*.

with the jump thus made easier, he might carry more weight; and, descending again to the bridge, he picked up one half of his previously disgorged corn, stowed it safely in his cheek pockets, ascended again to the top of the railing, and made the jump he had previously projected. To my great relief, he alighted safely, and, with the wreck he had saved from his threatened bankruptcy, he ran up the slanting edge of the precipice and disappeared.

"Here were certainly evidences of uncommon intelligence in this little animal. His sudden command of coolness in emergency, his deliberate choice between two evils, his prudential lessening of hindrance, his reconsideration of plan after a new light upon the matter, and final proof how wisely he calculated the possible savings from his first over-hasty 'assignment,' and how well he had measured his powers for the last desperate leap. It is a story worthy of perusal in Wall Street, or of copying into 'Thompson's Bank Note Reporter.'"

By the publication of a version of Petrarch,⁸ Mr. Bohn completes his series of the "Four Italian Poets." As there is no complete translation of the poet's works, this edition is composed of contributions from all who have ever essayed to give the poet an English dress, from the times of Chaucer to our own, and in many cases several versions are given of the same poem. Where other sources have proved inadequate, Mr. Bohn acknowledges his obligation to Major Macdonald, from whose version all lacunæ are filled up. The poems are preceded by an abridgment of Campbell's life of the poet, which gives an interesting picture of a literary man at the revival of letters. The book is profusely illustrated with engravings, after Harding and others, of localities celebrated in connexion with some passage of the poet's life, and render it a worthy follower of those miracles of cheapness and completeness which have issued from Mr. Bohn's press.

Some months since Madame Dudevant published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a short novel, "Elle et Lui,"⁹ and which has been declared to be an account of her own *liaison* with Alfred de Musset. The book has been vehemently decried, as infringing every law of good taste, and as in the last degree disloyal to the memory of him who was once her friend. The brother of the deceased poet has published a reply, also a novel "Lui et Elle," in which he lays before the public his view of the connexion, and accuses Madame Dudevant of gross cruelty and barefaced infidelity in the very presence of the helpless and immovable invalid. If Madame Dudevant has sinned, the vial has been returned to her lips with compound interest; but it may be contended that her opponents in this controversy are actuated by a most undue susceptibility. We are ignorant whether the connexion between her and A. de Musset preceded or followed his publication of the "Confessions d'un Enfant du Siècle;" but we are sure that no fault attributed to him in "Elle et Lui" exceeds in gravity those confessed in his own work, which is autobiographical if any book were ever so. In his celebrated novel he portrays his relations with, and conduct to, the heroine, in colours undistinguishable from those in which Madame Dudevant describes his conduct to herself.

⁸ "The Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems of Petrarch, now first completely translated into English verse by Various Hands, with a Life of the Poet." By Thomas Campbell. Illustrated with sixteen engravings on steel. London: Bohn. 1859.

⁹ "Elle et Lui." Par George Sand. Paris: Hachette, 1859.

Indeed, were the story told by the heroine of the "Confessions," she could not have used other language than that employed in "Elle et Lui." This in our opinion is the true fault of the book. In "Elle et Lui," Madam de Dudevant seems to us to *exploiter* A. de Musset by placing herself in the position of his heroine, and re-writing the same story; if, indeed, she were not the heroine herself; but if so, her answer is complete as against her accusers, and out of the mouth of her deceased friend she can confute his defenders.

As for the general question of violation of good taste in making use of the private circumstances of an author's intimate relations, it is one of degree, the thing itself always must exist; the only point which can be raised is to what extent the sources must be hidden and disguised. To our feelings the change of professions and all outward circumstances of both parties concerned seems to answer all reasonable requirements, and that the present scandal is more to be attributed to the friends of the deceased poet than to the incriminated living authoress.

From Philadelphia, at the hand of Mr. W. G. Thomas, we have a translation of Goethe's minor poems,¹⁰ one of the most difficult tasks in the whole compass of literature. The peculiar character of Goethe's lyrical poems and ballads renders their adequate reproduction in any other language almost impossible; the slightness of their material, their simplicity of language, vernacular grace, and delicate beauty of form, are characteristics which will not bear translation. Goethe's lyrical poems are like wild flowers, lovely and charming on their native heath, but which do not survive gathering, and lose all their attractiveness when deprived of their native environment. A paraphrase of Goethe's poems, even in their own language, would be intolerable; how much more so in a foreign one, and very few indeed of these poems can be treated in any other way.

Mr. Thomas has struggled manfully with these overwhelming difficulties, and, as might have been expected, succeeds far better in the ballads than in the lyrical poems. The "Erl König," for instance, in the first verses very successfully reproduces the weird effect of the alternate strophes between father and child, but the crowning conclusion of the last line comes flat and bald, when compared with the startling effect of the original. The separate poems are accompanied in the translation with short notes referring them to the periods of Goethe's life to which they belong, and pointing out, where it is possible to do so, the occasion on which they were written. This is a very useful addition; but a few of the remarks are somewhat flippant, and might have been omitted with advantage. The book is sumptuously printed, and forms a very handsome volume.

Another and a very different German poet appears before us in an English dress in Mr. Bowring's translation of Heine's poems.¹¹ In

¹⁰ "The Minor Poetry of Goethe: a Selection from his Songs, Ballads, and other lesser Poems." Translated by William Gassett Thomas. Philadelphia: Butler. 1859.

¹¹ "The poems of Heine complete, translated in the original metres. With a Sketch of Heine's Life." By Edgar Alfred Bowring. London: Longmans. 1859.

these translations it will be seen how much easier it is to reproduce wit, humour, and imagination than the natural feeling which gives their chief grace to Goethe's verses. The artificial character of Heine's poetry admits of translation with but little injury. Any one who does not read the original may be assured that he can form a very sufficient acquaintance with Heine from Mr. Bowring's version. The faithful adherence to the very varied metres of the originals, throughout some twenty thousand lines, and the practised hand evidenced in every one of them, render this, in our opinion, one of the most successful translations we have met with. In taking up the book, the very spirit of Heine breathes upon you, and it is only by close comparison with the originals that anything short of absolute completeness can be detected.

The poems are preceded by a short memoir of Heine, a melancholy picture, most necessary to the right understanding of all, and to the excuse of many of the poems. Heine's wit is exercised too often on subjects which English taste has hitherto guarded from profane treatment, and in a manner which cannot but be revolting to many of his readers; this has often forced Mr. Bowring to exclaim against many passages which he was yet right in rendering in all their integrity; to expunge so cardinal a feature from his author's character, while professing to give his entire poems, would have been inexcusable; a translator's first duty is loyalty to his author, he brings him before a new judgment-seat, and has no authority to suppress any main feature of the case.

Mr. Bowring calls him—and in many points of view he can justly do so—the greatest of German poets after Goethe; but he is rather head of a different class of poets than second in a line with Goethe, whose poems seem to flow from him naturally and to be carelessly thrown forth without reflection, as a bird sings by impulse only, but we hardly know a poem of Heine's that we do not feel he has sat down to write; the vestiges of art, though removed with the highest skill from the surface of the work, still make themselves felt, and leave an after-taste like an impure wine.

In a volume of *Fragments and Souvenirs*,¹² M. Cousin collects several essays published by him on various occasions. They consist of recollections of his expeditions to Germany, and of his interviews with various literary celebrities there, and are chiefly remarkable for facile self-possession, and rapidity of judgment on German philosophy and its results.

The most interesting are, perhaps, the visits to Goethe in 1817, 1825, and 1831. His house and Entourage are minutely described. Who is not now familiar with that broad and handsome staircase, and rooms crowded with casts and objects of art, where everything appealed to the mind and nothing to the senses, where, amid the simplest furniture, every ornament suggested some idea, and noble forms gave an elevation to the dwelling-rooms in singular contrast with their somewhat contracted dimensions? Goethe's house, like that of most indi-

¹² "*Fragments et Souvenirs.*" Par M. Victor Cousin. Troisième édition, considérablement augmentée. Paris: Didier et C^o. 1857.

vidual characters, was the picture and outward presentment of his mind; this was so strikingly the case, that we are sure anyone taken blindfolded to the house would have exclaimed, "Here Goethe lives."

This result was of course greatly to be attributed to that peculiar feature of his domestic arrangements, which for so long left his home without the modifying influence of a mistress: the house was masculine in every sense.

The impression left upon Cousin's mind seems to be the same that Goethe always produced when inclined to be agreeable, and we can hardly fail to detect in Goethe a care for his own reputation in France, as the moving spring of his amenities. His failing strength and gradual retirement from society, are well shown in the different impression which each visit made on M. Cousin. The volume also contains an account of the last days of Kant, compiled from the publications of "Hasse and Wasianski," which will be found more fully done from the same sources in M. de Quincy's miscellanies; after papers on Santa Rosa, Fourier, and popular philosophy, the volume closes with a long and instructive essay on the peculiarities of Rousseau's style, and its influence on modern French composition. This paper may be read with great advantage, though, perhaps, somewhat deformed by the *style universitaire*; it is full of information and instruction.

J. Venedey, formerly celebrated in the Frankfort Parliament of 1848, has published a memoir on Frederick the Great and Voltaire,¹³ in which, by following Voltaire through his private contemporary correspondence, he finds it easy to prove that vanity and greed are less respectable than vanity alone, and rehabilitates his national hero as at least more sinned against than sinning. To an English reader, however, the most curious feature of the book is to be found in its prefaces, in which the author apologises to his party for defending a king, and to Humboldt for wishing to have dedicated his work to him, while he resolves not to do so lest that dedication should result in complications disagreeable to the veteran savant, and in his return to his original resolution when death had removed Humboldt from the possibility of all annoyance.

These exaggerated political susceptibilities are perhaps a necessary attendant on the commencements of political life, but they give an uneasy picture of a state of public feeling which must be overcome before any practical progress can be hoped for.

¹³ "Friedrich der Grosse und Voltaire." Von J. Venedey. Leipsic: Hübner. 1850.

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